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COMPARATIVE RELIGION

ITS GENESIS AND GROWTH

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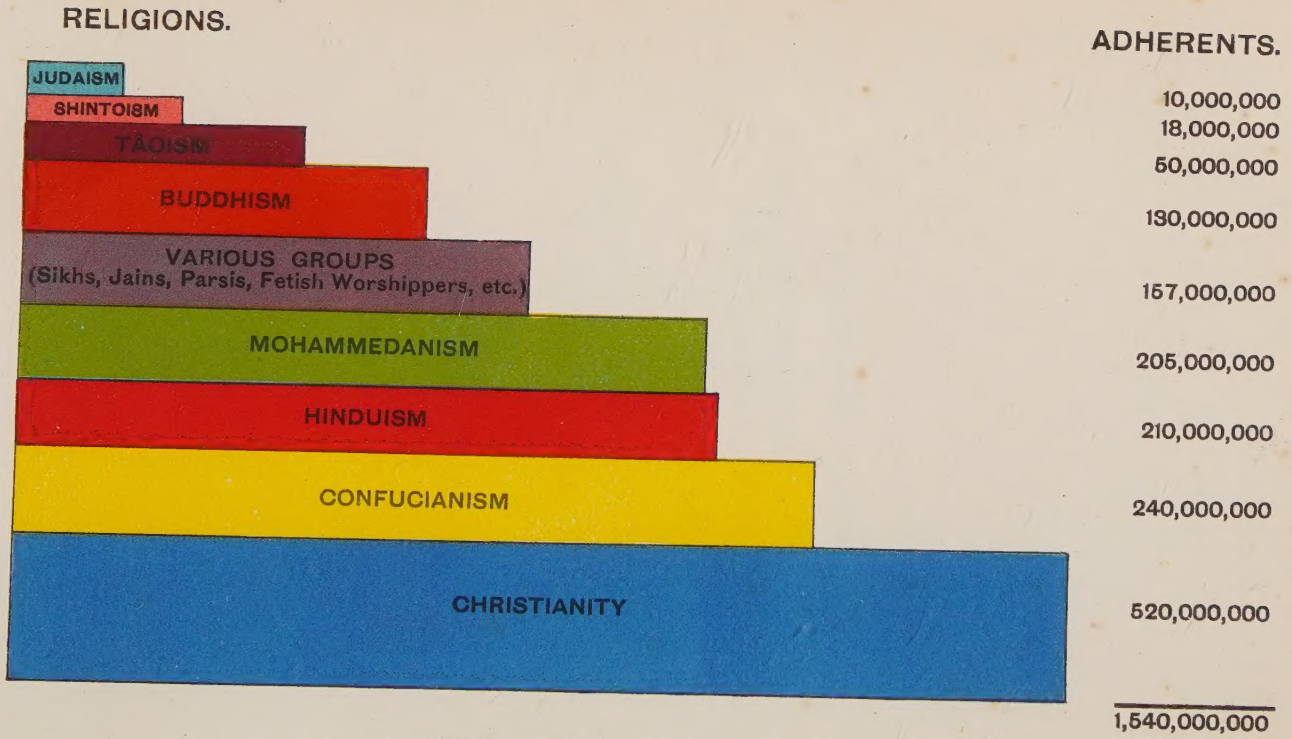

A COMPARATIVE VIEW

OF THE PRESENT NUMERICAL STRENGTH OF

THE PRINCIPAL RELIGIONS OF THE WORLD

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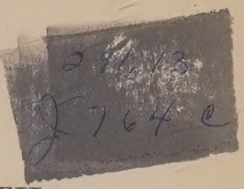
COMPARATIVE RELIGION



ITS GENESIS AND GROWTH

BY

LOUIS HENRY JORDAN, B.D.(EDIN.)

LATE SPECIAL LECTURER IN COMPARATIVE RELIGION
AT THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

WITH AN INTRODUCTION

BY

PRINCIPAL FAIRBAIRN, D.D., LL.D., D.LITT.

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INTRODUCTION

By Principal A. M. Fairbairn, D.D., LL.D.

Mr. Jordan is an earnest and laborious student, whose book needs no introduction from me. Its merits are sufficient to commend it to all who are interested in the study of Religions, or who may wish to know them both in themselves and in their comparative relations. Mr. Jordan has made many sacrifices for the work which he now gives to the world. He has for years sundered many friendships, surrendered his pastoral ties, wandered and dwelt in lands remote from his delightful Canadian home, that he might with a freer and more unfettered mind pursue the studies which have taken shape in this book. He has not only steeped himself in the literature of his subject, but has also visited the great Universities, English, Continental, or American, where he could, by the help whether of the library or the living voice, acquaint himself with what had been, and was being, thought and accomplished in the field which he has cultivated with such remarkable pains. And now he here lays at our feet the fruit of these years of labour, that we may eat while we rest, and reap the profit of his toil.

For the many studious men who seek to know the Religions of Man, this work ought to have distinct value. First, it should inform them as to the best literature which has been written on the subject, and the problems inquiry has raised in the minds of those scholars and thinkers who have investigated the questions which concern Man and his Religions. Secondly, it ought to show them that they need not be troubled by the fear of having to work alone in the

field, for it is cultivated by a large and most excellent company; and there is nothing better calculated to educate a man, or interest him in a special study, than a well-authenticated introduction to the living who are actually pursuing it. Thirdly, there is no study that makes a greater demand on the creative yet tolerant imagination. Man never seems so base or so noble as in his Religions. When he is trying to think the ideally best, he may feel as if it required him to do his actual worst. The accident is nowhere so easily confounded with the essence as in Religion; and where the confusion is most easy, the need for distinction is most absolute. And in the history of Religions, one has to be constantly on his guard against being tempted to make the easy confusion and miss the necessary distinction. Intolerance, for example, may spring from the passionate conviction that a given belief or custom is so good that men who deny or reject it are profane persons, who, because they have dared to differ from the multitude in a matter so solemn, must be smitten without mercy. Persecution is faith courageously dealing with its affirmations as true, and with all their opposites or negatives as false; and dealing, not indeed in the way or by the instruments of reason, but simply by employing the methods of force to fight against beliefs too irrational or insane to be argued with. In other words, persecution is Religion using the hand of might to purge the world of what it conceives to be a corruption too deep-seated to be cast out in any other way. But even so, unless there were gravest realities strongly believed in, human pity would forbid the persecutor to launch his thunders, unmuzzle his prophets, or unleash the hounds that hunt the unbeliever to his death. Fourthly, if the intolerance of the Religions is so conceived, we can all the better see what it has, in spite of these infirmities of its accidents, accomplished for Man as Man and for the Race as a Race: it means the command of both by those highest ideals that belong to the infinitude of mind, and fill time with eternity. If indeed the nature conceiving the ideal is

high, the ideal will experience a correspondent exaltation, and will be too noble to be incorporated in any harsh or hateful form; yet if the nature be low, so will its ideals be, for an ideal can never be higher in its outward aspect than the man who thinks it. The education of the race is accomplished by the struggle of the higher beliefs with the lower passions; and as man rises to a higher level, his Religion tends to rise with him and to become worthier in form of what it is in essence. Till this highest of all possible unities has been reached, the form must frequently contradict the essence and the actual be a reproach to the ideal. Fifthly, no man can know Religion who approaches it from its earthward side; to be really understood, it must be read in the light of its celestial source. And so I, for one, am glad to find men engaged, as Mr. Jordan has been, in making the rough paths plain for our tender feet, and in persuading us to follow where he so arduously yet honestly points the way. To purify Religion is to serve our kind; and nothing will so tend to its purification as the compelling men to see, not how the light from Heaven has led astray, but how the earthly medium on which it has been carried has so perverted and coloured its beams that they have often done more to misdirect than to guide Man.

May I then commend this book as an introduction to a great study? I can promise that that study will not disappoint the man who follows it with an open mind, a quick imagination, and an appreciative spirit.

A. M. FAIRBAIRN.

AUTHOR'S INTRODUCTION

THE title of this book explains at once its purpose and its scope. It embodies an attempt to give the reader a condensed yet comprehensive view of the origin, progress, and aim of the science of Comparative Religion. It presents a sketch of the advent of a new line of research, the difficulties which it has had to encounter, the problems which it has set itself to solve, and the results which thus far it has been able to register.

Viewed as a department of study, Comparative Religion aspires to obtain, and doubtless will ultimately secure, the status of a separate theological discipline. In the meantime it is generally regarded as being, at most, a useful adjunct to the study of Apologetics; and the many questions which it raises are usually investigated, more or less fully, in connection with that subject. This arrangement, though only temporary, has admittedly borne good fruit; for, as the result of this alliance, the scope of modern Apologetics has been immensely and permanently widened. Take Christian Apologetics, for example. That branch of instruction, as formerly understood, was practically limited to a defence and vindication of the tenets of Christianity; but it is now widely recognised that no one can expound the real significance of that Faith until he has made himself acquainted with its relationships to the various non-Christian Faiths. Accordingly, it is one of the notable achievements of Comparative Religion that, even already, it has broadened the outlook of that important domain

of learning with which it at present stands associated. Christian Apologetics has still, undoubtedly, a great and urgent mission to fulfil: its task, moreover, has been rendered tenfold more arduous and more critical by the vigorous propagandism of modern Christian Missions; and yet, largely because of the movement just referred to, it is now commonly conceded that a fuller and more exact study of Comparative Religion has been rendered simply imperative. Much, therefore, as this new Science has been esteemed hitherto, it is certain to grow in favour as men come to appreciate better its rare worth as the ally and handmaid of every competent Apologetic.

But this new realm of research, quite apart from any special application which may be made of the results which it furnishes, has a *raison d'être* of its own; and it is upon this basis that it deserves, and demands, separate and ungrudging recognition. Its function consists in placing the numerous Religions of the world side by side, in order that, deliberately comparing and contrasting them, it may frame a reliable estimate of their respective claims and values. Its individual purpose, and its ever central purpose, is to ascertain—without haste and without prejudice—the simple facts of the case in each particular instance. It tells us nothing, indeed, about the origin of Religion, for it frankly admits that such knowledge lies wholly beyond its province. It limits its quest to eras, recent or more remote, which are covered by reliable historical records; but, within these boundaries, *every* Religion — even the humblest, the crudest, and the one that is outwardly the least winning—interests it instantly, and interests it profoundly. It has no end to gain by securing the elevation of one Faith at the expense of another; accordingly, it is never tempted to contrive invalid and *ex parte* arguments, with the view either of buttressing or undermining the supports of any special School of theology. It need scarcely be remarked, therefore, that, unlike Christian Apologetics of the older type, Comparative Religion holds no brief

for the defence of Christianity. If, as the result of an unbiased comparison between that Faith and one or more other Religions, it should become manifest that the former must be pronounced more worthy than any of its competitors, that fact (and the proofs of it) will certainly be welcomed and recorded. If, however, an opposite verdict should be necessitated by a summation of all the available evidence, Comparative Religion will never hesitate to discharge its full duty in the circumstances. The demands of truth are paramount, and they must at all costs be respected.

For more than a decade, one of the chief hindrances to progressive work in this field has been the lack of an adequate Text-book. No publication of the sort indicated has as yet appeared; hence, as a recent competent authority ventured to declare, "the genius and method of Comparative Religion have not thus far been anywhere expounded." But the conviction has been growing of late that the time has fully come when a history of this Science, especially in its later developments, ought to be prepared,—seeing that a sketch of the rise and achievements of this new study, offered at a period when the number of scholars in this department is perceptibly increasing, and when the need of a Text-book is admittedly urgent, would furnish a real aid to those who are desirous of obtaining the assistance which such a Manual is fitted to lend them. The beginning of a new century, moreover, might well be made the occasion upon which to estimate with some exactness the value of one of the more prominent educational factors which scholars possess, as they cross the threshold of an inviting new era of inquiry.

It was certainly not my intention, when I commenced that course of study to which so many successive years have been devoted, that I would myself attempt to prepare the Handbook which had so often been looked for in vain. With quite other plans in view I sojourned for longer or shorter intervals at various Universities, and read diligently in the Libraries of Europe. Later on, the lessons

which teachers and books impart were supplemented by an extended period of travel and study in the East. In this way, brought for a time into personal contact with the exponents of various Faiths, enjoying frank conferences with many of them, and observing closely the attitude of witnesses who—through their words and lives as well as through their Scriptures—were bearing significant testimony to the qualities of the Religions which they professed, I soon became able to understand better both the Faiths themselves and the particular environment in which each of them had been born and developed. Pursuing this method, I have been privileged to watch the worship, and to converse with the adherents, of almost all the great Religions of the world; and it may be remarked, in passing, that *in no other way* can one secure so prompt and radical a corrective of opinions which—however honest—are often much too hastily arrived at. Thereafter returning to Europe, I betook myself once more to the study of books; and, aided by the results of my inquiries and observations, I began carefully to examine and test the accuracy of the conclusions which various authorities in this field had felt themselves constrained to adopt.

It was while I was thus occupied that the President of the University of Chicago invited me to deliver a series of Lectures on the rise and development of the science of Comparative Religion. By no means loath to accept so congenial a task, I proceeded to select a number of topics whose discussion would enable me to cover the specified ground in a fairly adequate way. In due course the Lectures were drafted and delivered, in accordance with the terms of my appointment; and there, as I supposed, my undertaking took end. It was soon suggested, however, in more than one quarter, that the Lectures ought to be published; and it was added that, if they were only very slightly recast and expanded, they could at once begin to yield service as a University Handbook. I naturally hesitated to essay an enterprise which others of wider

experience had often deliberately postponed. Possibly even yet the attempt to prepare a formal Manual would prove to be premature! Eventually, however, recalling the many perplexities which — in the absence of some such kindly mentor—had attended my own introduction to this field, I concluded that the importance of attaining the goal in view warranted my honest effort to reach it.

I am now free to confess that, when I began my task, I had not fully counted the cost; and, in consequence, my somewhat ambitious project was more than once on the eve of being abandoned. Inasmuch as, even still, the literature of the subject has never been sifted and catalogued, I was at first amazed to discover that the books I needed to consult were fairly bewildering in number. Moreover, they were found scattered throughout almost every domain of authorship. It is little wonder if, before long, I began to feel distinctly discouraged: I had no one to show me the way, and (as I cut out a path of my own) the route contrived often to be exceedingly tortuous. Nevertheless, now that the work has been completed, I trust that something of value has been accomplished. This Text-book admittedly falls short of the ideal of its author; no doubt, had that ideal been fully reached, it itself would have been capable of indefinite improvement. Yet further, where such a mass of detail has been passed under review, differences of opinion as to the principles which ought to govern its ultimate selection and distribution are quite certain to assert themselves; but it will be very much easier to modify the present scheme of arrangement, should such modification appear to be necessary, than it was at the outset to devise that scheme and then gradually to elaborate it. In a word, criticism of various kinds is anticipated, and such criticism is frankly invited. All that is claimed for this volume is that it undertakes to discharge the functions, even though it cannot hope to escape the faults, of an adventurous literary Pioneer. It summarises the results of investigations which have engaged my attention during

the last fifteen years; and, in addition, it directs the student to those sources of information whence he can draw for himself such details and authoritative expositions as shall best serve the ends he may have in view.

It is of course impossible, even within the compass of 600 pages, to present a full survey of the materials—gathered from so many and so widely different fields—which I would like to have dealt with in the present series of studies; and yet the sketch which is here offered may fitly serve to lead on to further and equally inviting investigations which still lie in the future. I have been induced, indeed, to issue this volume, not only because it is likely to render a much-needed direct and immediate service, but because it will conveniently pave the way for two other books by which it will shortly be followed. In each of its successors, acquaintance with the historical details which are outlined in the present Manual will everywhere be taken for granted; and in this way, without requiring to lay these foundations anew, I can at once proceed to deal with those larger and more difficult questions which constitute the perplexities of older and more advanced students. Moreover, the *form* in which some subjects have been presented—a form greatly curtailed, and perhaps too severely contracted—will then be augmented and expanded as circumstances may seem to require.

Since it is one of the aims of this Handbook to furnish guidance to persons who are beginning their acquaintance with Comparative Religion, the several successive stages in the gradual advance of that study have been very carefully traced, and briefly but sharply delineated. The treatment given to each topic as it emerges, while far from being exhaustive, seeks rather to be illustrative and suggestive. If the discussions at various points may seem to be unduly epitomised, let it at once be understood that such abbreviations are due not to oversight but design. In addition to the definite limits of space within which this volume had to be brought, two central considerations

sufficed to commend the method of condensation which has been uniformly followed, namely, (*a*) the advantage accruing to the teacher who is continually constrained to enlarge and illustrate the statements of any Text-book which he may elect to employ, and (*b*) the fact that many of the subjects here dealt with may be viewed from many standpoints, and are still undergoing merely initial review. It is hoped, however, that all essential details will be found to have been remembered and specified; that the instructor, to whatsoever School he may belong, will find that his freedom of discussion and coveted liberty of action remain entirely unfettered; and that nothing has been affirmed with too great positiveness concerning matters in relation to which competent opinion is still admittedly divided. I have sought always, when speaking of divergent methods and judgments, to preserve a mental attitude that was appreciative rather than critical, scientific rather than apologetic, historic rather than dogmatic. Exactly opposite hypotheses have been referred to, and expounded, with equal impartiality. The latest information, on every relevant theme, has been collected and presented in a series of outline sketches. In this way a competent view of the whole field has been displayed before the student. For the convenience of those who may use these studies in the Classroom, a division of each Chapter into "paragraphs" has been adopted; the successive Sections have been labelled and numbered, so that they may easily be found and readily alluded to; while, in the form of Summaries, estimates have been given of the general conclusions to which, in the various branches of this Science, the progress of research is undoubtedly leading the way.

But this book is intended, not for students only, but also for the ordinary thoughtful reader. Everything will be found to have been set down in the simplest and clearest manner. Technical language has been avoided, while all foreign terms likely to present difficulty have been translated. Copious references to authorities have, of course,

invariably been given; but these indispensable aids to the exact scholar, while sufficiently numerous to stimulate and direct the inquirer's interest, have not been unduly multiplied. Several Charts, which speak directly to the eye, and a series of Notes which will especially appeal to those who have been attracted to Comparative Religion by something more than a passing curiosity, have been furnished in an ample Appendix. In addition to a selection of relevant "Literature," prefixed to each Chapter, a carefully compiled Bibliography has been supplied, together with two valuable Indices,—of which the earlier one will be found to contain, in compact and alphabetical form, various items of imformation which are constantly in demand, but which are often entirely inaccessible when they chance to be most required. Possibly the Indices reveal, more fully than any other part of this Manual, the amount of labour which its preparation has entailed, and the great variety of sources whence its material has been obtained. Nevertheless, throughout, the needs of the general reader, as well as those of the *bonâ fide* student, have constantly been kept in view; and the chief questions which, in a first exploration of this field, are most likely to suggest themselves, will be found to have been sufficiently answered. In the light of my own difficulties as a beginner, I have sought to produce a Handbook which would prove serviceable for serious study, or for merely occasional and general reference.

Whatever has been accomplished must be attributed, however, in no small degree to the co-operation of a number of scholars whose generous assistance has been simply invaluable to me. If my inquiries proved to be much more extended and exacting than I was in a position to foresee, they have certainly been rewarded with abundant compensations; for they have brought me into communication, either personally or by correspondence, with the majority of those who are the active representatives of this new Science to-day. My Letter Cabinet has become, indeed, the depository of a collection of autograph docu-

ments with which I would be exceedingly loath to part. I beg, therefore, here explicitly to acknowledge this indebtedness,—and, in particular, my obligation to the late Professor Tiele of Leyden; to Professor Kristensen, also of Leyden; to Professor Lehmann of Copenhagen; to Professor Söderblom of Upsala; and to Professor Jean Réville of Paris. Each of these investigators I have been privileged to know as a friend; and the information which from time to time they supplied to me, information which often lay wholly beyond the reach of a transient foreign visitor, will now bring many besides myself under debt to their invariable and much esteemed kindness. While grateful, too, for being granted the freedom of the Bodleian and British Museum Libraries, I must not omit to mention also the ever-prompt assistance of Dr. C. T. Hagberg Wright, Secretary of the London Library at St. James's Square, to whose friendly aid on various occasions I owe more than he is aware, or perhaps even imagines.

Regret has to be expressed that the statements which describe the origin and progress of Comparative Religion in certain countries—*e.g.*, in Switzerland, Belgium, Scandinavia, etc.—are far from being adequate. The responsibility for this fact does not, however, rest upon me. In some instances, three or four applications to be supplied with such data as I required—although addressed, as it more than once happened, to as many different quarters—failed to elicit reply. This statement will serve incidentally to reveal the difficulties which had frequently to be overcome in order to secure the information which, under more promising conditions, I have been fortunate enough to obtain. But in regard more particularly to Switzerland and Belgium,—as also in the cases of Italy, Russia, Spain, the South American Republics, etc.,—it gradually became evident that, unless I were to defer indefinitely the publication of my book, only three courses lay open to me, viz., either to omit *all* reference to the countries in question, or to present such a curtailed account of the work they are doing in this con-

nection that my statement would prove not only unsatisfactory but misleading, or to content myself with doing little more than naming two or three of their most prominent representatives. I concluded, ultimately, to adopt the third of these alternatives. It should be added, however, that inquiries are still being prosecuted; and should a second edition of this Handbook be called for, it is hoped that, instead of the omissions to which reference has just been made, accurate and sufficiently full information will be supplied to all who may desire to possess it.

The late Herbert Spencer, when writing the closing words of his *First Principles*, described his work as "a more or less rude attempt to accomplish a task which can be achieved [only] in the remote future, and by the combined efforts of many,—a task which cannot be completely achieved even then." Applying these words to a very much more modest undertaking, they hold equally true of the contents of the present volume. Nevertheless, should this book succeed meanwhile in deepening interest in a department of research which is so fascinating in itself, and yet one which is in such sore need of securing additional workers, it will not have been published without attaining its Author's aim. It is offered as a portable Guide-book to travellers who propose to journey over a new and not much frequented highway. And as its sketches and counsels are being pondered, it is hoped that, at least in many an instance, its supreme and controlling purpose may be fulfilled, viz., that the reader will resolve, having secured the necessary qualifications, to become himself a zealous and worthier guide, fully competent to direct—with confidence and skill—the uncertain steps of others.

LOUIS H. JORDAN.

OXFORD, 1905.

In the case of books whose place and date of publication have already been given in the "Literature" section with which each Chapter opens, these items of information are *not repeated* in the footnotes.

When the word "page" is printed in full in the footnotes, attention is invariably directed to some earlier or subsequent portion of the present treatise. When the letter "p." merely is employed, the reader will at once recognise that the allusion is to some publication other than the one which he holds in his hand.

For the convenience of junior students, the titles of German, Dutch, and Scandinavian books have been translated into English.

PART I

PROLEGOMENA

COMPARATIVE RELIGION

CHAPTER I

THE ADVENT OF A NEW SCIENCE

SYLLABUS.—Some significant Beginnings—Such Beginnings repay study: pp. 4–7. The relation of Comparative Religion to the Science of Religion—Subdivisions of the latter Science—The special sphere of Comparative Religion—Two Conclusions that follow: pp. 7–12. Comparative Religion itself a Science—Characteristic Notes of a Science, in its Genesis and Growth—Conformity of Comparative Religion to these requirements: pp. 12–22. The Verdict of some competent Authorities: pp. 22–24. Suggested Names for this new Science—HIEROLOGY—PISTOLOGY—THE SCIENCE OF RELIGIONS, etc.: pp. 24–28.

LITERATURE.—No existing volume devotes itself to a discussion of the question which is dealt with in this Chapter. Incidental references to the topic, however, are quite numerous. Students are recommended to consult:—CLARKE (James Freeman), *Ten Great Religions.* 2 vols. Boston, 1871. [Vol. i., printed twelve years in advance of its successor, 33rd ed., 1894; vol. ii., 15th ed., 1894.] MAX MÜLLER (Friedrich), *Introduction to the Science of Religion.* London, 1873. [N. ed., 1882.] PFLEIDERER (Otto), *Religionsphilosophie auf geschichtlicher Grundlage.* 1 vol. Berlin, 1878. [3rd ed., 1896; 2nd ed., 1883–84, 2 vols., was translated in 4 vols., London, 1886–88.] TIELE (Cornelis Petrus), *Elements of the Science of Religion.* 2 vols. Edinburgh, 1897–99. CHANTEPIE DE LA SAUSSAYE (Pierre Daniel), *Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte.* 2 vols. Freiburg in Baden, 1887–89. [2nd ed., 1897; 3rd ed., completely revised, 1905.] RÉVILLE (Albert), *Prolégomènes de l'Histoire des Religions.* Paris, 1881. [Translated. London, 1884.] GOBLET D'ALVIELLA (Count Eugène), *Intro-*

duction à l'Histoire Générale des Religions. Bruxelles, 1887. TISCHHAUSER (Christian), *Grundzüge der Religionswissenschaft zur Einleitung in die Religionsgeschichte.* Basel, 1891. CAIRD (Edward), *The Evolution of Religion.* 2 vols. Glasgow, 1893. [3rd ed., 1899.]

A SIGNIFICANT BEGINNING.—The birth of a new Science indicates the commencement of a new era in human knowledge. Such an event, accordingly, cannot but awaken profound interest in every one who realises and appreciates its meaning.

SUGGESTIVE ILLUSTRATIONS. — It may not be amiss to cite one or two concrete instances.

1. *In the world of Inventions.*—All will admit that, within the domain of material things, a sentiment of inquisitiveness continually asserts itself. A model of the earliest Railway Locomotive, or of the first stationary Steam-Engine, may bring a smile to our lips and a look of half-compassion into our eyes; but the spectacle appeals directly to our imagination, and it never fails to arouse and compel our attention. Similar feelings are stirred within us when we examine the oldest specimens of the Printing Press, or the earliest forms of the ubiquitous Sewing Machine. All these varied contrivances, when first they saw the light, were clumsy, incomplete, and cumbered by details of mechanism which indirectly hampered their action. Many new factors had to be introduced, and superfluous factors had to be eliminated, before the invention secured for itself general recognition and adoption. Nevertheless these tentative beginnings were prophetic of much better things: and, through their instrumentality, the advent of days when distinctly higher achievements would become possible was not only foretold, but assured and perceptibly hastened.

2. *In the world of Human Experience.*—The same law prevails, and the same interest is aroused, when we survey the more mysterious world of man's own history. Not now pursuing inquiry as to the origin of the human race, but

confining our view to one or two individual careers, does history ever fail to enkindle the imagination when it relates that Æsop *began* life as a slave, and Homer as a waif, and Virgil as a porter, and Columbus as a weaver, and Ben Jonson as a bricklayer, and Bunyan as a travelling tinker! It is needless to multiply such examples,—a score of which, equally apposite, will occur to every reader. Suffice it to say that it is simply impossible to contemplate the advent of such men, as they severally enter the field of human activity, without our feeling that we must examine carefully the conditions out of which they emerged, and which invariably impart some colour to all their latter experiences.

3. *In the world of Scientific Research.*—And, as might be anticipated, it is not otherwise in the wide domain of Science. Within this sphere, also, the beginnings of each new movement are found almost uniformly to be defective and unpromising. Two reasons may be mentioned in explanation of this fact. (*a*) The first steps of each successive claimant for recognition are admittedly, at the best, mere experiments. They are taken slowly, and with evident uncertainty. Confident and even rapid advance may be made by and by, but such a feat can be accomplished only at the cost of repeated and disheartening failures. Hence, in its initial stages, every Science is fitted to remind one of a child who has just begun to walk. As he passes timidly from chair to chair, and exults inordinately after some very trifling achievement, so the opening performances of each new Science have generally been the very reverse of imposing. The advance secured, however unmistakable, has been checked by innumerable defeats. Such progress as can legitimately be registered is usually gained through the assistance of clumsy buttresses and supports; whilst the incessant announcement of high-sounding claims—some at least of which are entirely unwarranted — seldom fail to ensure for each new candidate a curt and frosty greeting. What good thing, it is often brusquely asked, can issue from

so inauspicious a beginning? And the other reason why each new Science, at its inauguration, is liable to be viewed distrustfully, arises out of the fact that (*b*) its defects and lack of promise are often, unfortunately, exaggerated. Prejudice is sometimes responsible for this result, and not infrequently it manifests itself in an unexpected quarter. The older Sciences are jealous of their prerogatives. For a long time their claims, now universally acknowledged, obtained only the scantiest recognition: they had to struggle very perseveringly for that measure of distinction which they ultimately secured. Hence, instead of the cordial reception for which the new-comer probably looked, he is met with the demand: "Produce your credentials"; and these evidences of standing are sure to be closely scanned. At first sight this may seem to be an unpardonably abrupt proceeding, and it may unjustly be attributed to a very unworthy motive: but it is not without abundant justification. The published *Transactions* of many a Learned Society in Europe and America — not to take account of the hundreds of proffered manuscripts which, being summarily rejected, have never seen the light—furnish the very best warrant for the exercise of a judicious caution. A genuine Scientist will always welcome, even with instant and unstinted applause, the discoveries which reward successful research in any department of knowledge; but he is not to be reproached, or charged with blindness of envy, if, in view of previous hopes and disappointments, he exhibits a sturdy and growing scepticism towards not a few of the petitioners who seek the endorsement of his approval.

Such Beginnings repay Study.—Enough has been said to show that such significant beginnings ought not only to awaken interest, but to inspire the diligence of the systematic student. Whenever a new Science has unmistakably risen above the horizon, and when (exhibiting all due patience and modesty) it finally authenticates its right to be heard in the councils of the learned, men do well who take note of its

coming, and who hasten to acquaint themselves with the circumstances out of which it gradually came into being. It is the purpose of the present Manual to give a sketch of the circumstances out of which the SCIENCE OF COMPARATIVE RELIGION eventually emerged, and to trace its general growth until it claimed and gained a recognised place among the older Sciences. For it will ever be accounted one of the notable achievements of the nineteenth century, that during its course the circle of knowledge was still further enlarged by the admission into it of the comprehensive SCIENCE OF RELIGION.

THE RELATION OF "COMPARATIVE RELIGION" TO "THE SCIENCE OF RELIGION."—It is important that every Science should equip itself with a competent terminology, and that the technical words which it employs should invariably be used to convey a single definite meaning. Some authorities, for example, (*a*) prefer to regard "Comparative Religion" as a generic name.[1] It is used as a designation of the widest possible import: and under it are grouped the various branches of study which so wide a survey demands. In a word, it includes all those allied disciplines which other teachers group together under the name "The Science of Religion." Unquestionably, much can be said in support of such a view. The work of the explorer in this field, whatever section of it may especially occupy his attention, consists pre-eminently in the instituting of comparisons between beliefs and rites which either agree or differ. Yet there is good reason for restricting the meaning of the title "Comparative Religion" within much narrower limits.[2]

[1] See *The Annual Register* of the University of Chicago: Department of Comparative Religion.

[2] It might be said that Comparative Religion, at best, is but the Science of Religion *in miniature*. Such a view, however, is untenable. These two descriptive names ought never to be used as though they were practically convertible. The Science of Religion is in search of *every* fact which the History of Religions can procure for it, and it regards with respect *every* legitimate hypothesis which the Philosophy of Religion deliberately undertakes to frame. Comparative Religion, on the other hand, carefully *selects* —viz., out of the multifarious facts and speculations which History and

Ordinary usage defines it much more strictly; and therefore, even if all Scientists were uniform in attaching to this name a broader significance, frequent confusion of thought in the employment of it by amateur students would still be certain to ensue. Accordingly (*b*) it is becoming the practice among scholars that, when they have occasion to refer to the whole field of this inquiry, they speak of investigations which they are conducting in "The Science of Religion"; and then, with scrupulous exactness, they confine the name "Comparative Religion" to problems which pertain to one particular subdivision of that field. This suggestion deserves to be warmly commended, and it will be complied with and illustrated throughout the present treatise. In this way, not only will all risk of confusion in the use of terms be avoided, but an important *claim* will be advanced, and will receive at the outset its strong and proper emphasis.[1] The study of Religion, whether conducted on broader or narrower lines, is one which to-day asserts its right to be included among the Sciences; for the factors that pertain to Religion — its origin, its development, its characteristics, its aims, its ultimate goal, and a score of kindred topics—are capable of being approached and dealt with in an exact and strictly scientific manner. It will be found in practice that the title "The Science of Religion," both in what it affirms and in what it abstains from affirming, is the one best suited to meet the requirement of a general name for this inviting field of inquiry. As to the

Philosophy supply—only such materials as exhibit or involve the unity of an underlying relationship. Thus it constructs for itself a distinct and definitely defined domain of its own, the subdivisions of which are not coterminous with the corresponding subdivisions of the Science of Religion. To a limited extent, indeed, it occupies ground in common with the Science of Religion, as regards History and Philosophy; for it shades off gradually, in opposite directions, into the one and into the other. It appropriates the resources of both of them, but it is also clearly quite different from both of them. Comparative Religion might more aptly be described, yet always necessarily with discrimination, as "A Science within a Science." See Appendix. Note I., page 483.

[1] Cp. Tiele, *Elements of the Science of Religion*, vol. i. p. 15.

suitability and distinctive character of the subordinate title, "Comparative Religion," something further remains to be said in subsequent paragraphs of this Chapter.[1]

THE SCIENCE OF RELIGION SUBDIVIDED.—The Science of Religion may most conveniently be subdivided into three main divisions or departments.[2] These distinct branches of the subject, when enumerated in their chronological order, are as follow:—

1. The History of Religions.
2. The Comparison of Religions. ("Comparative Religion," *strictly so called.*)
3. The Philosophy of Religion.

There are, of course, many lesser subdivisions, to some of which attention must be directed at a later stage. Meanwhile it is important to note that this Manual is concerned exclusively with such topics as belong to the department of "Comparative Religion."

THE SPECIAL SPHERE OF COMPARATIVE RELIGION.—It is made clear, then, that Comparative Religion occupies an intermediate stage in the advance and development of a very much wider study.[3] He who would win success in this field is one who, in order to be properly equipped for his work, must already have secured an intimate acquaintance with the History of Religions; and he is one who, instead of regarding the results of these earlier researches as being the goal of his endeavours, must rather esteem them to be

[1] Cp. page 27.

[2] Professor Max Müller held strongly that all Sciences must pass through three stages, viz., (1) the Empirical stage, where the facts of experience are diligently accumulated; (2) the Classificatory stage, where these facts are carefully compared one with another; and (3) the Theoretical or Metaphysical stage, when the facts become the bases of ultimate principles. He proceeded to show that this general statement was true, in so far at least as the study of Language was concerned. See his *Lectures on the Science of Language.* 2 vols. London, 1861–64. [6th ed., 1871, p. 5.] But the opinion, thus affirmed, is demonstrably true likewise in the case of the Science of Religion.

[3] Cp. page 65. See also Appendix. Note II., page 485.

merely stepping-stones in the direction of inquiries that are higher. So far as (*a*) the History of Religions is concerned, he can do absolutely *nothing that is reliable* without its initiative and assistance. It is thence that he obtains the raw material for his preliminary investigations. Then, (*b*) by means of Comparisons, this historical material is systematically sifted and assorted. It goes without saying, that at this point much acuteness is demanded; for agreements and differences, likenesses and contrasts, need to be promptly detected and discriminated. It is in this way, indeed, that scholars, in the particular field with which this treatise is concerned, exercise their prime and distinctive function, and thus gradually acquire skill in distinguishing and differentiating those multifarious religious facts with which the historian furnishes them. But (*c*) scholarship must inevitably strive to go further. Through the instrumentality of Philosophy, students are enabled to connect and interpret those innumerable factors in Religion which History accumulates and which Comparison laboriously classifies; and until the Philosophy-stage has been reached, the arch of the Science of Religion must remain visibly incomplete. Hence pains must be taken to ensure that a structure which has been founded on the solid rock of History, and upreared slowly by means of the selected stones which Comparative Criticism supplies, shall not lack the central and uniting key-stone. Or, to change the figure: if a Sphere be taken to represent the comprehensive domain of the Science of Religion, then within that great Sphere there must be built a substantial Pyramid—equilateral, and then trisected by lines running parallel to its base—of which History forms the foundation, Comparison the intermediate portion, and Philosophy the tapering and crowning apex.

TWO CONCLUSIONS THAT FOLLOW.—It becomes plain, then, (*a*) that the domain of Comparative Religion is not a field for novices. This new study cannot hope to obtain much help from those who are only beginners in the study

of Religion. In other words, fitness to enter this field pre-supposes a good deal: it pre-supposes, in truth, a very great deal. How can any one be competent to compare things which he has not first watched, and conscientiously traced, in their slow historical development? The attempt has been made, to be sure; but the result has been disastrous alike to the experimenter and to the cause which he has honestly sought to further. It is owing, indeed, to this strange perversity of effort — unfortunately, far from being uncommon — that Comparative Religion has had to face some of the most stubborn obstacles, and has been checked by some of the most disheartening hindrances, that have marked and marred its history. It becomes plain also, (*b*) that he who gives himself to this study should constantly keep in view those other and higher problems which are still awaiting solution. For Comparative Religion, exacting though it is — in its demands upon our time, our faculty of reflection, and the continual exercise of a genuinely catholic spirit — is after all, for the most part, merely a means to an end. It may indeed, very profitably, be regarded as an end in itself. Many a busy life has been devoted exclusively to its service, and these workers have not needed to covet higher reward than it of itself has been able to bestow upon them. Nevertheless far-sighted and earnest men will always be ambitious to achieve something which Comparative Religion cannot hope to accomplish: they will diligently seek to prepare the way for the solution of some at least of the questions which lie beyond the horizon of their own special studies. What explanation is to be given, for example, of the origin of the idea of God? Why do men everywhere concern themselves with the thought of *Him*,—some in one way and some in another, but all of them yielding to the pressure of the same persistent compulsion? A study of the History of Religions reveals in what "divers manners" men have reached their different conceptions of the Great Supreme Spirit, and a study of Comparative Religion reveals the significant agree-

ments and disagreements which characterise these conceptions: but then there emerges the question:—"*Why* all these varied beliefs?" Why, indeed, do we find *any* of them? As soon as the student has set himself deliberately to wrestle with this problem, he has already passed on, consciously or unconsciously, into the domain of the Philosophy of Religion.

A RETROSPECTIVE GLANCE.—This exact mapping-out of the boundaries of the Science of Religion, with an indication of the limits within which Comparative Religion legitimately occupies itself, is not only convenient but important. In some of the volumes which represent this field of investigation, and which have recently been issued from the press, —in books which, otherwise, had proved most serviceable, —there appears a strange confusion of ideas touching this matter. Though these treatises are well informed, vivacious in style, and clearly animated by a most praiseworthy motive, they exhibit a singular obtuseness as regards both their proper goal and the only legitimate way of reaching it. Speaking generally, it is safe to remark that if any one offers to guide another through the portal of the Science of Religion, and then proceeds at once to give an elaborate account of the origin of the idea of God, he ought to be watched with undisguised suspicion. Such a leader is not entering in "by the door," but is seeking rather to climb up "some other way." He should remember that, for the beginner, ingress to this Temple through its roof presents very formidable (and yet wholly needless) difficulties; whilst, as regards his own action, it is obviously questionable even where it is not directly reprehensible. He reveals, in a word, marked incompetency for a task which, plainly, he has mistakenly undertaken.

COMPARATIVE RELIGION IS ITSELF A SCIENCE.—But although Comparative Religion turns out to be only one branch of another and much more comprehensive Science, it is entitled also itself to be denominated a Science. The late Matthew Arnold greeted this claim with a lofty

scorn;[1] and Professor Harnack, quite recently, announced it to be his opinion that, *at a date still distant*, present studies in Religion might possibly be compacted into a Science:[2] but it does not seem difficult to demonstrate that both of these disparaging estimates were somewhat rashly uttered. Accordingly a brief exposition of the grounds upon which Comparative Religion demands universal recognition as a distinct and valid Science must be given at this point.

WHAT IS A SCIENCE?—The scholars of the Middle Ages were acquainted with but seven "Sciences," viz., Grammar, Rhetoric, Logic, Arithmetic, Music, Geometry and Astronomy. Of these, the first three constituted a group by themselves, and were known as the Trivium: whilst the other four studies constituted a second group, and were called the Quadrivium. But the area of Science has broadened greatly since those days, and the significance of the term has been modified likewise. It is important, therefore, that the present meaning of the name should be definitely determined. Only then can one be quite sure of his ground, when he speaks of "The Science of Comparative Religion."

All will allow that by "Science" a good deal more is meant than (*a*) *knowledge* merely, though the etymology of the term at once suggests that meaning. Much more is implied than the bare accumulation of facts,—no matter how numerous and impressive, and (*b*) *directly relevant to some particular inquiry*. More is implied, indeed, than abundance of pertinent facts, together with (*c*) *the proofs which attest their complete reliability*. By "Science" we mean, in brief, not only ample knowledge, but systematised knowledge. In addition to the multifarious facts which have been collected and verified and then assorted into classes, we must be able to discover and verify some at least of

[1] See his *Literature and Dogma*. London, 1873. At pp. 88 f. (Popular Edition, 1886) this author ridicules M. Emile Burnouf's theory in terms of scathing severity.

[2] See *Die Aufgabe der theologischen Facultäten und die allgemeine Religionsgeschichte* ("The Task of the Theological Faculties and the General History of Religion"). P. 19. Berlin, 1901.

the *laws* which link these facts together, and which demonstrate that they are in reality integral parts of a coherent whole. The facts, of course, are simply indispensable: without them, one could not advance a single step. But the hinges of these facts, the invisible joints which unite them together, the fundamental principles which underlie them, are for the Expert quite as important as the facts themselves. Until, therefore, these hidden laws—or at least some of them—have been discovered, one is not warranted in affirming concerning any department of inquiry that it has successfully attained the standard of a Science.

A TENTATIVE BEGINNING.—It is quite plain, therefore, that no Science was ever launched upon its career fully equipped, and ready at once to enter upon its mission as the benefactor and enlightener of men. The fable of Minerva, who as the Goddess of Wisdom steps forth directly from the brow of Jove, finds no historical counterpart here. On the contrary, every Science is a growth. It advances slowly from stage to stage. Even in those few cases in which its progress has been relatively rapid, it has still had a chequered experience,—acquainted often with defeat, and occasionally with positive retrogression. Every Science *begins its career*, however,—as has been indicated already,[1] and as, in the very nature of the case, must always be true,—after the manner of a little child. At first, it simply exists; indeed, it is not fully aware, perhaps, even of that fact! By degrees, however, it enlarges the measure of its confidence. It begins at length to believe in itself. It continues to learn, adding little to little. To the very end—for its attainments are never absolutely complete—it increases the sum of its knowledge. In spite of its constant failures, it refuses to be permanently discouraged. It is after this manner that, by countless successive steps, every Science attains to that place of honour which it shows itself entitled to occupy; but its initial outlook (extending often over a considerable period) is

[1] Cp. page 5.

admittedly shadowy and uncertain, while the whole of its subsequent progress is at first merely experimental and provisional.

A Bird's-Eye View of a Science in its Gradual Development. — Were one, then, to attempt to give a sketch of the origin and growth of a Science, he must say that every such scheme of inquiry, at its commencement, is (*a*) *simply an accumulation of facts.* These data may be many or few, relevant or irrelevant, the fruits of severe research or the gathered results of very superficial observation; but they are the material upon which the student is invited to go to work. Then the procedure reaches that stage where (*b*) *it singles out, and places together, all such facts as are found to have something in common,*—thus creating a series of groups of facts, to each of which is given its appropriate label. Then the student seeks to discover (*c*) *a series of laws,* in virtue of which the grouping of isolated facts is not only made possible, but is seen to be essential to the interpretation and advancement of knowledge. And, lastly, the investigator strives to find out (*d*) *some great principle* which, lying behind these laws, explains their existence and predetermines their character.

Comparative Religion in its Expansion complies exactly with these successive Conditions.—When one attempts to vindicate the claim of Comparative Religion to be recognised as a separate and legitimate Science,—when one would defend its right to occupy an independent position, and to pursue a series of researches which lie within its own well-defined boundaries,—it is not difficult to demonstrate that it complies exactly with those conditions which have just been enumerated, and with which *every* alleged Science must conform if it would make good its demand for a patient and respectful hearing.

A Period of Inaction.—Of the genesis of Comparative Religion, and of the various circumstances (most unpromising) by which its beginning was embarrassed, a detailed account will be furnished in Chapter IV. Suffice it to say here,

that for many centuries after the commencement of the Christian era, there appeared no faintest indication of the advent of that Science whose career we propose to study. In those days, indeed, no one even dreamed of inaugurating serious and persistent investigations of this character. At the same time, the preparation for this Science, if not its actual beginning, can dimly be traced. A few thinkers—separated from each other by vast intervals, alike geographical, chronological, and constitutional—speculated, indeed, as to the possibility of there being different avenues by which man might draw near to God; but that was all! No systematic attempt was made to compare these surmises with the facts,—an undertaking which might either have confirmed current conjectures, or have considerably modified them, or have completely overturned them. As regards, however, the great majority of students in those early days, they never gave the matter thought. Few knew that there were more Religions than one; few knew, and practically none cared to know. When a race, owning allegiance to a deity different from that of its victors, happened to be worsted in war, it had to surrender its gods as well as its country: but the idea of deliberately *comparing* the Faith of a vanquished people (or even that of a neighbouring friendly power) with the Faith of one's own Fatherland would have been reckoned alike preposterous and blasphemous. It goes without saying, therefore, that in the age under review,—say from 1 A.D. to 1500 A.D.,—the Science of Comparative Religion was absolutely non-existent.

1. *Relevant facts are collected.*—But about the middle of the seventeenth century one begins to catch fore-gleams of a light which all can see to-day. The immense impetus lent to trade and commerce, secured through the opening up of new channels of communication between different parts of the globe, had led to the expansion of every kind of knowledge; and the beginning of acquaintance with Religions of various names—some of them hoary with age and embodying the fruits of profoundest wisdom, but until

then practically unknown—constituted at that day one of the world's surprises. It had never been imagined that a tithe of these Faiths existed! As men spoke occasionally of this unexpected discovery, they differed widely as to the estimates they reached touching the relative values of these various beliefs, as to the number of their respective adherents, as to the date and place of their origin, etc., etc. These questions, and others like them, were hardly as yet definitely raised; but the *fact* that there were many Religions in the world, and that they were influential forces which ought seriously to be reckoned with, could no longer be ignored. Nor is it singular that quite a number of precepts and proverbs, gathered patiently from many out-of-the-way quarters, began to be treasured and talked about by those who took the pains to collect them. In a few instances, no doubt, these precepts were, in a rough way, *compared* one with another; but not even yet was there anything which could for a moment claim to be accepted as a "Science" of Comparative Religion. Nevertheless the roots of the new discipline, unseen and unsuspected, had already begun to work their way down into a soil which was destined to welcome and nourish them.

2. *These facts are correlated.*—A considerable interval elapsed before that period arrived when the facts, thus casually collected, were deliberately correlated. And the reasons for this delay are obvious. (*a*) *Students of the History of Religions had to initiate the work,* and then to carry it forward to a certain stage, before the facts in question became available in sufficient quantity, or could be interpreted with sufficient confidence, to make a valid comparison of them possible. Copies of the Sacred Books of various peoples had to be discovered, deciphered, and distributed. But the study of the History of Religions, at that day, was only at its beginning! Moreover, there was a second reason why the correlation of the facts of Religion had to be postponed for a time; even after the necessary information had been provided, (*b*) *a method of comparison,*

at once competent and exhaustive, had to be devised and then judiciously applied. It was not, however, until a prolonged and diligent search had been prosecuted, that, at least in the great majority of cases, there was ultimately found the nexus—not visible at first, and possibly not even imagined, yet not beyond reach — which links many of the most divergent beliefs together. The investigator often felt morally certain that there existed some hidden bond which unified the various materials upon which he was at work, but he had to ascertain definitely what that bond was. For it was only in virtue of a discovered relationship in which the facts stood one to another that the expert was enabled at length to assort them into groups, to assign to each group its label or name, and thus to bring within the categories of a convenient classification *all* the facts— or, at any rate, the major portion of them — which had laboriously been collected. It will be noted that this procedure marks a long stride of advance beyond the mere accumulation of the multifarious but unrelated details of man's varying religious experience. It marks, moreover, an unquestioned advance in the direction of a "Science" of Comparative Religion.[1] But a vast amount of work still remained to be accomplished—an undertaking had still to be faced which proved to be much more difficult and delicate than either of those which have thus far been described— before the desired goal could be won.

3. *Certain Laws are discovered.* — Science invariably proceeds from particular instances to a general law; and the more general and comprehensive that law, the better. It is, indeed, the pre-eminent aim of "every science . . . to show the unity of law amid the multiplicity of the phenomena with which it has to deal: it has to gather up the many into one, or rather to show how the one has given rise to the many."[2] Accordingly, after certain facts of

[1] "To know a truth in its relation to other truths, is to know it scientifically."

[2] Allan Menzies, *History of Religion*, p. 3. London, 1895.

religious experience have been accumulated, and these facts have legitimately been correlated, the investigator in this domain seeks to advance a step further. He strives to discover traces of underlying *laws* which explain these subtle relationships, and which predetermine their own characteristic manifestations.

There is a sense in which every man's Religion is unique, separate, and *sui generis*. As it is certainly not identical with any other, so it is unlike every other. Certain factors enter into it which belong to the very texture of each man's inmost being. At the same time, in every man, Religion *in its essence* is one and the same thing. Exceedingly varied as may be the forms which it assumes,[1] it does not itself vary or undergo change. In a word, Religion underlies, and is answerable for, the various divergent Religions. Religion is the genus, of which the many Religions of the world are so many different species. Religion is the root of the tree, of which the multiplied Faiths of man are the larger or smaller branches. As soon as one has laid firm hold upon *this* fact, he discerns how a great number of other facts (seemingly isolated) are in truth most closely interrelated. For if all Religions maintain their union with a central religious principle, upon which they are alike dependent and which equally accounts for them all, then they are all of them necessarily related to one another.

The specific laws which govern the religious consciousness of man, and which operate so uniformly that their results can be predicted, cannot be dealt with here; for an inquiry of this character would lead the student not only far beyond the limits of the present treatise, but also beyond the boundaries of Comparative Religion itself. In a subsequent volume, when the domain of the Philosophy of Religion will be brought under review, this topic will be treated with the fulness it demands. It must suffice meanwhile to affirm that such laws have been discovered, and that they have stood the test of an ample verification. It

[1] Cp. pages 344–359.

is not denied that further discovery and verification of the fundamental impulses of Religion ought to be achieved, and achieved without undue delay; for all the principles of this new Science have not yet, by any means, been confidently determined. Yet, ever since Hegel's epoch-making announcements, it has repeatedly been shown that "there is an *order* in the growth of religious ideas,"[1] and that this development (however lengthy and complex) is *controlled* in its procedure. When preparing his Burnett Lectures, the late Professor Robertson Smith distinctly disclaimed that we possess as yet "the materials for anything like a complete comparative history of Semitic religions. . . . But a careful study and comparison of the various sources is sufficient to furnish a tolerably accurate view of a series of general features, which recur with striking uniformity in all parts of the Semitic field, and govern the evolution of faith and worship down to a late date."[2] The same remarks hold true of other equally distinctive types of Religion. Here, then, may be found a safe and scientific foundation upon which one may temporarily rest, and from which we may advance to such additional discoveries as await us in the future.[3]

4. *A Fundamental and Ultimate Principle.*—The claim of Comparative Religion to be reckoned among the Sciences might still further be fortified, if it were now shown that, back of those laws which have just been referred to, there exists in active operation a *great eternal principle*,—a principle which not only accounts for these laws, but which alone is sufficient to account for them. In this connection Professor Menzies declares that "the religions of the world have a vital connection with each other, and are manifestations in different ways of the same spirit."[4] Or take the following paragraphs, penned by the late

[1] For an illustration, see page 235.

[2] *The Religion of the Semites.* Edinburgh, 1889. [N. ed., revised throughout by the Author, London, 1894, p. 15.]

[3] See Appendix. Note III., page 487.

[4] *History of Religion*, p. 4.

Herbert Spencer: "The consciousness of an inscrutable power, manifested to us through all phenomena, must continually be freed from its imperfections. . . . The certainty that . . . such a power exists . . . is the certainty toward which intelligence has from the first been progressing. To this conclusion Science inevitably arrives as it reaches its confines, while to this conclusion Religion is irresistibly driven by criticism; and, satisfying as it does the demands of the most vigorous logic, at the same time that it gives the religious sentiment the widest possible sphere of action, it is the conclusion we are bound to accept without reserve or gratification. . . . In the midst of all the mysteries by which we are surrounded, nothing is more certain than that we are ever in the presence of an infinite and eternal energy, from whom all things proceed."[1] Many other quotations of like import, from other widely read publications, might easily be cited.[2] But again it must be observed that such proofs, however welcome, do not fall within the province of Comparative Religion: they belong rather to researches which occupy the attention of students of the Philosophy of Religion. "What is the *essence* of Religion?" is a question which can never become dormant in a mind that has once begotten and sheltered it; but concerning that inquiry Comparative Religion has no authority to announce or forestall the answer. Its particular function is fulfilled when it diligently *compares* the facts which a study of history supplies to it, in order that it may competently classify those facts, and bring to light the evidence that there are laws which influence and govern them.

A RÉSUMÉ OF THE ARGUMENT. — This claim, then, of Comparative Religion, viz., that it is entitled to be ranked among the Sciences, seems to have been amply established. First of all, (*a*) this study is based directly upon *verifiable facts*. (*b*) It devotes itself to ascertaining the hidden *corre-*

[1] *First Principles.* London, 1862. [6th ed., 1900, p. 121.]

[2] See Appendix. Note IV., page 489.

lation of these facts. (*c*) It proceeds to sketch *a code of laws*, based upon the observation and analysis and interpretation of these facts.[1] Thus an edifice of sound learning is gradually constructed,—and at points, from time to time, in the light of maturer knowledge, reconstructed,—until it visibly approximates completion. But these are the identical steps by which every other Science has proceeded to make good its demand to be accorded recognition. Hence it would appear that Comparative Religion is guilty of no rashness, and of no immodesty, if it asks to be treated with a seriousness which befits its essential character.[2] If "any department of systematised knowledge, considered as a distinct field of investigation,"[3] be held to be a valid definition of the term "Science," then the study with which we are presently concerned is abundantly entitled to be included within that category.

THE VERDICT OF SOME COMPETENT AUTHORITIES.—While most authorities pass the subject by in silence, and while some (either directly or by implication) reject the claim of Comparative Religion to be recognised as an independent Science, abundance of competent testimony can be produced in support of the contention which has been defended in this Chapter. Of course, such evidence can be culled only from the statements of recent writers, seeing that the introduction of Comparative Religion among the Sciences is an achievement of very recent date; but the verdict in question, since the time it was first reached, has been advanced with ever-increasing confidence, and with steadily widening acceptance. Thus the late PROFESSOR BURNOUF

[1] Cp. Emile Louis Burnouf, *La science des religions*, p. 5. Paris, 1872. [Translated, London, 1888.]

[2] Cp. John B. Bury, *The Science of History*. Cambridge, 1903. This Inaugural Lecture shows most conclusively that, since the beginning of the nineteenth century, history has ceased to be merely a branch of literature, and that to-day it does not fall short of the status of a genuine Science.

[3] Noah Webster, *International Dictionary, in loco.*

opens the first chapter of one of his books with the words: "The present century will not expire without having witnessed the entire and comprehensive establishment of a science, whose elements are at this moment still widely scattered,—a science unknown to preceding centuries and undefined, and which we for the first time now call the Science of Religions."[1] Another competent witness may be found in the late PROFESSOR TIELE. In a paper prepared by him, and read before the Parliament of Religions in Chicago in 1893, he repeatedly refers to his life-work as being an attempt to lend assistance to the evolution of a Science, — an attempt to advance an important line of inquiry towards its obvious goal, where it would become entitled openly to claim for itself an authority which as yet was by no means universally accorded to it. The title which Dr. Tiele chose for his notable *Gifford Lectures*, one of his latest publications, reveals unmistakably the opinion he entertained concerning the proper status of this study.[2] In that work he affirms that this department of inquiry "has now secured a permanent place among the various sciences of the human mind":[3] . . . "this science requires no further apology in appearing before you in full consciousness of its rights."[4] Again, the late PROFESSOR MAX MÜLLER, although Comparative Religion was a novel and not wholly welcome region of research in his day, declared emphatically his belief that it would eventually win high honour and be accorded the fullest recognition. In one passage he says: "It is as yet a promise rather than a fulfilment";[5] but he immediately adds: "That fulfilment is now only a question of time."[5] Later on in the same volume he does not hesitate to call Comparative Religion, in so many words, "a new Science."[6] The late PROFESSOR

[1] *La science des religions*, p. 1. The designation which M. Burnouf selected for this field of inquiry cannot successfully be defended. See remarks, page 25.

[2] *Elements of the Science of Religion.*

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 2.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 3.

[5] *Introduction to the Science of Religion*, p. 35.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 193.

ROBERTSON SMITH also, a man whose rare eminence as a scholar is only now beginning to be fully understood, must be cited in this connection. He speaks prophetically of "the Science of Comparative Religion";[1] and, by his own splendid contributions "towards a systematic comparison of the Religion of the Hebrews, as a whole, with the belief and ritual practices of the other Semitic peoples,"[1] he often reminds us of how much the world has lost through his too early and lamented decease. The late PROFESSOR FREEMAN CLARKE, too, may be added to those who are now being summoned as witnesses. In 1871, in one of his well-known works, he says of Comparative Religion: "It may be called a Science, since it consists in the study of the facts of human history, and their relation to each other. It does not dogmatise: it observes. It deals only with phenomena,—single phenomena, or facts; grouped phenomena, or laws."[2] But it is needless to cite further authorities; and it would demand more space than can be spared, if one were merely to mention the names of all those who might fitly be included in this honourable catalogue.

VARIOUS NAMES SUGGESTED FOR THIS SCIENCE.—It has been felt for some time that a single, short, and yet comprehensive term ought to be substituted for the rather cumbrous title "Comparative Religion,"—or, if one use the more exact phrase, "The Comparison of Religions." Hence a number of names, more or less suitable, have been suggested by representative leaders in this study.

1. HIEROLOGY.—Some scholars advocate warmly the employment of the term "Hierology."[3] At one time the late Professor Tiele adhered to this view;[4] and accordingly there are some standard Dictionaries—not all, by any

[1] *The Religion of the Semites.* [Ed. of 1894, p. vi.]

[2] *Ten Great Religions*, vol. i. p. 3. See also vol. ii. pp. 4–5. Cp. page 199.

[3] Mr. John M. Robertson supports this usage, and has entitled a recent volume, *Pagan Christs: Studies in Comparative Hierology.* London, 1903. See also his *Courses of Study*, pp. 4 and 29 ff. London, 1904.

[4] *Outlines of the History of Religion*, p. vii. London, 1877. [6th ed., 1896.]

means—which have added this word to their vocabularies, and which define it as "The scientific study and comparison of Religions."[1] It is beyond question that this definition describes in a general way the kind of work in which students of Comparative Religion are engaged; and yet it is felt that the occupation of such investigators is not sharply enough indicated by the Greek word ἱερός (*i.e.* "sacred"), or by the newly coined substantive "Hierology" (*i.e.* "a treatise on sacred things"). Besides, "Hierology," in the common usage of to-day, is generally applied to that Science which restricts itself to the writings (papyri, inscriptions, etc.) of the ancient Egyptians.

2. PISTOLOGY.—Another name that has tentatively been put forward is "Pistology." Its source is quite apparent (πίστις, *i.e.* "faith" or "belief"), and it possesses certainly the merit of compactness; nevertheless it has secured but few defenders, and it has clamoured in vain for admission into even the bulkiest of modern Dictionaries. It does not seem probable that it will ever be widely accepted.

3. THE SCIENCE OF RELIGIONS.—M. Burnouf has proffered the suggestion that the title "The Science of Religions" should be adopted.[2] Professor Tiele rejoined, in an authoritative criticism, that the name proposed was "unhappy."[3] This designation, however, has become current to a considerable extent: it may be met with, for example, in certain widely circulated literary and critical journals.[4] But two difficulties effectually bar its general acceptance, viz., (*a*) it is too vague and colourless in itself, and (*b*) it is liable to be confounded with "The Science of Religion," —a name which covers a much wider, and therefore a different, area.

[1] *Standard Dictionary*. Funk & Wagnalls, New York and London. The term seems to have been first accorded recognition by Webster's *Dictionary* in 1828.

[2] *La science des religions*, p. 1.

[3] *Outlines of the History of Religion*, p. vii.

[4] *E.g.*, *The Academy and Literature*, p. 345. London, March 29, 1902.

4. The Comparative Science of Religion.—In order to meet the objections just stated, the name "The Comparative Science of Religion" has gained much favour of late in several influential quarters.[1] But this selection, like its predecessors, leaves much to be desired. In the first place, the title is somewhat cumbersome. Moreover, it is clearly tautological; for the Science of Religion, however wide or narrow may be its scope, invariably and inevitably employs the instrument of comparison. And further, within the confines of the Science of Religion there lies a theological discipline which possesses distinctly defined boundaries of its own; and it is for this branch of study that we need, and must supply, a specific, short, and yet thoroughly distinctive name.

For reasons already enumerated, such kindred proposals as "The Science of Comparative Religions,"[2] "The Comparative History of Religions,"[3] "The Comparative History of Religion,"[4] etc., cannot successfully be defended.

[1] *E.g.*, the University of London; see its official *Calendar*. German scholars also, in so far as they have entered this field, generally follow the same usage; whilst the translation of Professor Max Müller's "Introduction to the Science of Religion" has been published under the title, *Einleitung in die vergleichende Religionswissenschaft*. Strassburg, 1874. If we re-translate these words, literally and grammatically—the German participle describing quite admirably the process which all investigators in this field must pursue—we are bound to render them, "Introduction to the *Comparing* Science of Religion." That is, a word has been added to the original title, and one which is not in harmony with English idiom. The fact is that, just as *Vergleichende Religionswissenschaft* has become a technical German phrase (everywhere current and perfectly understood, but not literally translatable into English), so "Comparative Religion" has come to be adopted as the corresponding technical phrase among English-speaking peoples. The two words of which it is made up possess, when placed together, a certain definite value; for, thus linked and inseparably united, they now constitute the formal name of that branch of the Science of Religion which secures its ultimate data by means of tentative comparisons. Cp. the English translations which have been given of the titles of sundry volumes mentioned in the footnotes of pages 454, 460, etc.

[2] James G. R. Forlong, *Short Studies in the Science of Comparative Religions*. London, 1897.

[3] James C. Moffat, *A Comparative History of Religions*. 2 vols. Philadelphia, 1871–73.

[4] John P. Peters, *Early Hebrew Story*, p. ix. New York, 1904.

5. COMPARATIVE THEOLOGY. — The late Professor Max Müller recommended the adoption of the title "Comparative Theology."[1] The same preference was indicated about the same time by Professor Freeman Clarke.[2] But it has repeatedly been pointed out that the designation in question would cover only a part of the field which has to be surveyed: it would seem to limit inquiry to the purely dogmatic teaching of the several Faiths that chanced to be compared. Religion, however, is not only different from dogma, but it reaches far beyond it. If one aim, therefore, at comparing Religions throughout the whole range of their contents,—and, for our present purpose, no more restricted ideal will suffice,—the name "Comparative Religion" is decidedly to be preferred to that of "Comparative Theology."[3] Comparative Theology, in truth, is only a department of Comparative Religion.

6. COMPARATIVE RELIGION.—It must be confessed, therefore, that scholars are still in search of a name which, within the compass of a single term, will commend itself as being an adequate designation for this progressive new Science. In the meantime the name which heads this paragraph is already extensively used, and it answers its purpose fairly well. Moreover, as the other subdivisions of the Science of Religion bear in each case a somewhat lengthy and descriptive title,[4] and as "Comparative Religion" was the name selected by Professor Tiele as being (on the whole) the best that was likely to be invented, that designation

[1] *Introduction to the Science of Religion*, p. 21.

[2] *Ten Great Religions*, vol. i. p. 3. Vol. ii. of this work is itself an admirable instance of Comparative Theology. It may be added that the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (10th ed.) follows the same line,—with this difference, however, that in many instances it expressly *limits* the scope of the term to a comparison of Doctrines.

[3] For a detailed comparison of Doctrines merely (viz., "the likeness of many aspects of pagan belief to those of Christianity"), see John Arnott Macculloch's *Comparative Theology*. London, 1902. This excellent book has been quite rightly named. See also William Williamson, *The Great Law: A Study of Religious Origins*. London, 1899.

[4] Cp. page 9.

seems to be the one that before long will universally prevail.[1]

[1] The Bodleian Library, Oxford, will soon be equipped with a very valuable Special Catalogue, for which it has selected the title, *The History, Biography, and Methodology of Comparative Religion.* Cp. page 402. Moreover, in G. K. Fortescue's invaluable *Subject Index of the Modern Works added to the Library of the British Museum in the Years 1881–1900* (3 vols., London, 1903), all books belonging to this field are brought under a single title, viz., "Comparative Religion."

CHAPTER II

ITS DISTINCTIVE METHOD

SYLLABUS.—The Comparative Method is widely and increasingly employed in many lines of Inquiry: p. 30. Instances of its use in various departments of Research: COMPARATIVE ANATOMY—COMPARATIVE PHILOLOGY—COMPARATIVE PSYCHOLOGY—COMPARATIVE LITERATURE—COMPARATIVE GEOGRAPHY—COMPARATIVE FORESTRY—COMPARATIVE ETHNOLOGY—COMPARATIVE HYGIENE—COMPARATIVE JURISPRUDENCE—COMPARATIVE ECONOMICS—COMPARATIVE CIVICS—COMPARATIVE POLITICS, etc.: pp. 30–51. Some Results already obtained by its help: pp. 51–58. The Comparative Method vindicated in the light of these multiplied Experiments: p. 58. Its Introduction into the domain of Religion: pp. 58–61.

LITERATURE.—The Method, about to be recommended and illustrated, will be found to be effectively applied in the following selected publications:—BOPP (Franz), *Vergleichende Grammatik der Sanskrit, Zend, Griechischen, Lateinischen, Litthanischen, Gothischen und Deutschen.* 3 vols. Berlin, 1833–52. [N. ed., 1857–61, including also Armenischen and Altslavischen; 3rd ed., 1867–71. Translated, London, 1845–50; 3rd ed., 1862.] MAX MÜLLER (Friedrich), *Lectures on the Science of Language.* 2 vols. London, 1861–64. [N. ed., 1885.] WUNDT (Wilhelm Max), *Vorlesungen über die Menschen- und Thierseele.* 2 vols. Leipzig, 1863. [Translated, London, 1894; 3rd ed., 1904.] SCHLEICHER (August), *Compendium der vergleichenden Grammatik der indo-germanischen Sprachen.* Weimar, 1861–62. [Translated, 3rd German ed., London, 1874–77.] WHITNEY (William Dwight), *The Life and Growth of Language.* New York, 1875. BRUGMANN (Karl) and DELBRÜCK (Berthold), *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der indo-germanischen Sprachen.* 5 vols. Strassburg, 1886–1900. [Translated, London, 1888–97.] RECLUS (Elie), *Les Primitifs: Études d'ethnologie comparée.* Paris, 1885. MACCULLOCH (John Arnott), *Comparative Theology.* London, 1902. BOURNE (Gilbert Charles), *An Introduction to the Study of the Comparative Anatomy of Animals.* 2 vols. London, 1900–02.

A METHOD WHICH IS WIDELY AND INCREASINGLY EMPLOYED IN MANY LINES OF INQUIRY.—The use of the Comparative Method is by no means restricted to the promotion of research in Comparative Religion. On the contrary,—while the genius of Comparative Religion demands its application, and whilst the advantages of utilising it within this domain will be directly and repeatedly illustrated in the course of the present Chapter,—attention must be directed to the fact that this method is to-day *very extensively* employed, and seems to be winning for itself universal commendation. Within recent years, indeed, "this mode of applying logical principles to the discovery, confirmation, and elucidation of truth"[1] has come into quite general use; and at the present moment it is demonstrating its serviceableness in more than a score of the most progressive scientific inquiries. Hence we are now confronted by a whole group of studies which are ordinarily denominated THE COMPARATIVE SCIENCES. These include Comparative Philology, Comparative Physiology, Comparative Ethnology, and so on, through a steadily enlarging series. All these various lines of investigation are legitimate "Sciences," in so far as they comply with those requirements which are essential to the building up of any and every Science;[2] and they are respectively designated "Comparative," because they "aim to study and expound those fundamental laws of relation which, in common, pervade them all."[3]

INSTANCES OF THE USE OF THIS METHOD IN VARIOUS DEPARTMENTS OF RESEARCH.—It will be shown in a subsequent Chapter,[4] that, so far as Comparative Religion is concerned, the introduction of the comparative method may be traced to its employment, more than half a century earlier, by the founders of the Science of Comparative

[1] Cp. *Standard Dictionary*, definition of "Method."

[2] Cp. pages 13 f.

[3] Cp. Webster, *International Dictionary*, definition of "Comparative Sciences."

[4] Cp. page 116.

Philology. But, fully a hundred years before the latter Science had been heard of, the method in question had tentatively made its appearance, and had begun to assert and vindicate its authority.

1. COMPARATIVE ANATOMY.—This Science has been defined as that branch of Anatomy "which compares the structure of man with that of the inferior animals, and also that of the several classes . . . of the animal kingdom among each other. . . . The knowledge thus acquired is then used for purposes of classification, and for the study of development."[1] By means of this new Science, the relative utility of the various organs found in animals of differing or similar types, has been sought for and discovered. The relation of the structure of higher organisms to that which belongs to the inferior orders has been traced with painstaking minuteness; the points of likeness and unlikeness have been noted and registered; and the superiority of the structure of man has been scientifically demonstrated. Moreover, our conception of man's place in the material universe has, through this study, been distinctly elevated. We have found, indeed, that he has more in common with the animal world than we at first supposed; but we have found also that, in certain respects, he has been set far above it.[2] "Every animal appears to be a far-off prophecy of man, yet how vast is the abyss between!"[3]

This study, though taught to-day by the occupants of special Chairs in every Medical School of adequate standing, is of comparatively recent origin. Its beginning may be attributed perhaps to Cuvier,[4] who, however, con-

[1] Cassell's *Encyclopædic Dictionary*, *in loco*.

[2] Cp. page 36.

[3] Macculloch, *Comparative Theology*, p. 11.

[4] Professor of Comparative Anatomy, Paris. See his *Leçons d'anatomie comparée*. 2 vols. Paris, 1799. [2nd ed., revised and enlarged, 8 vols., Paris, 1835–46. 1st ed. was translated, 2 vols., London, 1802.] See also his *Le règne animal, distribué d'après son organisation*. Paris, 1817. [Translated, 4 vols., London, 1834.]

fined his researches to Animal anatomy. This famous Naturalist, moreover, was the first to draw attention to the scientific study of the fossil remains of animals, and to prove that, even in cases where he had been able to secure only very imperfect evidences of animal life in some prehistoric period, he could very accurately reconstruct the form of extinct species. But to such perfection has the science been brought, that to-day one can speak with confidence concerning the local habitation, the general appearance, the contour, the disposition, the food, etc., of an animal of which he may have discovered only some bone, or tooth, or other trifling fragment.[1] More than a century, however, prior to Cuvier, and before the present development of the science had been even dreamed of, a glimpse was caught of what was surely awaiting the enlarging world of scholarship; for it was during that early period that Nehemiah Grew's well-known treatise on Vegetable anatomy was issued from the press.[2] A century later, but still in the day of beginnings merely, we have Dr. John Gregory's historic book, wherein Comparative Anatomy was dealt with carefully and boldly, and with much quick-sighted discrimination.[3] The employment of this new method, therefore, found one of its *earliest* applications in connection with the scientific study of Anatomy.[4]

[1] Take, as suggestive illustrations, the skull and thigh-bone which were dug up in Lansing, Kansas, in 1902; and the remains of a Siberian rhinoceros which were unearthed in Fleet Street, London, in 1903.

[2] *Comparative Anatomy of the Trunks of Plants.* London, 1675.

[3] *Comparative View of the State and Faculties of Man with those of the Animal World.* London, 1765.

[4] As specimens of more modern treatises, take F. Jeffrey Bell, *Manual of Comparative Anatomy and Physiology.* London, 1885. E. O. Schmidt, *Lehrbuch der vergleichenden Anatomie* ("Handbook of Comparative Anatomy"). Jena, 1849. [10th ed., 1888.] Edwin Ray Lankester, *A Treatise on Zoology.* 10 vols. London, 1900– . [*In progress.*] Anton de Bary, *Anatomie der Vegetations-organe der gefässführenden Pflanzen bei den Phanerogamen und Farnen.* Leipzig, 1877. [Translated as "Comparative Anatomy of the Vegetable Organs of the Phanerogams and Ferns." Oxford, 1884.] Gilbert Charles Bourne, *An Introduction to the Study of the Comparative Anatomy of Animals.*

2. COMPARATIVE PHILOLOGY.—The Science which deserves to stand first on this list—not chronologically, indeed,[1] but as regards the direct influence which it exerted upon the genesis of Comparative Religion—was, beyond all question, Comparative Philology. This department of research originated in Germany, where Bopp will ever be remembered as one of its earliest masters; but French students cultivated it from the outset with distinguished success. The origin of its now familiar designation is uncertain. It has been thus defined: "The study of Languages, as carried on by the Comparative Method,—their history, relationships, and characteristics, within narrower or wider limits."[2] Here the expert busies himself with an exact comparison of words; and everyone who is acquainted with the nature, history, and gradual development of human speech is aware of the immense debt which scholarship owes to these patient and ingenious investigations.[3] Incidentally, they have thrown a flood of light upon the growth of many religious opinions and customs, which at different periods and in different measures have very strongly affected our race. All the more, therefore, is it to be regretted that some teachers (notably the late Professor Max Müller) have, in this connection, considerably over-estimated the value of purely philological studies. Some have even gone so far as to maintain that the disclosures of Comparative Philology are capable of solving completely the most complex religious problems. Such a position cannot successfully be defended, as will be made evident in a subsequent Chapter.[4]

3. COMPARATIVE GRAMMAR.—Akin to the last-mentioned study stands Comparative Grammar, which takes account

[1] It dates only from 1784.

[2] *The Century Dictionary, in loco.*

[3] See Max Müller, *Lectures on the Science of Language.* Whitney, *The Life and Growth of Language.* Archibald Henry Sayce, *The Principles of Comparative Philology.* London, 1874. Chairs—and, in a few cases, even Departments—of Comparative Philology are now to be found in the larger Universities.

[4] See pages 172–173. See also Appendix. Note XXVII., page 554.

of "the resemblances and differences of the various languages of the world, classifying them into families and minor groups in accordance with their greater or less affinities."[1] This definition is quoted because it comes from a widely authoritative source, but it can hardly be held to be fully satisfactory; for it does not discriminate sufficiently between Comparative Philology and Comparative Grammar. The two disciplines are not identical, though the names by which they are known are often used as if they were interchangeable terms. Even Professor Max Müller drew no sharp line of distinction between them. A more cogent definition of Comparative Grammar, therefore, is the following: "A discipline which concerns itself with the grammatical treatment of a number of languages, comparing their phenomena in order to derive knowledge of their relations and history, or to deduce general principles of language."[2] Grammar has to do not merely with the use of words, but emphatically with correctness and accuracy in their use, whether in written or spoken form. Herein a genuine field of comparison between different languages is unquestionably opened up; and it is into this field that Comparative Grammar has most usefully entered. In its range, moreover, it must not be unduly limited. It may be either narrow or broad, as regards its application; for it may cover one language only,[3] or a group of related languages.[4] And to the same general division belongs COMPARATIVE SYNTAX,[5] which, as a subdivision of Grammar, concerns itself with "the construction of sentences,"[6] and the correct combination of "words, in conformity with the

[1] *The Imperial Dictionary, in loco.*

[2] *The Century Dictionary, in loco.*

[3] Cp. Francis A. March, *Comparative Grammar of the Anglo-Saxon Language.* New York, 1871. Or, Robert Caldwell, *Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South-Indian Family of Languages.* London, 1875.

[4] Cp. Brugmann and Delbrück, *Grundriss d. vergleichenden Gramm. d. indo-german. Sprachen* ("Elements of the Comparative Grammar of the Indo-Germanic Languages").

[5] See volumes iii.–v. of the Brugmann and Delbrück work, just referred to.

[6] *The Standard Dictionary, in loco.*

rules or laws of any given language."[1] In this respect, likewise, much may be learned through the competent comparison of a number of selected idioms.

4. COMPARATIVE EDUCATION.—In the field of practical education, no method of inquiry has proved more fruitful of wise suggestions than the one which is now under consideration. PEDAGOGY is a Science; and it must needs be studied with strictest adherence to scientific procedure, if it is to be advanced to its rightful and attainable standard. Hence many have greeted with an expectant welcome a book, recently published, of which a British Inspector of Schools is the author.[2] It is, moreover, a matter of supreme interest that in China, where the newly adopted Education Law came into force in September 1902, the questions which were set in the examinations of that year, throughout the Empire, had reference for the first time to the progress of Western learning. Remarkable in particular was the query: "Compare the education of China and the West: state wherein the national dispositions and manners of these parts are alike, and wherein they differ; and distinguish between things that would be for us injurious, and those that would be profitable. . . . For, with the knowledge thus gained, we ought to fix the main lines of our educational policy." It is evident that China, smarting under the reverses that followed upon the recent Boxer troubles, is taking a very practical interest to-day in Comparative Education. In eleven out of its eighteen Provinces, Colleges representative of Western methods and training have already been founded.[3]

5. COMPARATIVE PHILOSOPHY.—Although new as regards its name, this branch of comparative science has been practised and highly esteemed for more than a thousand years. The different systems of thought, which, in different ages,

[1] *The Standard Dictionary, in loco.*

[2] Robert Edward Hughes, *The Making of Citizens: A Study in Comparative Education.* London, 1902.

[3] Instruction in the *Theory, History, and Practice of Education* is now offered in all the leading European and American Universities.

have claimed to present to man an ultimate explanation of the universe, have always been subjected to criticism,—which is but another way of saying that they have always been deliberately compared one with another, for the purpose of ascertaining the particulars in which each was inferior or superior to the rest. As the ages have rolled on, and as these various systems have multiplied, the area of comparison has steadily widened, and the study has now become complex and sometimes bewildering; but the process pursued, whatever the measure of its constantly increasing thoroughness, has been unvaryingly the same. In this way great principles of human thought have gradually been discovered, principles by which all progressive thinking to-day is admittedly governed.

6. COMPARATIVE PSYCHOLOGY.—Here we reach a Science which is new in fact as well as in name. Yet its importance—and, in particular, its importance as regards Comparative Religion[1]—can scarcely be over-estimated. It has been defined as "The study of mental phenomena in different kinds of animals, including man."[2] It seeks to ascertain, describe, and compare the nature of such phenomena, whether found in the brute or in the human creation. The result has been a demonstration of the fact that there is no such absolute distinction between man and the lower animals as used universally to be believed, and yet that the distinction which does exist is real and definitive.[3] The animals, though guided ordinarily by instinct, are found to have more in common with man's mental equipment than scholars formerly supposed; and yet—in the scope of human reason, in the quality of human affection, in the power of the human will, and in the exercise of a religious instinct—man is shown to rise immeasurably above them all.[4]

[1] See pages 282 f.

[2] *The Century Dictionary, in loco.*

[3] Cp. page 31.

[4] Cp. Leonard Trelawney Hobhouse, *Mind in Evolution.* London and New York, 1901. Wundt, *Lectures on Human and Animal Psychology.* London, 1894. [3rd ed., 1904.] C. Lloyd Morgan, *Introduction to Comparative Psychology.* London, 1894.

7. COMPARATIVE LITERATURE. — By scholars in Great Britain, this study has thus far been prosecuted only within very narrow limits; but France has done much excellent work in this department, while Germany and (still more) the United States are making a higher and more honourable record with each succeeding year. The investigations which have been completed, though restricted in their range, have yielded the most promising results. The use of the comparative method in this connection has, in many instances, carried us back to the formative sources of the great literatures of the world,—sources which had either been wholly forgotten, or of the abiding potency of whose influence men had failed to take sufficient account.[1] Fuller reference to this fact will be made in a subsequent part of this Chapter.[2]

8. COMPARATIVE HISTORY.—It is still a disputed question whether or no we may hope to construct ultimately a Philosophy of History, but the employment of the comparative method of late has distinctly depressed the scale in the affirmative direction. The real student of History is striving after something much more than an accurately dated record of the world's great events; he is seeking rather to penetrate to the silent springs of action,—the hidden relationships of things which, when viewed superficially, betray often no faintest indication of their actual and potent connection. He is searching, in truth, for causes,—for the forces which so often successfully secrete themselves,—that he may be able to interpret aright those important national incidents which have influenced, still

[1] See Hutcheson Macaulay Posnett, *Comparative Literature*. London, 1886. John Garrett Underhill, *Spanish Literature in the England of the Tudors*. New York, 1899. Martin Hume, *Spanish Influence on English Literature*. London, 1905. Frédéric Loliée, *Histoire des littératures comparées des origines au xx^e siècle*. Paris, 1903. [8th ed., 1904. Translated, London, 1905.] See also *The Journal of Comparative Literature*, issued quarterly. New York, 1903– . [*In progress*]; and *Studies in Comparative Literature*, issued in successive volumes at intervals by Columbia University. New York, 1899– . [*In progress.*]

[2] See page 56.

influence, and must continue to influence, the race.[1] Suppose one were able to construct a complete and absolutely accurate Chart of History,[2]—in order to assist thereby the investigations of the student of COMPARATIVE CHRONOLOGY.[3] Suppose that the record of each country, as registered upon the Chart, could be so condensed as to be contained on a reasonably small sheet of cardboard. Suppose, further, that these sheets, tapering towards one end, were then fastened together at the narrower extremity by a transfixing rivet; also, that spaces of equal width, marked by circles (described from the same centre but of regularly increasing radius) traversing each sheet, were used to indicate the boundaries of the various successive Centuries. It is plain that, in this way, the events occurring *simultaneously* or *successively*, in any two or more countries, could instantly be laid side by side; and a comparison—frequently very suggestive, and sometimes interpretive—could at once be instituted. But the scientific instinct, unwearied in its search, penetrates far beneath the mere surface of things. Certainly, if it be true that History is "Philosophy teaching by examples," we should strive to make our way down, and to push our way back, to that philosophy,—in order that, gratefully accepting its guidance, we might thereafter conform our conduct to the lessons which it teaches.

[1] See John B. Bury, *The Science of History*. Cambridge, 1903.

[2] Take, as a useful illustration, James M. Ludlow's *Concentric Chart of History*. New York, 1885.

[3] Biblical Chronology, to cite an illustration from a very important department of Chronology, was accustomed until recently to date the Creation from 4004 B.C. But Dr. Ray Lankester is of opinion that probably 150,000 years have elapsed since the Fleet Street rhinoceros, referred to in a footnote on page 32, could have been alive! The actual date of the world's "beginning" is steadily receding as scientific knowledge advances. Professor Joly, of the University of Dublin, recently calculated that the earth's age must be at least 90,000,000 years. Already it is believed by some authorities that the estimate was not only too low, but that it ought to have been fully four times greater. See William Palmer, *Egyptian Chronicles*. 2 vols. London, 1861. Cp. also page 412. The difficulty of reconciling the statements contained in the Hebrew and Septuagint texts of the Old Testament is well known. Cp. Driver, *The Book of Genesis*, pp. xxv.–xxxi. and 79. London, 1904.

9. COMPARATIVE GEOGRAPHY.—There is a philosophy, lying beyond the mere details of Geography, which the employment of the comparative method has happily brought out into distinct relief. It is painful to think how often teachers in this department succeed only in dissipating—or, at any rate, in dwarfing and diminishing—a child's inherent curiosity touching this study. Geography, as imparted by books, ought never to be reduced to a dry catalogue of mountains, rivers, seas, etc., when it might easily be made one of the most fascinating of intellectual exercises. There is much more to be achieved by the pupil than the scrutiny and manufacture of maps,—work which, however excellent in itself, belongs only to the fringe of the subject. There is a Science of Geography, just as there is a Science of Pedagogy; and those who study it ought to be so educated as to make them perceive clearly this truth. It is fully time that, comparing the various conformations of the earth,—its heights, its valleys, its watersheds, its streams, its various zones; in a word, its duplications and its differences,—our children should be made acquainted with "the principles which have regulated the distribution of animals and plants on the surface of the globe. . . . The story of the Eastern Archipelago, for instance,—if viewed as the remains of a smashed-up area, with the history of 'Wallace's Line' running through the Straits of Lombok, and separating the Australian region (with its pouched animals) from the Indian area (with its very different forms),—would be a veritable revelation"[1] to most young people, few of whom at present are taught to regard this study in this living and interesting way. Yet it is beyond denial that the special contour of the earth's surface predetermines, in many respects, the history, the character, the influence, the pursuits, of the people who chance to inhabit it. Let certain facts be granted, and immediately much of the history of a non-migrating race can unerringly be predicted. For example, the great mountain ranges of the Alps have had

[1] Anonymous.

more to do with giving shape and stability to important political interests in Europe than all the wit of man has ever sufficed to achieve! In short, Geography is a physical Science; and it must hereafter be studied, more and more, in accordance with scientific methods.[1]

10. COMPARATIVE ANTIQUITIES.—In an age when the unearthing of antiquities has become one of its most distinguishing features, it is not singular that the comparative method of research should here have been eagerly invoked and most effectively utilised. On the contrary, nothing could be more natural than the desire to trace the identity or difference found to exist between (say) Græco-Roman remains excavated on the site of ancient Egyptian cities, and similar remains excavated elsewhere. This particular illustration, selected quite at random, suggests sufficiently the exceedingly wide range within which the institution of comparisons may be employed, and turned to immense practical account, in connection with the study of Antiquities.[2]

11. COMPARATIVE ART.—An entirely new impulse, within recent years, has made itself felt among students of art; and it is largely from a more intelligent use of the comparative method of inquiry that this impulse has sprung. Art, in its various branches,—whether in Sculpture, Painting, Music, etc.,—has long employed comparison as an instrument for determining the measure of its gradual growth or retrogression; but it is eager rather to-day, through a more

[1] The magnificent work which Professor F. F. von Richthofen is conducting for the University of Berlin, in the department of Comparative Geography, is well known. [See his *Aufgaben und Methoden der heutigen Geographie* ("Problems and Methods of Modern Geography"). Berlin, 1886.] The University of Oxford also is to be commended for its School of Geography, opened in 1899, and in which the principles of this study are adequately inculcated. There is a staff of six instructors, viz., a reader, four lecturers, and a teacher of map-drawing. There is also a working laboratory. See *The Geographical Journal* (London, 1893– . [*In progress*]), published monthly by the Royal Geographical Society: also, *The Geographical Teacher*, begun in 1901, and issued quarterly by the London Geographical Institute.

[2] Cp. pages 273 f.

severe application of this rule, to reach and lay hold of certain underlying and fundamental principles. And so, by degrees, it has been proved that there exists "a real connection between all the methods, from the rudest to the highest, by which the divine idea in the artist's mind has endeavoured to clothe itself in form. The rude scratches made by cave-men on a stone, or on a deer-horn, may seem to have little in common with the glorious conceptions which a Raphael or a Turner transferred to the glowing canvas. In reality, however, they but stand at different ends of a long series, and have much in common, as may be seen by setting examples from different stages of artistic work between them."[1] How much may be learned about those impulses,—diverse yet not wholly unlike, which have their birth and dwelling in man's breast,—as one scrutinises with care the productions of the vast artistic world! Reference has already been made to Painting; but, in every domain of art, the same remark holds true. In Music, compare and contrast the operas of Italy, France, and Germany. Or, in the Drama, compare and contrast the creations of Shakespeare with those of the foremost playwrights of to-day, whether British or Continental. As before, this comparison must penetrate sufficiently far to reach and reveal determinative facts and principles; but assuredly it never undertakes this quest, and pursues it honestly and patiently, without securing rich reward.

12. Comparative Architecture.—Suppose we limit our survey exclusively, for the moment, to (A) *Church Architecture.* We soon discover that we are confronted by four outstanding types, whose beginnings may approximately be associated with specific dates: (*a*) *The Basilic Order*—an oblong building, with one of its ends rounded, 300 A.D. (*b*) *The Byzantine Order*—a building reared in the form of the Cross (either Greek, *i.e.* with four equal arms; or Latin, *i.e.* with arms of unequal length), and with a dome rising over the point of intersection, 600 A.D. (*c*) *The Romanesque*

[1] Macculloch, *Comparative Theology*, p. 11.

Order—a building which employed everywhere the round arch, 900 A.D. (*d*) *The Gothic Order*—a building which substituted the pointed arch for the earlier rounded one, 1200 A.D. No one can trace the genesis and motive of these successive changes, as the student of Comparative Architecture is compelled to trace them, without his becoming speedily a more expert craftsman and also a profounder student of Church History as well. Or suppose that, in our endeavour to penetrate to the philosophy of this art, we institute a comparison between (B) *Mediæval and Renaissance Architecture*. Well, here again we come upon the pressure of some necessity, the embodiment of some lofty ideal, the evolution of some authentic or unauthentic tradition, which serves as the hidden embryo of an entirely new type, and the unsuspected mainspring of an entirely new movement in architectonics. In like manner, one might compare (C) *Classical and Mediæval Architecture*, (D) *Mediæval and Modern Architecture*, etc., etc.[1]

13. COMPARATIVE AGRICULTURE.—Here we have to deal with an industry which, when prosecuted under wisely contrived conditions, becomes a veritable Science. How best to prepare the soil for a particular crop, how best to distribute that crop over a given area, how best to lay out the ground, what fertilisers to employ, how to procure and utilise these fertilisers with the greatest economy, what machinery to introduce,—all these questions are, for the progressive farmer, problems of the very first importance. In our day, theoretic Agriculture deliberately undertakes to answer these questions; and one of the very best means of securing and testing the solutions which it offers, lies in a conscientious application of the comparative method. We put to ourselves the query: What would agriculturists in other countries do under certain definite circumstances? What, for example, would Germany advise, or France, or Canada, or Russia? The information required is carefully

[1] See Banister Fletcher, *A History of Architecture on the Comparative Method*. London, 1896. [5th ed., revised and enlarged, 1904.]

collected and tabulated, and is thus made accessible to those who may chance to need it. It is in this way that experience is made to teach us; and the wider the area from which that experience is gathered, the better.

14. COMPARATIVE FORESTRY.—Akin to the study just mentioned, yet deserving of treatment by itself, stands the immense new field of Comparative Forestry. All are aware that, for a very long time, Germany has paid scrupulous attention to protecting and developing the wealth of its woodlands. A special department of the Government has been charged with the oversight of this matter; every tree is known and separately numbered, a new tree must be planted for every one that dies or is cut down, and a large *corps* of Forestry Police are constantly patrolling the public reserves, to ensure that the laws on the statute book shall be scrupulously carried into effect. All this activity, however, is the result, not so much of a response to local necessities, as of an extended comparative study of a complex and weighty problem. As the outcome of protracted investigation, it has been found that about twenty-five per cent. of the total area of a district requires to be wooded, if the needs of shelter, water supply, etc., are to be adequately met. While in some regions, therefore, the timber limits may be reduced without disadvantage to the neighbouring country, in other localities such a course would be certain to be followed by very serious consequences. In a word, it has finally been ordered that every German forest shall be entirely renewed within the period of a hundred years,—a certain number of the trees being removed—especially such as are very old, or blighted or damaged—within definitely limited periods. As already stated, new trees are promptly planted in the places vacated by the earlier ones, and thus the forests are easily maintained at their present normal size.[1]

[1] Of course, this scheme can be applied more successfully in Germany than in countries where the control of the Government in this connection is less absolute. Take the case of Canada, for example. But the German ideal is unquestionably the right one, and it can gradually be approximated elsewhere by the passing of suitable legislation. See page 54.

15. COMPARATIVE STATISTICS.—The collecting of Statistics, to whatsoever sphere it may be confined, serves always some direct and immediate end; but it is only when these returns are made to cover some world-area, and where factors of difference as well as of agreement are deliberately introduced, that the investigator finds himself in contact with essential and ultimate principles. The janitor who counts the attendance at the weekly meeting of some Exchange, and the actuary who calculates the risks undertaken by a Life Insurance Company, illustrate the difference which separates mere Statistics from Comparative Statistics. The one quest represents a very rudimentary task, even though the fact of comparison is inseparably associated with it; the other busies itself with the elements of a Science. The theme of inquiry may be narrowed down within very compressed limits;[1] but the procedure, the prime motive of it, and the character of the results when scientifically obtained, remain under all circumstances the same.[2]

16. COMPARATIVE ETHNOLOGY.—Ethnology, like Sociology, is essentially comparative, and can scarcely be studied at all without some attempt to register the agreements and unlikenesses which unify and differentiate the various races of mankind; but, equally with Sociology, it has passed into a distinctly more scientific phase within the last half century. The number of volumes belonging to this department, recently issued from the press, is one of the best proofs of that profound interest which it has increasingly awakened.[3] Or, take the domain of FOLKLORE, which is an important branch of Ethnology; can it be said that there is any section of recent research which has attracted to itself more per-

[1] *E.g.*, Economic Statistics, Vital Statistics, Social Statistics, etc. See Enrico Morselli, *Suicide: An Essay on Comparative Moral Statistics.* London, 1881. Or take the discussion of such a question as the following: "What are the comparative reserves of the leading Life Assurance Companies; and are these reserves likely in all cases to be adequate?"

[2] See Richmond Mayo-Smith, *Statistics and Sociology.* New York, 1895.

[3] See Reclus, *Primitive Folk: Studies in Comparative Ethnology.* London, 1891. Cp. also pages 305 f.

sistent or enthusiastic devotees?[1] A considerable portion of this work, hitherto accomplished, has admittedly been slight and over-eager;[2] but more experienced and sober leaders are already rising into view. This field is likely to be fruitful in advantageous and abundant results; and there is reason to believe that important achievements will be registered in the now not distant future.

17. COMPARATIVE MYTHOLOGY.—Mythology is akin to Folklore, but the two must never be confounded. Chronologically considered, the one lies in advance of the other. Folklore concerns itself with the customs and beliefs of unlettered groups of men, whereas Mythology presupposes the attainment of a certain standard of civilisation. Thus we speak of the Folklore of Northern Japan, but of the Mythology of Greece. Much Folklore is destined to pass into Mythology; nevertheless, for that interesting consummation it must patiently wait. Within recent years, however, much impelled on its career by the late Professor Max Müller, the study of Comparative Mythology has claimed a growingly important place for itself.[3] But to this matter reference will be made, and with some fulness of detail, in a subsequent Chapter.[4]

18. COMPARATIVE SOCIOLOGY.—Sociology has been described as "the science of the evolution and constitution of human society."[5] Of late this inquiry has broadened in its sweep, as the opportunity for studying the manners of hitherto remote peoples has been brought within the reach of almost every one.[6] It has long been believed that, in his social relationships, man is as much the subject of real constraint as when he perforce yields obedience to the law of gravitation. There is this difference, of course, that

[1] See David Nutt's publications: especially his *Popular Studies in Mythology, Romance, and Folklore*. 2 series. London, 1901– . [*In progress.*]

[2] See Appendix. Note XXIX., pages 556–557.

[3] See also George W. Cox, *Introduction to the Science of Comparative Mythology and Folklore*. London, 1881.

[4] See pages 295 f.

[5] Cassell's *Encyclopædic Dictionary*, *in loco*.

[6] Cp. pages 320–321.

while, in the former case, obedience is largely optional, in the latter instance it is rigid and compulsory; but the persistent operation of certain supreme social laws has within late years very seldom been denied. It was M. Auguste Comte who first attempted a thorough analysis of the phenomena of the social domain, and it was his conviction that he had been able to include the whole of these phenomena under his Law of the Three Stages. With painstaking ingenuity he sought to make it clear that man moves upward through the theological, the metaphysical, and the positive periods in his experience, and that all men must pass through the grades of this gradually ascending development.[1] This theory has been very vigorously combated; but whether or not we accept it, it serves admirably to indicate a tendency which manifests itself quite frequently among modern students.[2]

19. COMPARATIVE HYGIENE.—The laws of public health constitute a domain of supreme concern, as regards the welfare of every municipality. The violation of these laws is perhaps as often due to mere carelessness as to ignorance, but the consequences are equally disastrous: not only the individual citizen, but often the whole community, is involved in needless anxiety, and (it may be) in much needless suffering. It has been admitted of late, even among the most highly trained Experts, that a more comprehensive knowledge of the laws of health should be secured at all costs; and, accordingly, important international Commissions have been appointed to investigate

[1] See his *Système de politique positive, ou traité de sociologie, instituant la religion de l'humanité.* 4 vols. Paris, 1851–54.

[2] As instances of the study of Sociological laws in operation within a single domain, take William Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia.* Cambridge, 1885. [New and enlarged ed., 1903.] Edward A. Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage.* London, 1891. Ernest Crawley, *The Mystic Rose.* London, 1902. George E. Howard, *A History of Matrimonial Institutions.* 3 vols. Chicago, 1904. "The Comparative Study of Social Institutions" has already been made an organised department of research at the University of London, and also elsewhere. Cp. page 320.

the causes, and to suggest the best means of prevention, of certain widespread forms of disease. In this way reliable statistics have been compiled, the researches of Specialists have been promoted, and many dreaded types of those maladies by which man is afflicted have now been brought under prompt and effective control. The prominent leaders of Medical Science, in the various countries of the world, have cheerfully combined their forces against the common foe; and certain forms of plague, once dangerously prevalent, have now practically been eradicated.[1]

20. COMPARATIVE PHYSIOLOGY.—A formal definition of this study may be given in the following terms: "That science which brings together, in a scientific form, the phenomena which normally present themselves during the existence of living things, and classifies and compares them in such a manner as to deduce from them those general laws or principles which express the condition of their occurrences, and investigates the causes to which they are attributable."[2] The immense gain secured through the introduction of the comparative method in this particular connection is so patent, and is so universally conceded, that any elaboration of its utility is uncalled for. As in previous instances, the application of the method may be deliberately limited,[3] or it may be given the widest possible range.[4]

21. COMPARATIVE ZOOLOGY.—Here the investigator has to deal with "a comparison of the anatomy and physique of all animals, existing or extinct."[5] This study is not really distinguishable to-day from Comparative Anatomy, to which

[1] Cp. page 53.

[2] Cassell, *Encyclopædic Dictionary, in loco.*

[3] See Jacques Loeb, *Comparative Physiology of the Brain and Comparative Psychology.* New York, 1900.

[4] See Armand de Quatrefages, *Physiologie comparée: Metamorphosés de l'homme et des animaux.* Paris, 1862. Or, Arthur B. Griffiths, *Comparative Physiology.* London, 1891.

[5] See James Orton, *Comparative Zoology.* New York, 1876. For a more recent edition of this work, revised and rearranged, see Charles Wright Dodge, *General Zoölogy: Practical, Systematic, and Comparative.* New York, 1903.

brief reference has already been made.[1] Until the latter half of the nineteenth century, the term "Zoology"—which, strictly speaking, includes "Anatomy," as both in turn are embraced under "Biology"—was used to designate the study of Animals as differentiated from the study of Plants; and the science represented by that term was expressly held to have no responsibility for investigating the *inner structure* of the Animal world. It was said that while Anatomy invariably pursued its investigations with the aid of a scalpel, Zoology reached its conclusions by means of the various aids supplied by external observation. But although Anatomy and Zoology may have grown up apart from each other, and although each unquestionably had a separate and independent existence at the outset, there is no longer any reason for emphasising their differences too sharply. As a matter of fact, these two branches of study are now pursued simultaneously by students of Comparative Anatomy.

22. COMPARATIVE JURISPRUDENCE.—Another domain into which the comparative method has lately been introduced, and in which it has been utilised with the very greatest advantage, is that of Law and Legislation. Jurisprudence attempts to expound the Science of Law. It is often defined as "The Philosophy of positive law, and its administration."[2] But in order to reach and to lay firm hold upon that philosophy, there must be the widest possible generalisation; and, to this end, the employment of the comparative method is simply indispensable. Hence we are led on to Comparative Jurisprudence, which has been well defined as follows: "Comparative Jurisprudence, in Sir Henry Maine's sense, studies the most ancient laws of kindred peoples, and the village communities of East and West, so as to discover the earliest modes in which the individual, the family, and the village or state, were related to each other; how property was held, the idea of legal right arose, and law emerged."[3]

[1] See pages 31–32.

[2] *Standard Dictionary, in loco.*

[3] Principal Fairbairn, *Studies in the Philosophy of Religion and History.* London, 1876.

The Laws of all nations have to be examined by Experts, and with the scrutiny and impartiality of the practised historian. At the present moment, by an expansion of Sir Henry Maine's idea, an important work is being prepared for the press, the successive volumes of which will deal with the Private Law of all the civilised portions of the globe.[1] Students have only to consult the technical Journals,[2] and kindred publications, if they wish to discover how firmly this subject has now secured for itself a place in the thought and investigations of all enlightened peoples.[3]

23. COMPARATIVE ECONOMICS.—That Science which has to deal with the laws that govern the production and employment of wealth has advanced most rapidly since the date when it also began to realise the utility of the comparative method. Of course, Economics, where worthy of the name, has always been a comparative study. But the scope of the inquiry has of late been immensely enlarged; and the collection of required data has been so systematically prosecuted, that not only has the old limited survey been elevated into a science, but comparison has now become the very soul of that science. The fierce industrial competition of the twentieth century ensures that this new departure, all too tardily inaugurated, will not be suffered to lag for want of competent promoters.

24. COMPARATIVE COLONISATION.—In the age of Greek and Roman dominion, the questions affecting colonial expansion were much less complex than to-day; and so they were often dealt with and solved by statesmen who, in disposing of them, experienced no very great burden of anxiety, and exhibited no special foresight or skill. It was, moreover, a time when might was held to be right, and force was remorselessly employed whenever circumstances or mere inclination sufficed to call for it. Then, during the course

[1] The volume pertaining to England is edited by Mr. Edward Jenks, Oxford.

[2] *E.g.*, *The Journal of the Society of Comparative Legislation.* London, 1896– . [*In progress.*]

[3] See pages 52 f.

of a very considerable period, colonisation practically ceased. But with the discovery of new worlds, both in the East and in the West, the spirit of adventure and of sturdy political sagacity asserted itself, and men began to build for themselves new homes on the rim of vast and but partially explored regions. Certainly no one can fail to be impressed by the stupendous ambitions of to-day, and by the manner in which Great Britain, France, Germany, and America have reached out their hands towards unappropriated or contiguous territories. This tendency has already had its effect upon our literature; and scholarly researches, touching the principles which underlie all successful colonisation, are now beginning to be published.[1] A careful comparison of the Colonial administration of different countries, and a dispassionate weighing of the problems which local governors have found to confront them in the management of public affairs, are subjects which are now engaging the attention of the political and social leaders of opinion in all the great States of the world; and accordingly the "hap-hazard" policy of statesmen, a policy which used practically everywhere to prevail, is likely soon to be superseded by schemes of administrative action in which acuteness, equity, and a carefully sifted experience will take the place of self-complacency, injustice, and an utter lack of that exact information which the art of government demands.

25. YET OTHER INSTANCES, WHICH CANNOT BE DEALT WITH SEPARATELY.—Time fails one, else this catalogue might very considerably be extended. No mention has yet been made of (*a*) COMPARATIVE CIVICS, the Science of worthy citizenship; (*b*) COMPARATIVE POLITICS, the Science of competent statecraft, reference being had to the *whole* wide

[1] For an account of what has thus far been accomplished in these scattered and diverse fields, in so far as the Colonial Dependencies of the European Powers are concerned, see Paul S. Reinsch, *Colonial Government*. New York, 1901; also his *Colonial Administration*, 1903. See further, Alpheus H. Snow, *The Administration of Dependencies*. New York and London, 1902.

domain within which the statesman discharges his duties;[1] (*c*) COMPARATIVE SYMBOLICS (or, better, *Comparative Theology*), which presents a side-by-side view of the Doctrines and Confessions which are adhered to by various communions of Christians, or by Christians as contrasted with non-Christians;[2] and (*d*) COMPARATIVE LITURGICS, which presents a comparative survey of the great historic forms of public worship: take, as examples of the best known Ancient Liturgies, those of (1) *St. James* (Antioch or Jerusalem), (2) *St. Mark* (Alexandria), (3) *St. Peter* (Rome), and (4) *St. John* or *St. Paul* (Ephesus).[3] Of course, other kindred spheres of investigation, if it were necessary, might very easily be specified. Suffice it to say that, now that the value of this latest method of research has been so widely tested, and with such uniformly gratifying results, its application in still additional domains of exact and exacting inquiry is certain speedily to follow.

SELECTED ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE RESULTS SOUGHT FOR, AND ALREADY OBTAINED, THROUGH THE INSTRUMENTALITY OF THIS METHOD.—The effect of the application of this new method hitherto, in fields other than that of Religion,

[1] No fewer than four instructors offered Courses of Lectures on this topic, at Cambridge University alone, during 1902. See Edward Augustus Freeman, *Comparative Politics*. London, 1873. A. Lawrence Lowell, *Government and Parties in Continental Europe*. 2 vols. New York, 1896. Frederick Wood, *Government and the State*. New York, 1902. Henry Sidgwick, *The Development of European Polity*. London, 1903.

[2] See Johann Georg Benedikt Winer, *Comparative View of the Doctrines and Confessions of the Various Communities of Christendom*. Edinburgh, 1873. [Translated from his *Comparative Darstellung des Lehrbegriffs der verschiedenen christlichen Kirchenparteien*. Leipzig, 1837.] Johann Adam Möhler, *Symbolik, oder Darstellung d. dogmat. Gegensätze d. Katholiken u. Protestanten*. Mainz, 1832. [6th ed., 1843. Translated, "Symbolism, or Exposition of the Doctrinal Differences between Catholics and Protestants." 2 vols, same year.] Renn Dickson Hampden, *The Scholastic Philosophy in its relation to Christian Theology*. London, 1832. Macculloch, *Comparative Theology*.

[3] Cp. William Palmer, *Origines Liturgicæ*. 2 vols. Oxford, 1832. [4th ed., 1845.] See also John Mason Neale, *The Liturgies of S. Mark, S. James, S. Clement, S. Chrysostom, and S. Basil*. London, 1858. [Translated, 1859.]

may very fairly be illustrated by the following concrete examples.

1. COMPARATIVE JURISPRUDENCE.—A large body of learned men are at present working together for the purpose of carrying into execution a most important undertaking. They are officially known as "The International Society of Comparative Jurisprudence and Political Economy." They have accepted responsibility for supervising the issue of a series of volumes which, when they have been completed, will be found to contain an exposition of "The Private Law of the different civilised communities of the world." The seat of the Commission has been established at Berlin, and Germany has endorsed the scheme with conspicuous and genuine ardour. A number of eminent German Jurists are prominent members of the Society, and the German Imperial Code of 1900 has been accepted as the model upon which the new International codification is to be drawn up. But while the work is being done in Germany, some of the most distinguished Jurists of all nationalities are lending it material assistance. As already stated,[1] the volume dealing with English Private Law is being edited by Mr. Edward Jenks, Reader in English Law in the University of Oxford. The outcome of these combined labours, which are in reality laying broadly the foundations of another new Science, promises to make more conspicuous some essential legal principles of the very highest value, and to reveal the best way in which these principles may be adjusted when in simultaneous operation. It is noteworthy, also, that a "Chair of Comparative Law"—in addition to existing Chairs of "Comparative Anatomy," "Comparative Philology," etc.—has been established at University College, London, at Oxford, at the University of Wales, and at other important centres. Moreover, if one look for a moment towards the United States, it will at once be seen that the same influences are at work in that country also. The University of Chicago has its "Chair of Comparative

[1] See page 49.

Constitutional Law and Diplomacy"; Columbia University, New York, has a department of "Law (Public) and Comparative Jurisprudence"; Columbian University, Washington, has its "School of Comparative Jurisprudence and Diplomacy"; and many similar illustrations might be cited. Or, turning to the domain of literature: an important work, recently published by Professor Frank J. Goodnow, of Columbia University, deserves in this connection not only special mention but warmest commendation.[1] In it one finds an excellent analysis of the administrative systems of the United States, France, England, and Germany. Another similar book, also of a decidedly superior quality, was printed in America some six years earlier.[2]

2. COMPARATIVE HYGIENE.—Early in 1901 the French Government ordered an elaborate scientific investigation to be made in connection with the de-population question,—a question which has so serious a bearing upon the future wellbeing, and even upon the very existence, of the French nation. A Commission was accordingly appointed, the members of which won instant recognition because they were undeniably competent representatives of the very best leadership in modern medical science; but the point which here calls for special emphasis is the fact that one member of the Commission was instructed to make a comparative study of all laws that had been passed for the protection of the Public Health,—passed not in France only, but in every other country as well. Yet further, turning from France to Great Britain, all must remember the recent appointment of a British Commission, which has been enjoined to make a patient and exhaustive investigation into the causes and cure of Cancer. Is that dread disease due to the presence in man's organism of certain parasites, or is it traceable rather to an abnormal condition of the human cells? More-

[1] *Comparative Administrative Law.* 2 vols. New York, 1902.

[2] John W. Burgess, *Political Science and Comparative Constitutional Law.* 2 vols. Boston, 1896.

over, is Professor Israel of Berlin right when he affirms that the only effective curative agency is the knife? Some of the greatest names found upon the rolls of both the British "Royal Colleges" are included among those of the Experts who have entered upon this determined crusade against suffering and death; and it may be that one of the outstanding benefits which King Edward is to confer upon his Empire, and upon the world, will be the light which this Royal Commission will be enabled to cast upon the origin and removal of one of the very worst ills that afflict our race.[1] Or, to suggest yet another example, take the "International Central Committee for the Prevention of Consumption." Congresses are held at brief intervals; and at these great meetings, in which the leading authorities in Europe take part, papers are read which describe minutely the measures which are being taken in various countries to combat and eradicate this terribly fatal scourge. These Conferences represent the inauguration of a determined and concerted movement, the importance and issues of which cannot possibly be over-estimated by those in whose interest it has been devised and begun.

3. Comparative Forestry.—Allusion has already been made to the action which Germany began to take long ago in reference to fostering and enforcing intelligent ideas concerning the importance of tree-culture.[2] Switzerland also has kept itself well in the van of this movement. And these praiseworthy examples are to-day being widely copied everywhere. It is now commonly recognised that the reafforesting of waste lands, pit dumps, etc., proves to be not only commercially profitable, but it removes from view much that is unsightly, and contributes very materially

[1] In the Lister Institute, London, the origin of Cancer is being studied deliberately in accordance with the comparative method, — viz., its occurrence in different classes of animals, its transmission, its stages of development, etc. It is generally admitted that the cause of this trouble is as yet unknown.

[2] See page 43.

towards purifying the surrounding atmosphere. Accordingly, railway companies, lumber companies, and other large corporations are beginning to exhibit an active interest in the matter. Important congresses are being summoned to discuss the various aspects of the subject. Quite recently the President of the British Board of Agriculture appointed a Departmental Committee to inquire and report as to the present position and future prospects of Forestry, and concerning the planting and management of woodlands, in Great Britain; also, to consider whether any measures might with advantage be taken, either by the provision of further educational facilities or otherwise, for the promotion and encouragement of this important branch of knowledge.[1] Crossing the Atlantic, the Department of Agriculture in the United States is found to possess a separate Bureau of Forestry, and the Director of that Bureau was sent not long ago to the Philippines, that he might make a personal study of the conditions which, as regards tree-life, at present obtain in those islands.[2] Yet further, the Canadian Government, the forests on whose Crown Lands have for a long period suffered terribly from the ravages of fire, has of late begun to exhibit a like commendable energy. Probably the largest wooded district in the world—the Labrador and Hudson Bay section, a great belt stretching from Labrador to the Rocky Mountains, and much of it virgin forest, covering an area which measures one thousand miles by seventeen hundred miles—lies within the Dominion; and other huge domains, only less extensive, represent vast Canadian resources of wealth which are well worth preservation. Accordingly we find that the Director of Forestry for the Province of Ontario is now able to state that "large tracts of land have been

[1] While Great Britain has many millions of acres of waste lands, surplus labour is eagerly seeking for work, and the country goes on importing annually £27,000,000 worth of timber instead of producing a very large part of this commodity within its own borders!

[2] For varied and most useful information, see the official *Bulletins* of the Department.

set apart as forest reserves[1] in localities where the soil is unsuited for farming, and can profitably be utilised only for growing timber."[2] And he adds: "The management of these areas on forestry principles will ensure a perpetual supply of timber."[2] The Government of that Province has recently taken steps to assist in providing an adequate School of Forestry. So far, a separate Department of Forestry has been created at Queen's University, Kingston; similar action, moreover, is about to be taken by the University of Toronto. By this means it is intended that the scientific study of Forestry shall in future be vigorously promoted, the necessity of keeping up the woodland acreage emphasised, the need of restrictive legislation proclaimed, the importation of suitable foreign trees urged and effected, and all other kindred requirements affirmed with authority in the hearing of those whose interests demand that these facts should not be lost sight of.

4. Comparative Literature.—As a final illustration of the application of the comparative method, suppose we take the case of Comparative Literature. And suppose, further, that we confine our survey to an examination of those specimens of English Literature which are the choicest that can be culled from the Elizabethan period. As the student of Comparative Literature sets himself to make a searching analysis of that literature, and as he traces and determines the factors (gradually entering into it) which contrived to make it what it is, what does he find? The more fully he acquaints himself with the literary product of other countries during (or prior to) the reign of Queen Elizabeth, the more closely he ascertains what particular portions of alien literatures were chiefly known in the

[1] In 1901, these reservations, now considerably enlarged, amounted to 2,634,000 acres; in 1904, they had been enlarged to about 7,000,000 acres; but it is hoped that an increase of 30,000,000 acres will be made before very long. These forests include white pine and other exceedingly valuable woods; hence their worth in the market is even greater than their vast bulk abundantly serves to indicate.

[2] See *Annual Report*, 1900–01.

England of that period, and the more exactly he *compares* all these varied literatures one with another, he is likely to make this unwelcome discovery among others, viz., that the reputation of some of our greatest poets and prose-writers rests upon endangered foundations. How so? Because he comes to see that a certain curious turn of speech, some striking dramatic plot, some immortal description of rustic loveliness, or some caustic repartee—something that one had always been accustomed to point to as a product of distinctively national genius—was in truth deliberately borrowed, and from some quite unsuspected quarter! By means of many infallible proofs, the explorer is able to indicate those factors in English Literature which are to be referred to some classical origin,[1] those which are French in their source, those which are German, and yet others which are Italian. Thus, as has been said, some great reputations have of late been seriously undermined and brought perilously near to disaster. Mr. Sidney Lee has shown conclusively that a large number of Elizabethan sonnets which have always been accounted original compositions, are really unacknowledged translations of the work of some more or less well-known author.[2] Even Shakespeare seems less transcendent to-day than at one time, in our ignorance, we fondly imagined. His work now seems to have been, in part at least, merely a stage in a long process of evolution. Beyond all question this suspicion is well grounded. Even an author who possessed the gifts which distinguish this unrivalled British Dramatist, did not hesitate to employ very freely on occasion the materials which lay ready to his hand; and if so, then it is well that

[1] Cp. J. Smith Harrison, *Platonism in English Poetry of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*. New York, 1904. Or, for a more comprehensive study, showing "the gradual blending of *many* opposing spiritual forces in the organic conscience that now directs our national life" (Vol. ii. p. 1), see William John Courthope, *History of English Poetry*. 4 vols. London, 1895–1903. [Two additional volumes are to follow.]

[2] See *An English Garner*. 12 vols. London, 1902-04. [A reissue of Professor Arber's *Garner of Old English Literature*. 8 vols. London, 1877–90. Now out of print.] Cp. the Introduction prefixed to Vol. xi.

this fact should more widely be known, and hence be more candidly admitted. Shakespeare continues to occupy a place which will ensure his perpetual inclusion among the world's Immortals. The light of his genius has illumined and beautified every page upon which it has beneficently rested. Nevertheless, although the Baconian myth as to his dramas may with confidence be rejected,—and no assistance has proved more valuable in effecting the exposure of a truly colossal fraud than that which has been secured through the work of certain students in Comparative Literature,—the unique height of this poet's imperial renown has been perceptibly lowered. Truth, however, is always more to be desired than the retention of any erroneous belief, revered and ancient and pleasing though it be; and the high service of securing for us the truth concerning the real sources of the literary products of the world, no matter at what present cost or unexpected subsequent sacrifice, is a function which is being admirably discharged to-day by experts in Comparative Literature.[1]

THE COMPARATIVE METHOD VINDICATED IN THE LIGHT OF MULTIPLIED EXPERIMENTS.—The illustrative examples which have just been quoted make it evident that the comparative method can scarcely be said to be novel or untried. On the contrary, it has been demonstrated in this Chapter that this method has been put to the test of countless experiments, and that it has not been found wanting. Far from its turning out to be ineffective and disappointing, it has been found to supply, in literally every field in which it has honestly been applied, assistance and suggestion of the very highest order.

THE INTRODUCTION OF THIS METHOD INTO THE DOMAIN OF RELIGION.—In view of the facts which have been enumerated, and the inauguration of an entirely new way

[1] Columbia University, New York, is one of the institutions which have already provided a Chair in this Department. Professor Woodberry, its occupant, is the Editor of the University's series of *Studies in Comparative Literature*. See also his *Makers of Literature*, New York, 1900; and *America in Literature*, New York, 1903.

of acquiring and testing knowledge, it gradually began to be felt that, if this comparative method were only applied to the elucidation and interpretation of Religion, results of great moment would certainly be secured through its aid. Some, indeed, went so far as to affirm that the real significance of any Religion—whether it chanced to be our own, or that professed and revered by our neighbour — could never be firmly grasped, or rightly appraised, until it had been subjected to this ordeal. Accordingly students are now deliberately utilising this method within the domain of sacred beliefs and practices.[1] They have reasoned that if, in all other departments, it has proved to be conspicuously successful,—often amounting to a veritable revelation, and sometimes bringing about (even within a comparatively brief period) a complete revolution in opinion,—then, within the area of religious inquiry, it ought to show itself equally effective. It appeared likely that, in this way, one would be enabled to discover the "causes, meaning, and tendency" of the fundamental facts of Religion. And this presupposition, as the later Chapters of this treatise will show, has abundantly been realised. As a consequence, University Chairs for giving instruction in Comparative Anatomy, Comparative Philology, Comparative Jurisprudence, Comparative Literature, etc., are now being followed by like Chairs established in the interest of Comparative Religion.[2] Moreover, examination in this subject is now being made compulsory in the case of certain groups of University students.

It was thus that the distinctive method of that new Science which is about to be described came gradually to be applied in still another quarter. The study of Religion having been elevated to a more adequate status, its principles of research had to be brought into harmony with scientific

[1] For an illustration of its many possible applications, see pages 71 f. For an estimate of its value as an agent of research, both within and beyond this field, see pages 93–96.

[2] The most recent instance is supplied by Victoria University, Manchester. But see Appendix. Chart IV., pages 580 f.

requirements. It was not foreseen—it was not asked—what *results*, following upon the introduction of this new mode of inquiry, might possibly accrue: it was simply recognised that, within the domain of Religion, the employment of the comparative method promised to be fruitful in effecting many important disclosures. It seemed probable that it would be able to co-ordinate many seemingly isolated facts. At any rate, its aid was felt to be practically essential for securing anything like a full and impartial acquaintance with an exceedingly intricate subject. Its introduction into this new field, as has been shown, came about quite naturally: by successive stages it passed over from Anatomy—by way of Philology and Mythology—into the dimmer and vaster sphere of spiritual realities. But long before this step was taken officially and deliberately, it had been taken by many unofficially and tentatively. The study of *Sacred Books* many centuries ago, by priests and prophets and people respectively, had been, no doubt, a dim foreshadowing of modern Comparative Literature; but it had also been (a fact especially noteworthy in the present connection) *a conscious comparing*, however imperfectly performed, of numerous authoritative religious records.[1] One can see too, likewise from afar, the foreshadowing of modern Archæology. For just as, at the outset, under the guidance of Cuvier and his confrères,[2] the use of the comparative method was confined to an examination of physical data,—and latterly, in particular, to various neglected but profoundly significant *fossil remains*; so, to-day, Comparative Religion is receiving probably its chief impulse and momentum from a directly kindred quarter. It is undeniably the excavations which are being carried forward at the present time in Mesopotamia, in Egypt, in Palestine, etc., which have lent so remarkable an impetus of late to the study of Religion, and which are largely responsible for that steadily increasing eagerness with which the results of researches in Comparative Religion are everywhere

[1] Cp. page 72. [2] Cp. page 31.

awaited. The occasion seems opportune, therefore, that an attempt should be now made to state and estimate what these results actually are.

The "Comparative" method is, of course, a method of criticism; and criticism, whether Lower or Higher, has become somewhat unpopular of late. Yet if scholars had indulged less in dogmatic criticism, and had devoted themselves more fully to the regulated procedure of a sober comparative criticism, much existing prejudice against current methods of investigation would never have been heard of. If the step which has only recently been taken had been possible a couple of centuries ago, and if it had been adventured at that early period, an infinite gain would have been achieved, and countless grievous mistakes would have been avoided. The manner in which this modern instrument of inquiry has been applied to strictly religious questions, with some account of the way in which it has helped to throw light upon and resolve them, will be explained in due course as the present survey advances.

CHAPTER III

ITS AIM AND SCOPE

SYLLABUS.—A Definition of Comparative Religion : p. 63. The Restricted Range of this Science : p. 64. Its Scope more particularly defined—A Twofold Problem : pp. 65–71. An illustrative application of the Comparative Method to the exposition of Christianity—Such Procedure not an Innovation—Christianity a composite Religion—Its Subserviency to a discernible Law of Growth—This Law of Growth illustrated in the history (*a*) of Judaism, (*b*) of Christianity, and (*c*) of Christ Himself : pp. 71–93 General Summary : The Comparative Method viewed generally as an agent of Research—Its particular value when used to promote researches in Religion : pp. 93–96.

LITERATURE.—It is difficult to select a few volumes only, when representative books of the kind required are so numerous ; but the following publications, at least, must not be omitted :—SMITH (William Robertson), *The Religion of the Semites.* Edinburgh, 1889. [N. ed., London, 1894.] CURTISS (Samuel Ives), *Primitive Semitic Religion To-day.* Chicago, 1902. DELITZSCH (Friedrich), *Babel und Bibel.* Berlin, 1902–03. [Translated, London, 1903 ; Chicago, 1903.] PALMER (Abram Smythe), *Babylonian Influence on the Bible and Popular Beliefs.* London, 1897. GOBLET D'ALVIELLA (Count Eugène), *Ce que l'Inde doit à la Grèce.* Paris, 1897. CHARLES (Robert Henry), *A Critical History of the Doctrine of a Future Life, in Israel, in Judaism, and in Christianity.* London, 1899. COBB (William Frederick), *Origines Judaicæ : An Inquiry into Heathen Faiths, as effecting the Birth and Growth of Judaism.* London, 1895. SMITH (George Adam), *Modern Criticism and the Preaching of the Old Testament.* London, 1901. PINCHES (Theophilus Goldridge), *The Old Testament in the Light of the Historical Records and Legends of Assyria and Babylonia.* London, 1902. [N. ed., revised and enlarged, 1903.] KING (Leonard William), *The Seven Tablets of Creation.* 2 vols. London, 1902. JENSEN (Peter), *Kosmologie der Babylonier.* Strassburg, 1890. ZIMMERN (Heinrich), *Biblische und babylonische Urgeschichte.* Leipzig, 1900. [Translated, London, 1901.]

A Definition of Comparative Religion.—It is singular that, even in the supplementary volumes of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*,[1] though published only very recently, a definition of Comparative Religion has to be searched for in vain.[2] Dr. Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*[3] and Professor Cheyne's *Encyclopædia Biblica*[4] are likewise silent on this subject,[5]—although, in each of these latter instances, the only complaint that can fairly be made is that both works have interpreted somewhat too rigidly the principle, "We propose to confine ourselves to a survey of the contents of the Bible." Indeed, it would be difficult to say *where* a precise and satisfactory definition of this study is to be found. Perhaps the following statement, descriptive rather than definitive, will suffice meanwhile: Comparative Religion is that Science which compares the origin, structure, and characteristics of the various Religions of the world, with the view of determining their genuine agreements and differences, the measure of relation in which they stand one to another, and their relative superiority or inferiority when regarded as types. Or, otherwise expressed:

[1] 3 vols. Edinburgh, 1768–71. [10th ed., 35 vols.; 24 vols., 1875–89, and 11 vols., 1902–03.]

[2] This new study is referred to, it is true; but the allusions made occur only incidentally in the articles on "Religions," "Theism," and "Theology," and are exceedingly brief. They occur, besides, it is to be noted, in the older volumes of the work, which alone treat of the three topics just specified.

[3] 4 Vols. Edinburgh, 1898–1902.

[4] 4 Vols. London, 1899–1903.

[5] An "Extra" (fifth) volume of Dr. Hastings' *Dictionary*, published separately in 1904, contains an admirable series of articles on the Religions of Babylonia and Assyria, Egypt, Greece, Israel, etc.; and, in dealing with these topics, numerous comparisons of one Religion with another have often been very effectively introduced. At the same time, a series of definite succinct statements, embracing the chief points of agreement or difference which unite or separate these and other Faiths to which reference is made in the earlier volumes of the *Dictionary*, is an achievement which still needs to be attempted. Happily, Dr. Hastings is himself about to supply this desideratum. His projected *Dictionary of Religion*—already in course of preparation, and one of the special features of which will be the systematic employment of the comparative method—will leave nothing to be desired in this connection.

Comparative Religion denotes the application and product of a particular method of research,—wherein, in the domain of Religion, one's ultimate conclusions are arrived at by means of a series of comparisons. These comparisons are many or few, and are wider or narrower in their scope, as circumstances or necessity may determine; but, when instituted in accordance with certain definite and well-understood principles, they serve gradually to make clear the dim and perplexing way in which many a belief and dogma, undergoing a variety of changes, has at last come to occupy its place in the teaching of all those who hold it in special esteem. The briefest form, perhaps, into which these ideas can be compressed for the purposes of a compact statement—although excessive abridgment is invariably a mistake—may be found in the definition which has already been recorded on a preceding page, viz., "The scientific study and comparison of Religions."[1]

THE RESTRICTED RANGE OF THIS SCIENCE.—It will be remarked, at the outset, that Comparative Religion is not an historical science. Its materials, indeed, are historical, for it is admittedly based upon historical studies; but its own contributions to knowledge are secured solely by the aid of tentative and repeated comparisons. It is emphatically *a comparative science.* And, while not claiming to be an historical science, in the strict meaning of those words, neither does it claim to be a final science. It does not regard as ultimate and absolute the results which it is able to announce: *its conclusions are admittedly relative.* It is required of it that it shall frame reliable comparative estimates. Setting two Religions side by side, it is compelled to believe that one of them is better than the other; but, the usual tests having been applied, the verdict which it renders is relative merely, not absolute. It does not undertake to say that either Religion is "the best," for even the "better" of the two may manifestly be very defective. Hence additional facts are constantly sought for; and the

[1] Cp. page 25.

goal of this science, as of all sciences, lies ever in the future.[1] Perhaps, in order to make the situation more plain, one might here press into service a sentence which was once used by the late Professor Max Müller, though in a somewhat different connection. In one of his lectures on the Science of Language, he remarks that, in that study, we strive, by means of the comparative method, to ascertain the "origin, nature, and laws"[2] of human speech. After the same manner, and employing the same method, we propose, in the present inquiry, to seek to arrive at a knowledge of the origin, nature, and laws of Religion; "and it is only to arrive at *that* knowledge that we collect, arrange, [compare,] and classify the facts of language [Religion] that are within our reach."[2]

ITS SCOPE MORE PARTICULARLY DEFINED.—The special field which Comparative Religion has set itself to cultivate is, strictly speaking, twofold.[3] It is that Science which, by means of comparison, strives to determine with exactness (1) the relation of the various Religions of mankind to one another, and (2) the mutual relation of conceptions current within a single Religion, but at different periods in its history. At first sight it might seem desirable to add a third subdivision to this group, and affirm that Comparative Religion seeks to determine the relation of all Religions alike to a common fundamental instinct in man. But this additional sphere of comparison has deliberately been excluded, since it lies within the boundaries of another and distinct study. When the student enters into the more advanced domain of the Philosophy of Religion, he will certainly not neglect to deal honestly with the problem just suggested, one which is profound in its importance, and which awakens an ever-increasing interest. Such a quest,

[1] The proper culmination of Comparative Religion, as shown on page 11, is found only in the Philosophy of Religion. See also Appendix. Note II., page 485.

[2] *The Science of Language*, First Series, Lecture I., p. 25. London, 1861. [6th ed., 1871.]

[3] Cp. page 9.

however, must in a large measure be speculative rather than scientific, and so can be dealt with only tentatively by the Science of Religion.

1. The Comparison of one Religion with another.—In the estimate of many, it is within this province that Comparative Religion finds its chief occupation. This view is probably a mistaken one; and yet the investigations carried forward in this connection are of inestimable value. Take, for example, the comparisons—often amazingly exact and interpretive — which have been instituted between (*a*) *Ancient non-Semitic Religions and the primitive Religions of the Semitic Peoples.* A volume of the first rank in this connection is that weighty book which contains the late Professor W. Robertson Smith's Burnett Lectures.[1] No work of profounder scholarship, or of greater breadth and impartiality of view, has been published in Great Britain within the last half century. And another book, different yet equally important, is one which the late Professor Tiele has given us.[2] Occasion will be found, later on, to speak more in detail of the singularly rare gifts of this distinguished Dutch scholar; but probably no writer could be named whose publications supply more or better illustrations of the advantages which may be secured through the competent comparison of one Religion with another. In yet another work, he places side by side, and brings under careful review, the respective beliefs of Egyptians, Babylonians, Assyrians, and Persians.[3] It is safe to say that Dr. Tiele's most notable contributions were made in the more difficult field of the Philosophy of Religion; but the conclusions which he arrives at in that department are ad-

[1] *The Religion of the Semites.*

[2] *Vergelijkende Geschiedenis der Egyptische en Mesopotamische Godsdiensten* ("Comparative History of the Egyptian and Mesopotamian Religions"). 2 vols. Amsterdam, 1869–72. [Vol. i. only has appeared in English: London, 1882.] Cp. page 181.

[3] *Geschiedenis van den Godsdienst in de Oudheid* ("History of Religion in Antiquity," *i.e.*, down till the time of Alexander the Great). 2 vols. [In progress when the author died, and therefore unfinished.] Amsterdam, 1895–1901. Cp. page 182.

mittedly based upon the researches he had previously conducted in the History—and especially in the Comparison—of Religions. Or, to select a narrower sphere, take the parallels which have been instituted between (*b*) *The primitive beliefs of the Babylonians and of the Hebrews.* Here we touch upon one of the most delicate of all the questions which have given rise to modern theological controversy. That a marvellous degree of likeness in certain particulars has been unveiled, no scholar essays to deny; but when an attempt is made to account for this conspicuous agreement, great diversity of opinion instantly emerges, and the argument is pretty sure to develop considerable heat. Yet the issue is wholly dependent upon certain matters of fact; and it should not be impossible, provided one preserve his mental equilibrium, to discover what the facts actually were.[1] Or, to select an equally important but less contentious domain, take the comparisons which have been instituted between (*c*) *Buddhism and Christianity.* On this theme literature to-day abounds. Among the most useful products of this inquiry, mention may be made of a book which an American scholar has published.[2] In that helpful volume a comparison is drawn between the Founders, the Scriptures, and the Ethics of the two Faiths. Expounding his thesis with minuteness of detail, with a firm grasp of his material, and (though occupying, quite manifestly, the rigidly *Christian* standpoint) evidently endeavouring to hold the scales with an impartial hand, the author has rendered a permanent service to all who accept his leadership.

It should be remarked that, in the prosecution of the quest now under consideration, there are two lines of procedure that may be followed, viz., either (1) one Religion may be compared with another, particular reference being

[1] For relevant literature, etc., see pages 77 f.

[2] Samuel Henry Kellogg, *The Light of Asia and the Light of the World.* New York, 1885. See also Bishop Titcomb, *Short Chapters on Buddhism,* pp. 192–200. London, 1883. Also Alfred Bertholet, *Buddhismus und Christentum.* Tübingen, 1902.

had to *its broader features*, its history, and the sweep of its general influence; or else (2) scrutiny may be directed to *special individual features* of each Faith,—its beliefs, its rites, etc.,—when these are placed in deliberate comparison one with another. Thus, under the second division just specified, the investigator may compare, among selected Religions, their varying conceptions of God,[1] of the Trinity,[2] of the Incarnation,[3] of Sin,[4] of Atonement,[5] of the Future Life,[6] of Future Punishment,[7] of Holy Places, of Demonology,[8] of Human Sacrifices, of Marriage Rites,[9] — and so on, through a practically endless catalogue. Surely this immense variety in the possibilities of research suggests the necessity of an immediate increase in the staff of workers in this department, and a prompt subdivision and judicious apportionment of the work.

2. THE COMPARISON OF DIFFERING RELIGIOUS CONCEPTIONS CURRENT WITHIN A SINGLE RELIGION AT DIFFERENT STAGES OF ITS DEVELOPMENT.—No less important, no less fascinating, and no less fruitful than the comparison of one Religion with another, is the deliberate comparison of a Religion with itself, when it is viewed at various successive periods in its history. It is in this connection that Com-

[1] See John Henry Barrows, *Haskell Lectures.* Chicago, 1901.

[2] See Levi L. Paine, *The Ethnic Trinities, and their Relations to the Christian Trinity.* Boston, 1901. R. Elershet, *The Trinities of the Ancients.* 1837.

[3] The doctrine of the Incarnation, as found in Christianity, is only very faintly foreshadowed by the same doctrine in earlier Religions.

[4] Frederick Robert Tennant, *The Sources of the Doctrines of the Fall and Original Sin.* Cambridge, 1903.

[5] George Stephen Goodspeed, in *The Biblical World.* Chicago, 1901. [This survey is limited to the non-Christian Religions.] A. F. Scot, *Offering and Sacrifice: An Essay in Comparative Customs and Religious Development.* London, 1899.

[6] See Minot Judson Savage, *Life beyond Death.* New York, 1900. Robert H. Charles, *A Critical History of the Doctrine of a Future Life.* S. D. F. Salmond, *The Christian Doctrine of Immortality.* Edinburgh, 1895.

[7] James Mew, *Traditional Aspects of Hell: Ancient and Modern.* London, 1904.

[8] T. Witton Davies, *Magic, Divination, and Demonology among the Hebrews and their Neighbours.* London, 1898.

[9] Cp. second footnote, page 46.

parative Religion is conducting some of its most successful and valuable researches. Practically, the career of any Religion, selected purely at random, will supply numerous pertinent illustrations. Take, for example, the history of (*a*) *Zoroastrianism*. It is universally admitted that this Faith, in its earlier forms, was a very different and much less complex system than it was destined to become during the lapse of multiplying centuries. Influential factors, of various kinds, gradually crept into it; and thus its original tendency, and even its original character, were grossly interfered with, degraded, and corrupted.[1] Accordingly it has become the task of Comparative Religion to inquire: *What* were the elements, slowly absorbed or abruptly interjected, which produced such radical changes? *Whence* did they come? *Why* were they welcomed, or at least more or less reluctantly tolerated? *How* did they contrive to assert their influence? *When* did these various alterations in belief and ritual severally begin to reveal their presence? And *What Warrant* can they present, on the basis of which they to-day exert such evident and persistent authority? Or take the history of (*b*) *Islamism*. Here again the advance of succeeding ages can easily be traced and registered in the successive modifications of the Faith itself. Its early affiliation with Judaism,[2] and its subsequent repudiation of that relationship, have left indelible marks upon its career and character. It absorbed also many heathen beliefs which were current in ancient Arabia, and these likewise have appreciably coloured and influenced it. This whole discussion merits examination, not only because many millions of Moslems are subject to Christian rule, but because Moslem learning once did so much towards the promotion of civilisation and progress in the West; and its force as a Religion,

[1] See A. V. Williams Jackson, *Zoroaster: The Prophet of Ancient Iran*. New York, 1899. It may perhaps be recorded here that it was through a study of Zoroastrianism—published in 1864, when the writer was only thirty years of age—that the late Professor Tiele first awakened those high hopes among his friends which afterwards he so ably fulfilled. Cp. page 182.

[2] See Abraham Geiger, *Judaism and Islam*. Madras, 1898.

even yet, is a factor that the world will have to reckon with. Or finally, take the chequered experiences of (*c*) *Hinduism.* No study of the sort now indicated can surpass in interest and value one that is based upon a comparison of ancient and modern Hinduism. It is the high claim of many of the reforming sects of India to-day, that they are reviving the creed and practices of the original Brahmanism; but there is another and a more reliable explanation. Although Buddhism, after playing for centuries a distinguished part in the religious thinking of Hindustan, was ultimately overthrown, it has never been quite banished from the place it once so triumphantly usurped; and probably, in one respect at least, it will never wholly disappear from the land that has officially spurned it and ruthlessly driven in out. "The Hinduism which holds the field, after Buddhism has decayed, is very different from the religions which preceded its rise. The influence of the great personality of Gotama is everywhere apparent, in the development of new ideas. The conception of self-sacrifice for the good of others—which pervades the whole story of the Buddha, often in such extravagant and fantastic shapes—is transferred (we know not by what steps) to Vishnu. He too becomes again and again incarnate for the welfare of the world,—an idea of which there is no trace in pre-Buddhistic Brahmanism. This receives its highest expression in the Bhagavad Gita (*Sacred Books of the East,* vol. viii.), which represents the new movement when Buddhism has declined. It preaches a doctrine of spiritual knowledge by faith; and, in the person of Krishna, it offers to the believer an object of worship who is God made man, who condescends to clothe his majesty in sensible form, so that even the humblest may know and love him."[1] And it

[1] J. Estlin Carpenter. Pamphlet entitled *A Century of Comparative Religion, 1800–1900,* p. 34. [Out of print, but may now be found in the author's *The Place of Christianity among the Religions of the World.* London, 1904.] Cp. also Wilhelm Dilger, *Die Erlösung des Menschen nach Hinduismus und Christentum* ("The Redemption of Man, according to Hinduism and Christianity"). Basel, 1902.

would not be hard to show how Christianity, not less than Buddhism, is to-day effectually colouring the conceptions which dominate modern Hinduism.[1]

But enough has been said upon this topic. Besides Zoroastrianism and Islamism and Buddhism, a score of kindred illustrations might easily be cited. Suffice it to remark here, that in so far as mere *method* is concerned, an inquiry into the changing conceptions which distinguish a given Faith at successive periods in its history differs little from the investigation which has to be pursued when two or more totally distinct Religions are being compared. The difference lies merely in the fact that, in the former case, the scope of the inquiry is deliberately circumscribed. In both instances, however, the aim of the student is equally definite and unvarying.

THE APPLICATION OF THE COMPARATIVE METHOD TO THE EXPOSITION OF CHRISTIANITY.—It is proposed, in the remainder of this Chapter, to seek to make more clear the aim and scope of Comparative Religion, by studying a particular instance of its practical application. And no better test case could be selected, or desired, than that which Christianity affords. Here we have a Faith which has behind it a long and eventful history. In the course of time, it has often been brought into very close association with other and different Faiths; and it has not only directly and indirectly influenced them, but it has been markedly influenced by them. Indeed, it is nothing more than the simple truth to admit and to declare that no other Religion known to man to-day has experienced *so many* modifications at the hands of its successive contemporaries. Nay more; no other Religion has so freely appropriated and adapted to its own uses, elements which it has borrowed from the Faiths which have flourished around it. Christianity, therefore, must needs be compared with these various alien systems

[1] Cp. Thomas E. Slater, *The Higher Hinduism in relation to Christianity*. London, 1902. [2nd and revised ed., 1903.] John Robson, *Hinduism and Christianity*. Edinburgh, 1878. [3rd ed., largely re-written, 1905.]

before it can safely be differentiated from them. At the same time, whilst many influences have operated upon the Christian Religion from without, it has simultaneously been undergoing highly important changes within itself. In many an instance the old doctrine has nominally been maintained, but it is being taught to-day with an entirely altered meaning. It is evident, accordingly, that a close investigation of Christianity, conscientiously and scientifically conducted, will afford an unusually complete survey of the results which are made accessible through an employment of the Comparative Method. In this way, moreover, one may hope to trace to their sources many at least of those potent and varied factors which, operating upon Christianity in the course of its growth, make the changes which they have wrought seem at once natural and necessary.

SUCH PROCEDURE NOT REALLY AN INNOVATION.—In a previous Chapter[1] it has been shown that, if we have regard to studies in domains other than that of Religion, the Comparative Method is now a familiar feature in almost every branch of modern scientific inquiry. But one is warranted in going a step further. So far at least as the Christian Religion is concerned, the employment of the Comparative Method should not be regarded as the introduction of a new and untried procedure; for in truth, though it has been applied often hesitatingly and sometimes clumsily, the aid of this method has continually been invoked ever since the commencement of the Christian era. Nay, many centuries earlier, it was utilised and valued among the learned Rabbis, who were most diligent in comparing the testimony of their venerated Sacred Books. Moreover, in the use to-day of every Bible Polyglot (in which the Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and other early Texts are formally set side by side), and in the successive consultation of differing Translations of these various versions of the Scriptures, what are we doing if not employing

[1] See pages 30 f. and page 58.

with deliberate purpose this self-same Comparative Method? Surely it needs only that attention be drawn to this fact—and, in the present instance, the attention especially of Christians—to secure for the Science of Comparative Religion that generous and even eager reception which it certainly deserves. For its aim is to discharge thoroughly, and in accordance with the demands of the most exact research, a task which man is constrained to attempt in any case. It offers its assistance, frankly and honourably, as a contribution towards securing the solution of a very complex problem. It is by no means specially enamoured of innovation, and most emphatically it presents no plea for acceptance on that basis. On the contrary, it points with confidence to all those other fields within which the adoption of the Comparative Method has already borne good fruit; and it merely suggests that, since even within the domain of Religion its employment has become a pressing and practical necessity, it ought in future to be used there also. Nevertheless, there as elsewhere, the method should be applied only under the control of enlightened leadership, and with the express imprimatur of authoritative sanction.

Christianity a Composite Religion.—It is a primitive conception of Christianity — yet unhappily a conception which still too widely prevails — that it is essentially a revelation from heaven, of definite and prescribed limits, in connection with which a Divine Founder planted His Church on earth and proclaimed His laws to men. Rightly understood, these statements are perfectly true: but, taken by themselves, and regarded as embodying an adequate account of the situation, they are grossly misleading. Even without the aid lent by Comparative Religion, one is fully warranted in saying that Christianity, as we know it to-day, is *largely* the outcome of a process of evolution. It has borrowed and utilised much that it found ready to its hand. The Religion of the New Testament stands closely related to that of the Old Testament; and the Religion of the Old Testament, in turn, stands closely related to various ante-

cedent Faiths. Confucius ever laid special stress upon the precept that "To understand the present, we must study the past." Moreover, as the late Professor Robertson Smith used to say, "In all true religion, the new rests upon the old."[1] These declarations are unquestionably true; and their truth can quite easily be established, in so far as Christianity is concerned. Far from its being an entirely new Religion, introduced and established without regard to the religious beliefs which were current in Christ's day, Jesus distinctly connects Christianity with that Judaism by which it had been preceded. "Think not," He says, "that I am come to destroy the law or the prophets: I am not come to destroy, but to fulfil."[2] And the successors of Jesus, in their office as Fathers of the Church, scrupulously imitated in this particular the Master's example: instead of inaugurating previously unheard-of rites, they imparted new and profounder meanings to old and familiar observances. Already existing practices they deliberately adopted, although afterwards by degrees they skilfully adapted them to the needs of a changing environment. Moreover, when we press still further back in history,—when we reach that Faith out of which Christianity has demonstrably been developed,—investigation reveals that even Judaism was not an entirely new Religion either. It likewise, whilst introducing from time to time certain essential modifications, consciously adhered to and defended the retention of a large number of religious institutions and beliefs which first emerged at a considerably remoter period.

CHRISTIANITY SUBSERVIENT TO A DISCERNIBLE LAW OF GROWTH.—Without at present going more into detail, the study of Comparative Religion may be said to bring out gradually into sharpest relief the existence of a fundamental law, a law which underlies indeed all devotional observances, viz., that Religion is by necessity *a growth*. If there is one sphere more than another within which

[1] *The Religion of the Semites*, p. vii. [2] Matthew v. 17.

man resents and shrinks back from the intrusion of what is unexpected and abrupt, it is emphatically within the sphere of his religious thinking.[1] There he is constrained, alike by impulse and good judgment, to make all necessary advances cautiously. An "interjected" knowledge of divine things, soon to be followed by inevitable questioning and recoil, may seem to be salutary at times, and even in some cases essential; but the instances of its occurrence, in the ordering of the moral government of the world, have clearly been reduced to the minimum. As these studies proceed, it will become more and more manifest that it has never been God's method, even when the most fundamental changes in Religion have had to be introduced, to effect such alterations by means of some sudden and overturning revolution. On the contrary, it has plainly been His choice —for it has demonstrably been His practice—to bring His perfect purposes to pass through the stages of an extended and slow-moving progress. His action, it will be admitted, has ever been in harmony not only with His will, but also with the dictates of supreme wisdom; and so it may confidently be affirmed that it is only by a process of graduated education, and by way of the steps of a natural and gradual development, that each new order of things within the realm of Religion can best be ushered in. That even Christianity, in its genesis and growth, has yielded loyal obedience to this law, will be made abundantly clear before this treatise is concluded. Few thoughtful men will claim that the successive stages of a mere evolution are of themselves sufficient to account for Christianity,[2] just as a similar explanation appears to be wholly insufficient to account for Christ. Nevertheless, in both instances, a larger place than heretofore must now be assigned to what may be termed the accidental or purely human factor. The original impulse in Christianity may be traceable to a source that is higher than man; but it was man, and not some occult impulse, that gave to Christianity its original and

[1] Cp. pages 229, 241, 289, etc. [2] See page 230.

primitive expression. In the course of the ages it has suffered countless reverses. Various modifications have been introduced into it,—modifications whose beginning and occasion Comparative Religion, in not a few cases, is perfectly competent to reveal. Yet Christianity itself has lived on, has taken firmer root, and has extended its branches more widely in every direction. The vital spark which it contains has never wholly been extinguished. And as, in the golden-hued harvest field, the wealth of standing grain is the fruitage of living hidden seeds that have now left the dead husks behind them; so Christianity, in the consensus of opinion of all who dispassionately study it, is but the legitimate and inevitable product of the forces that gave it birth, and that have influenced and coloured its career from the beginning until the present hour.

THIS LAW OF GROWTH ILLUSTRATED.—It is proposed, in a few condensed paragraphs, to indicate some of the particulars in which the development of Christianity out of its often forgotten sources may distinctly be traced. It is not contended, of course, that the list of factors here enumerated is in any sense complete; it does include, however, a fairly representative group of those elements of influence of which —and of which alone—Science, strictly so called, is competent to take account.[1]

1. IN THE HISTORY OF JUDAISM.—It is not easy to determine, where the range of choice is so wide, which topics would likely prove most fruitful in an examination of this sort; but the following selection will suffice:—

(*a*) *Judaism regarded as a more highly developed form of previously existing religious beliefs and practices.* — It can easily be shown that, during the passing centuries, the particular Faith now under consideration has undergone very material modification. It represents a system which has always been, and which still is, intensely conservative in its genius; and yet, constrained by the universal law of growth, it also has experienced a series of inevitable transi-

[1] See Chapter VII.

tions and changes. To its alleged origins, which are still admittedly obscure, reference will be made in a moment.[1] But, as regards at least a very considerable part of its subsequent history, we can speak with absolute confidence. We are able clearly to trace the influences which entered into it from Mesopotamia, from Persia, and from Greece,—not to mention other lesser tendencies incorporated in it from without, and whose silent but persistent operation has produced effects which are without any difficulty discoverable by every unbiased investigator. The contact of Judaism with Egypt also, and with Arabia, must not be overlooked. These varied influences, it need scarcely be said, did not in all cases prove helpful.[2] Oftentimes they served only to interrupt and befoul the waters of a refreshing though narrow stream. Nevertheless, as the volume of this river of life increased, it rose superior to the majority of its numerous temporary impediments; and to-day, still flowing majestically onward, it is the central spiritual fountain of those millions who honour it with an unmistakable and unswerving reverence.

(*b*) *The Old Testament.*—Or suppose attention be concentrated upon the Bible of Judaism. Let it be assumed that the structure and substance of the Old Testament have been examined with critical scrutiny; and what is the dominant impression that the reader of it is certain to bring away with him? If he be a student of Comparative Religion, it will be an impression identical with that which gradually grew in his mind as he studied Judaism itself, viz., that the Book is undeniably the product of a process of growth. The later portions of it are separated from its earlier parts, not only chronologically, but in spirit and outlook. This collection of sacred writings may contain—

[1] See also Appendix. Note V., page 491.

[2] See W. F. Cobb, *Origines Judaicæ: An Inquiry into Heathen Faiths, as affecting the Birth and Growth of Judaism.* The purpose of this book stands revealed in its opening sentence: "It is proposed in the following pages to apply the comparative method of modern science to the religion of the Jews."

that question is not now being discussed—the record of a series of Divine revelations; it may constitute, in this aspect of it, a specimen of miraculous and even Divine handiwork. But, touching one matter at least, there remains no longer any doubt: what the Old Testament is to-day, in its literary form and leading characteristics, it owes to the differing historical environments within which its various parts were written and then successively brought together.

(*c*) *The Book of Genesis.*—Suppose the horizon of inquiry be still further limited, and one go back to what used to be adjudged the ultimate and only authoritative source of all that is known concerning the origin of the world and man. Let the survey be restricted so far as to include merely the first eleven chapters of Genesis, and what do we find? It is round this centre that the heat of critical discussion glows most fiercely at this moment; and in no quarter are coolness and courage more requisite, in order that this burning and troublesome question may be judicially dealt with. But Comparative Religion makes it plain that, even here, we are separated by an immeasurable distance from the goal which we seek. This wonderful specimen of ancient writing is not so ancient as we supposed: it points us back—how far, no man can tell—to records which are still older than itself. Instead of its being an original document, dictated in some supernatural way, and containing a narrative of events concerning many at least of which man could not previously have had any knowledge whatsoever,[1] it would appear to be a deliberate compilation, within whose substance there stand incorporated those yet earlier stories out of which it was carefully constructed. Quite possibly this account of the opening chapters of Genesis may leave some factors unexplained,[2] factors with which Comparative Religion admits it is incompetent to deal; but that the

[1] Cp. pages 412–413.

[2] Professor Delitzsch, in his *Babel und Bibel* Lectures, gives an excellent sketch of the historical setting of the Old Testament, viewed as a literary document. But he is chargeable with singular oversight in regard to certain significant particulars. Important elements in the problem he is seeking to

account is true, so far as it goes, few to-day will deny. Hence the origin of that inquiry which is now so often heard, and which is perfectly legitimate: "Are these Genesis narratives to be interpreted literally; do they claim to be the record of actual history?" The question, "Did Moses write the Pentateuch?" is thus seen to be of much less moment than the prior question, "What were the sources, oral and written, which the Pentateuch presupposes?" The belief, once universally current in Christendom, that the record contained in the opening chapters of Genesis was a sheer Divine disclosure which God made to Moses, is no longer tenable,—unless, indeed, counter to the steadily multiplying evidences to the contrary, it could be shown that that great Lawgiver lived many centuries earlier than the period to which he is now confidently assigned; for Comparative Religion has demonstrated that the accounts given in Genesis concerning the Creation, the Flood, etc., were, in all their main outlines, already well known many hundreds of years before the date at which Moses is believed to have been born.[1]

(*d*) *Specific Old Testament Rites.*—The origin of many of the rites which the Old Testament enjoined upon the Hebrew people seems to have been strikingly similar to the origin of the Old Testament itself. That is to say, recent comparative studies have made manifest that many of the solemn

solve are either slighted or ignored. He is inclined also to exaggerate the importance of recent Assyriological discoveries, as regards the effects they are likely to produce in the beliefs of those who revere the Christian Scriptures. See page 275; also Appendix. Note VI., page 494.

[1] Cp. Sir Henry Layard, *Discoveries in the Ruins of Nineveh and Babylon.* London, 1853. George Smith, *Letter to the Daily Telegraph.* London, March 4, 1875; also, his *Chaldean Account of Genesis.* London, 1876. Morris Jastrow, Jun., in the *Jewish Quarterly Review.* July 1901. Heinrich Zimmern, *The Babylonian and the Hebrew Genesis.* London, 1901. George Adam Smith, *Modern Criticism and the Preaching of the Old Testament.* Abbé Alfred Loisy, *Les mythes babyloniens et les premiers chapitres de la Genèse.* Paris, 1901. [*Out of print.*] Colonel C. R. Conder, *The First Bible.* London, 1903. Samuel R. Driver, *The Book of Genesis.* London, 1904. Thomas G. Selby, *The God of the Patriarchs.* London, 1904. John P. Peters, *Early Hebrew Story.* New York, 1904.

observances of the Jews, even some of the most distinctive rites of their Religion, have been drawn from most unsuspected sources. To mention but one example, suppose we take *Circumcision*,—an ordinance upon which every pious Jew is wont to lay the very strongest emphasis. Yet many scholars claim to-day that this practice can be proved to have existed long prior to the time of Abraham; that the passage in the Book of Genesis[1] which has generally been regarded as giving an account of the beginning of that observance, is in reality merely a description of its origin among the Hebrews; and that Abraham was simply instructed to give to what was already a well-known religious act, a new solemnity, and a markedly profounder significance. Michaëlis traces the rite back to an age long antecedent to Abraham; he finds abundant evidence that the Egyptians employed it in very early days, as they certainly made use of it also during the lifetime of Moses; and he points out that this ordinance was not enjoined among the Hebrews until subsequent to Abraham's having visited Egypt.[2] The question raised is a somewhat obscure one, and anything like dogmatic statements concerning the point at issue ought carefully to be avoided. Just where and when the rite of Circumcision originated, no one can say with confidence. At the same time, it seems to be established that it was an observance whose beginning dates from man's primitive history. Moreover, it was clearly a rite "connected with some idea of purity, and fitness for religious worship, . . . and had become the generally received ceremony for dedicating men to the service of God. . . . It was regarded with feelings of solemnity, and as the type of a religious engagement. No *new* rite could have been more proper, or so efficacious, as the seal of a solemn covenant.[3]

[1] Chapter xvii. 9–11.

[2] Johann David Michaëlis, *Mosaisches Recht*. Göttingen, 1771. Cp. George Adam Smith, *Modern Criticism and the Preaching of the Old Testament*, p. 130. Also, Samuel R. Driver, *The Book of Genesis*, p. 189. London, 1904.

[3] James Cowles Prichard, *Analysis of Egyptian Mythology*, pp. 426–427. London, 1819. Cp. also W. F. Cobb, *Origines Judaicæ*, p. 212.

(*e*) *The Pentateuchal Legislation.*—But the penetrative quest of modern inquiry seeks to go deeper still. It might with some misgiving be conceded, in view of the confirmatory testimony which Comparative Religion has supplied, that many of the ancient rites of the Hebrews are plainly much older than men formerly supposed; but when seemingly sacrilegious hands are laid upon that body of Pentateuchal Law which for centuries has been the boast and the distinction of Israel, and it is openly affirmed that it also may be traceable to various unsuspected human sources, the first impulse of Jews and Christians alike is to repel the suggestion with disdain. Yet what is the central object of interest to-day, for scholars of every land, among those countless and priceless collections which are the glory of the Louvre? Is it not that black marble column, standing about eight feet in height, once marred and broken but now carefully pieced together, with its distinctly cut sculptures and inscriptions, and on whose surface men of the twentieth century are now deciphering the identical laws which King Hammurabi once caused to be promulgated throughout ancient Babylonia? Certainly no archæological discovery, made within the last half century, has exceeded in importance the "find" which was made by the French expedition under M. Jacques de Morgan in January 1902.[1]

But it may be asked, what connection has this old statute pillar with those divine laws which Jehovah communicated by special revelation to Moses? That is the very query which Comparative Religion is at present seeking to answer; and it seems likely, though this opinion is held as yet only tentatively, that the connection between these two Codes will presently be shown to have been very much closer than we have hitherto been accustomed to believe. In the meantime, Comparative Religion is not in a position to make any definite pronouncement upon this question. It is lending its services, with all eagerness, in

[1] Cp. page 372. See also Appendix. Note VII., page 495.

the effort to bring to a successful and speedy issue the research which is at present in progress. The Code of Hammurabi, it turns out, is a legal document which was not drafted all at once. It, at any rate, was plainly not dictated off-hand. It is admitted that it contains a careful summary of laws which had been in process of growth during the course of previous centuries. The Code of the Hebrews likewise, when we have gained a fuller acquaintance with the facts, may yet be shown to embody much of that wisdom which was simply the natural fruitage of a widening human experience. That this view of the Mosaic Legislation will be sufficient to explain it adequately, and to account for its spirit and genius, seems, however, to be growing less probable as the present inquiry advances. For, as Dr. Kent has put it in a recent *Review*, "The united testimony of Hammurabi, of the Old Testament Lawgivers, and of the Great Teacher of Nazareth, is that the Divine was speaking in the life of man to man. The character of these laws, and their effect upon humanity, are the supreme demonstration of their divine origin." [1]

2. In the History of Christianity.—Turning now from Judaism to Christianity, and subjecting it likewise to a close and prolonged scrutiny, one finds that a similar law of change has operated during the whole of its equally eventful history. Currents of influence—some of them, until recently, but little suspected—have flowed into it from one quarter and another, and have directly contributed towards giving to it its present complexion and character. Nay more; because of this very fact, Christianity has been prevented from getting out of touch with its constantly changing surroundings. It has grown with the expansion of those types of civilisation with which it has chanced to be associated, and which in turn it has elevated and inspired with an unmistakably Chris-

[1] See *The Biblical World*, pp. 175 f. Chicago, March 1903. Also, Stanley A. Cook, *The Laws of Moses and the Code of Hammurabi*. London, 1903. See Appendix. Notes VII. and VIII., pages 495 and 496.

tian spirit. Customs and beliefs of a harmless nature, when not opposed to Christian doctrine, seem from the first to have been tacitly accepted — even when they were not entirely welcomed—by representative Christian teachers.[1]

(*a*) *Christianity regarded as a more highly developed form of previously existing religious beliefs and practices.*—Let an illustration be selected almost at random. Suppose attention be concentrated upon the manner in which the modern Christian Church is formally organised: how does that organisation, in its many varying forms, compare with the Polity of the Church during the first three centuries? In certain Theological Colleges, it used to be the custom to train students to believe that only *one* form of Church government was taught in the New Testament. It was affirmed that that particular scheme of Polity enjoyed the exclusive sanction of the Apostles, and that it alone could to-day conscientiously and safely be followed. The period referred to lies indeed a generation behind the twentieth century, but some of its representatives are alive and with us still! What, however, are the facts of the case? The Church Historian and the student of Comparative Religion —apart altogether from the New Testament Exegete— have supplied us with material for reaching a more reliable conclusion. They have enabled us to lay our finger, with a very satisfactory degree of precision, upon the date when Prelacy arose; and they have made us acquainted with the causes which abundantly account for its origin. They have enabled us also to lay our finger upon the dates, earlier or later than in the former instance, when certain other forms

[1] Cp. page 71. See Thomas Inman, *Ancient Faiths and Modern, and their relations to Religious Customs as they now exist.* New York, 1876. Frederick Edward Warren, *Liturgy and Ritual of the Ante-Nicene Church.* London, 1897. Abbé Louis Duchesne, *Origines du culte Chrétien.* Paris, 1889. [Translated, London, 1903.] Paul Wernle, *Die Anfänge unserer Religion.* Tübingen, 1901. [2nd ed., 1904. Translated, "The Beginnings of Christianity." 2 vols. London, 1903–04.] R. Travers Herford, *Christianity in Talmud and Midrash.* London, 1903.

of Polity began to be observed and commended. They enable us to declare with confidence that no single method of Church government, existing to-day, can claim for itself the distinction of being the Polity of the New Testament.[1] But the Exegete now comes forward and says: The New Testament nowhere enjoins, or even goes so far as to suggest, the inauguration of a special and exclusive type of Church organisation amongst Christian believers. It nowhere promulgates the necessary introduction, in this connection, of an entirely new order of things. The first disciples of Jesus adopted instead, more or less fully, those forms of Polity which were already in existence in the communities where they lived, although it is quite true that they generally associated with the old forms a new and more vital meaning. The fact is that even so eminent an Apostle and Founder as St. Paul, a man who devoted himself to the planting and building up of Churches, does not lend the weight of his important personal sanction to any particular procedure in this matter. Whilst reverencing, naturally, the precedents set by the Synagogue, he allowed his action to be governed largely by circumstances; and so his advice and example were liable to vary with the special occasion which at the moment called for them. He followed one method in one city, but was equally ready to adopt an entirely different course in some neighbouring city. That is to say, he who had received his commission directly from the lips of Christ, and who accordingly could have spoken with the highest authority, refused to be made an umpire in disputes of this character. He set up such a Polity, in each particular city that he visited, as seemed

[1] Canon Henson stands by no means alone in the Church of England in declaring with emphasis that "specific types of ecclesiastical organisation are relatively unimportant." Rev. W. H. Griffith-Thomas, in his recent book, entitled *The Catholic Faith* (London, 1904), states the situation thus: "To hold the exclusive validity of episcopacy is no longer possible for anyone who believes in the New Testament and has any sure idea of what occurred in the first two centuries. Ministry of some kind is, of course, essential to the Church; but its precise and sole forms, and the exact methods of its perpetuation, are nowhere taught in Holy Scripture."

to him likely to be most effective in the meantime, and most effective also as a means of transition to something higher and better. His mind was evidently open in this connection to suggestions; and he was prepared to welcome such suggestions, even when they came from somewhat unpromising quarters. It was the *spirit* of the Christian ministry, not the mere form and letter of it, that he everywhere faithfully preached and earnestly sought to propagate.[1] Happily, in our own day the example of the Apostle still carries weight, and is deliberately being imitated in a sturdily increasing measure; for men are at last coming to recognise that the particular form of organisation which any Church adopts is a matter that may wisely be determined by considerations of existing practice or manifest local necessity.

(*b*) *The New Testament.*—If one examine closely the sacred canon of this later Faith, it will be found, as in the case of the canon of the Old Testament, that it has undeniably been coloured by the influences amid which it was gradually written. In truth, it openly claims to continue and *expand* the teachings that are contained in the Jewish Sacred Books which preceded it.[2] And this assertion it abundantly justifies. Even had Christ not intended that Christianity should be the direct continuation of some older Religion, the Faith that bears His name could not wholly have been disassociated from its predecessors; for, to quote again that remark which was so often repeated by the late Professor W. Robertson Smith: "In all true

[1] See Thomas M. Lindsay, *The Church and the Ministry in the Early Centuries.* London, 1903. Adolf Harnack, *Die Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums in der ersten drei Jahrhunderten.* Leipzig, 1902. [Translated as "The Extension of Christianity in the First Three Centuries." 2 vols. London, 1904–05.] James W. Falconer, *From Apostle to Priest.* Edinburgh, 1900. Walter Lowrie, *The Church and its Organisation in Primitive and Catholic Times.* 2 vols. New York, 1904. See vol. i.

[2] "The Old Testament leaves an impassable gulf between the soul and God." (Professor Marcus Dods, Edinburgh.) "The Old Testament belonged to a lower stage of human progress than the New." (Professor Alexander Francis Kirkpatrick, Cambridge.)

religion, the new rests upon the old."[1] Mr. Andrew Lang also has convinced us, by means of an array of carefully selected examples, that literally every Faith is full of "survivals."[2] In the very nature of the case it must be so; and no better illustrations of this law could possibly be desired than those which abound in the pages of the New Testament.

(*c*) *The Synoptic Gospels.*—If, as before, narrowing the range of our survey, we confine our examination exclusively to the introductory part of the New Testament canon, a significant result rises rapidly into view. As soon as one compares for the first time the first three Gospels, each successively with the other two, the student becomes aware of a measure of agreement and disagreement, respectively uniting and separating them, which he had never before realised or anticipated. He discovers (1) *certain features of mutual unlikeness.* The reader of these Scriptures, even when he maintains with good ground the doctrine of a special inspiration, must frankly concede that the authors of them were very plainly not automata, constrained by some supernatural impulse to employ only certain divinely selected phrases; for each writer exhibits, and preserves throughout, his own clearly defined individuality. No claim of infallibility is made by any of the Evangelists, nor is there any hint on the part of any one of them that he possesses any such unique prerogative. Each narrator evidently reports such events in the earthly life of Jesus as had made special appeal to *him*. Hence each account is different from either of the others, and (as evidenced by a variety of individual touches) is clearly the production of its own particular author.[3] Moreover, Comparative Religion has emphasised afresh (2) *certain features of remarkable similarity.* There exists between these three Gospels a degree of mutual likeness that reaches sometimes

[1] *The Religion of the Semites*, p. vii.
[2] *Myth, Ritual, and Religion.* London, 1887.
[3] Cp. Appendix. Notes XVI. and XVII., pages 528–532.

even the point of actual verbal identity. This circumstance tends strongly to create the impression that they must all of them have invoked the help of some older written sources. And this assumption has of late been significantly confirmed. That prior to the composition of the Synoptic Gospels various written memoranda already existed, few now deny. St. Luke declares in so many words that "many have taken in hand to set forth in order a declaration of those things which are most surely believed among us."[1] Some of these documents were doubtless compiled, at an earlier date, by the Evangelists themselves, while others would probably be jotted down by interested but non-Christian hearers. All will recall the LOGIA of Jesus, found not long ago in Egypt during the examination of a fragment of tattered papyrus,[2] and which have since been supplemented by more recent discoveries; and such furtive writings, of varying degrees of value, must have been exceedingly numerous before (as they were admittedly numerous immediately succeeding) the death of the Apostles. It is now known that the Synoptists were dependent upon the Septuagint—which was manifestly not an "inspired" translation — to an extent which, until lately, was not dreamed of; can it be believed then that, when attempting to give an authoritative sketch of the life and teachings of Jesus, these authors did not strive to make their narratives as inclusive as their limited scope permitted? Nothing could be more natural, accordingly, than that existing written material, especially wherever it promised to yield important help, should be carefully scanned and utilised. The alleged indebtedness of the Synoptists to certain non-canonical writings of the Apostolic period is a theme too wide to be dealt with here; but their special indebtedness to at least *one* author is a contention now widely admitted. The

[1] Luke i. 1. Cp. verses 1–4.

[2] See Bernard Pyne Grenfell and Arthur Surridge Hunt, *Sayings of our Lord*. London, 1897. See also, by the same Editors, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*. Parts I.–IV., 1898–1904.

first of the Gospels committed to writing was in all probability St. Mark;[1] at any rate, this document—to take but one illustration—is plainly referred to, and is recognised as authoritative, by the author of St. Luke. Yet further, some of the colouring of the Synoptical narratives can be traced directly to the preaching and letters of St. Paul,[2]—influences which, at the time of the composition of the Gospels, were already widely felt throughout the early Church. From this accumulation of evidence it seems clear that the reader of the Synoptic Gospels is asked to accept not only the testimony of eye-witnesses,[3]—of eye-witnesses of quite different types, and of eye-witnesses who testify naturally and freely,—but also the testimony of men who did not base their conclusions exclusively upon personal judgments. They were evidently acquainted with what others had thought and said concerning Him whose career they faithfully sought to portray. Their testimony is always honest and straightforward; but it would now appear that it was much more direct, more at first-hand, in some instances than in others.

As before,—when reference was being made to the

[1] See Allan Menzies, *Mark the Evangelist: The Earliest Gospel.* London, 1901. Professor Menzies believes, further, that this Gospel was written, "not with a view to Church use, but for the information of the brethren," p. 36. See also Vincent H. Stanton, *The Gospels as Historical Documents.* 4 vols. Cambridge, 1903. [*In progress.*] Consult vol. ii.

[2] This statement receives abundant confirmation, in particular, in the Gospel written by St. Luke. Were we dealing with the Epistles, it would not be hard to show that, as regards St. Paul, a considerable expansion took place (in the course of time) in the conceptions of the Apostle himself. This fact is revealed unmistakably in each successive Letter which he wrote,—until, in his Epistle to the Ephesians, stating his belief in its fullest and final form, he grandly unfolds the Philosophy of the Christian Religion. It is a most interesting and useful exercise to compare with exactitude the exposition of Christianity as presented by St. Paul on the one side, and by the Evangelists on the other; or, going yet further back, to compare the embryonic doctrines taught by Christ Himself with those identical tenets, after they had been elaborated and developed and interpreted in the preaching of His Apostles. See, *e.g.*, Robert J. Drummond, *The Relation of the Apostolic Teaching to the Teaching of Christ.* Edinburgh, 1900.

[3] Cp. Luke i. 2.

opening section of the Old Testament,—the limitations of Comparative Religion were frankly admitted,[1] the same avowal must be made when the student undertakes a serious investigation of the opening section of the New Testament. Concerning the Synoptists, the statement of particulars which Comparative Religion presents to us is unfortunately incomplete. Some of the elements which reveal themselves in the structure of the first three Gospels have not yet been adequately accounted for; all that can be claimed is that, in the meantime, strong emphasis has been laid upon certain facts which cannot safely be overlooked. This discussion, however, is a wide one, and cannot more fully be dealt with in the present connection. Suffice it to say that it has given rise to what is known as the perplexing Synoptic Problem,[2]—a problem towards the solution of which all students of the Gospels, and especially all students of Comparative Religion, are bound to lend their cheerful and diligent assistance.

(*d*) *Specific New Testament Rites.*—When speaking of the growth of the Old Testament canon, reference was made to the way in which Circumcision seems to have been introduced into the ancient Jewish ritual.[3] The investigations of Comparative Religion tend to show that, within the Christian Church, it was not otherwise with the inauguration of the corresponding rite of *Baptism*; it, too, appears to have been an earlier ceremonial observance, the significance of which was somewhat modified when it was adopted from without. For it is "well known that Baptism (or lustration by water) had been practised many ages before the Christian era," that immersions and ablutions and aspersions had been used from time immemorial in Pagan temples, and that these rites were regarded as necessary preparations for those who were to be admitted to certain

[1] See page 78.

[2] See J. Estlin Carpenter, *The First Three Gospels, their Origin and Relations*. London, 1890. [3rd ed., 1904.]

[3] See page 80.

religious privileges. If such ideas had *not* pre-existed in the opinions of men, the ordinance of Baptism—[endorsed] by John the Baptist and by our Lord—would have been devoid of much of its meaning and effect on those who witnessed or underwent the performance of it."[1]

And the same thing may be said, though with less confidence, concerning the other New Testament sacrament, viz., *the Lord's Supper*. Some have felt themselves led to associate this rite directly with the ancient Greek "Mysteries"; but it can be shown that the Christian Mysteries, so called, were post-Apostolic in their origin. Others connect the institution of the Lord's Supper, as regards both the manner and the purpose of its observance, with the existence of contemporary heathen Clubs or Secret Societies; it is held that these gatherings served as the model for a Christian assembly of a very different and much more elevated order. The solutions of this problem, thus far offered, have not been wholly satisfactory; yet they have not by any means been undertaken in vain. Much light has been thrown upon practices—either associated with this ordinance, or of a totally different character—which gradually obtained recognition within the pale of the primitive Church; and if evidence should one day be produced to show that Jesus, in inaugurating the Last Supper, had in mind not only the Jewish Passover, but also deliberately adopted and adapted some other pre-existing usage, that discovery will awaken no surprise among those who have made themselves familiar with Christ's ordinary and normal procedure.

Until Comparative Religion succeeded in furnishing the proof, it was not commonly known that Christianity had borrowed not one or two only, but fully a score of its distinctive and outstanding features from undeniably heathen sources. "To her treasury, bequests of usage and ritual have come from all the dead past. From Teutonic and Celtic faiths, from the cultus of Rome, and the worship

[1] James Cowles Prichard, *Analysis of Egyptian Mythology*, p. 427.

and thought of Greece, contributions can still be pointed out in the complex structure. Christian scholars have done splendid work in tracing these remains. I need but refer to the labours of Dr. Hatch and Professor Harnack (upon the relations of Christianity to Greece), and those of the eminent French scholar, the late Ernest Renan (in the investigation of Christianity's debt to Rome), as instances of the richness of the field and the importance of the results. . . . Many a shrine of Christianity is a transformation of a local altar of heathendom. There is no more important or more intricate work, lying within the sphere of Comparative Religion, than an analysis of existing faiths, with a view to the recovery of the bequests of preceding systems."[1]

3. In the History of Christ Himself.—Thus far it has been made evident that, by means of the Comparative Method, a great deal of interesting and important information concerning the origin and development of Christianity can be brought into clearer light. But with the same end in view, and employing still the same agent of research, there is no reason why one should not seek to advance a step further, and reverently trace the influences which tended to mould and determine the character of the great Founder[2] of that faith.

The limits of space forbid the expansion of this quest, so unfamiliar and yet so singularly alluring; but it is much more than inclination merely which suggests that it ought not to be ignored. Suffice it to remark here that while, by the great majority of students, it is held to be demonstrable that Jesus of Nazareth was in an absolutely unique sense the Son of God, Comparative Religion has helped to make it clear that He was also a veritable son of

[1] George Stephen Goodspeed, in his contribution to *The World's Parliament of Religions*, vol. i. p. 557. 2 vols. Chicago, 1903. In this connection, read the whole of Professor Goodspeed's paper; it is entitled, *What the Dead Religions have Bequeathed to the Living.* See also A. Smythe Palmer, *Babylonian Influence on the Bible*,—a little book and popular in treatment, but rich in its stores of varied and recent information.

[2] Cp. page 164.

man. There are no reasons which have been alleged on behalf of His true divinity (provided that doctrine be defended) which are not matched by others, equally strong, which proclaim His genuine humanity. He was, beyond all denial, a *man*,—however much more than man He may have been.[1] This, indeed, was Christ's own view of the case, and even His definite claim,—though He made higher claims as well, and not without reason. He was not only a man, but was unmistakably a Jew. The Samaritan woman, who met Him at the well-side, recognised His nationality instantly.[2] Quite as truly as St. Paul, He also was "of the stock of Israel, . . . an Hebrew of the Hebrews."[3] There is every warrant, therefore, for our eager yet respectful inquiry: What were the purely human influences, not always taken deliberately into account, which affected and gave direction to the earthly life of Jesus?

Any one who will take the trouble to make himself familiar with the localities, the men, and the books which stand intimately associated with the beginning of Christ's career, who will critically compare His utterances with His actions, who will compare the words He spoke on one occasion with those which He employed on a somewhat different occasion,—who, in a sentence, will strive to think himself back into the midst of those influences amid which, according to the best historical records, the Son of Mary moved,—will quickly discover that Jesus was directly and immediately susceptible to His surroundings, and that (in more senses than one) He was emphatically the child of His age. To a surprising degree, though not altogether,[4] He will be found to have been a man of like disposition, limitations, and passions with ourselves. He appears to have been as open to impressions, and to have been as ready to make natural response to them, as were any of the Jews among whom He taught and laboured. He knew human

[1] Cp. page 243. [2] John iv. 9. [3] Phil. iii. 5.

[4] Here, as so often elsewhere, His indisputable uniqueness continually reveals itself.

griefs, and He bore human sorrows, long before He carried His cross to Calvary. His temptations were real. His sympathies likewise were no pretence. He felt the throes of human anguish even more keenly than did other men. It was thus, indeed, that He was gradually prepared for that wondrous work which, at Golgotha, He was mysteriously permitted to accomplish.[1]

General Summary of Chapters I.–III.—Before concluding the "Prolegomena" portion of this treatise,—three Chapters in which have been outlined (1) the reasons for maintaining that Comparative Religion must henceforth be included among the Comparative Sciences; (2) the historical sequence of events which resulted in the employment of the Comparative Method within the domain of Religion; and (3) the application of the Comparative Method to the exposition of Christianity, with the view of illustrating the distinctive aim and scope of this new department of inquiry,—there are three general remarks which seem to be appropriate.

1. The Comparative Method viewed simply as an Agent of Research.—The peculiar value of the Comparative Method lies in the fact that it brings into view the hidden *relations* of things. It discloses in a most natural way, and yet oftentimes to the complete surprise of the beholder, the links of connection which join allied phenomena together. It is therefore, and pre-eminently, a scientific method. It can forecast, with a considerable measure of confidence, the probable outcome of the forces and tendencies with which it has to deal. Its aim and function, in every sphere of human inquiry, enable it to contribute directly to the advancement of the already recognised Sciences; and any attempt to create a new Science without invoking its assistance would not now be dreamed of. Its eager inquiries

[1] See Joseph Farquhar, *The Schools and Schoolmasters of Christ*. London, 1901. William Mitchell Ramsay, *The Education of Christ*. London, 1902. *The Creed of Christ*. (Anonymous.) London, 1905.

are destined, in many an instance, to be rudely curbed and baffled. The relationship which manifestly unites certain given beliefs and practices which are common among men, may for ages elude its most watchful scrutiny, or may finally be shown to lie beyond the range of its ability to discern or at least fully to grasp it.[1] But the genuine Scientist frankly admits that failure, whether present or persistent, is oftentimes his lot; nor will he presume to deny that countless realities may exist, and exist as centres of important and far-reaching influence, in those realms from which he is temporarily (and even permanently) shut out.

2. The Comparative Method viewed as an Agent of Research within the domain of Religion.—As regards the use of the Comparative Method within the domain of Religion,—illustrated concretely, in the present Chapter, by its deliberate application to the study of the Christian Religion,—its employment has made the fact abundantly clear that man's conceptions of a spiritual order are everywhere obedient to a silent law of growth. These conceptions also, as man now holds them—apart altogether from the question of their origin, of which Science tells us nothing—are emphatically human conceptions. They have their dwelling-place in the breast of man;[2] and, just as certainly, they take their colouring from their human surroundings, and owe their character very largely to their manifestly human content. As the criticism of the sources of man's religious beliefs has proceeded, the influence of the purely personal factor, as regards both the founders and the followers of various distinctive Faiths, has been more and more fully discerned. As Comparative Anatomy has revealed that man has a closer relationship to the lower animals than some at first were prepared to admit, and as Comparative Literature has made plain that Shakespeare was more dependent upon his predecessors and contemporaries than tradition was accustomed to relate,—so it is undoubtedly true that Comparative Religion has brought

[1] Cp. page 231. [2] Cp. page 225.

Moses and Jesus (to mention but two great Lawgivers) perceptibly nearer to the habitations of men. Nevertheless it is equally true that, by the use of the very same method, the distance that separates each of these teachers from those whom he instructed, and that sets each of them apart from those with whom he must now stand permanently associated, has been for the first time scientifically demonstrated. That there was something original in each, and absolutely unique in each, has been effectually brought into the foreground, and can never again legitimately be either ignored or denied. The office which Moses was called upon to fill—if viewed and interpreted, in these later days, somewhat differently from the way in which the older theologians used to expound it—is now admitted to be one which would have proved impossible to an ordinary man, moved and controlled by simply ordinary and conventional circumstances; and the function likewise which Jesus was called upon to discharge, and did so marvellously discharge, reveals the possession of resources before which Science is constrained to remain silent, or else openly to admit its inability to analyse and comprehend them.

3. THE BEST WAY IN WHICH TO DEAL WITH THE RESULTS WHICH, WITHIN THE DOMAIN OF RELIGION, THE COMPARATIVE METHOD FURNISHES.—In the preceding Chapter, reference was made to the way in which the Physical Sciences deal with these results. First of all, they subject them to adequate tests; and then, in the event of these tests proving satisfactory, they *accept* the results which have thus been sufficiently authenticated. They are in search of the truth; and, from whatsoever source they may obtain it, they stand ready to receive and welcome it. Clearly, no safer rule can be followed within the domain of the Science of Religion. Discoveries recently announced by teachers of Comparative Religion—some of them the conclusions which have just been specified,[1] together with others which are closely akin to them—are not only surprising, but unwelcome to many

[1] Cp. pages 74-93.

who have lately been asked to accept them; and so it has become a pertinent question in our day: How are these statements, so startling and so frank, to be successfully met? Beyond all question, there is only one way in which they can ultimately be disposed of. A simple denial of them, though given with the greatest confidence and emphasis, will serve no purpose: it would be regarded rather, in many a quarter, as equivalent to a confession of defeat. Such a course, therefore, would be utterly useless; nay, it would be worse than silence itself. The only way which remains open to one who is not prepared to accept and adopt these explanations, is to confront them with valid and definite counter-explanations,—explanations which will stand the test of closest historical scrutiny, and which will approve themselves as being the fruit of a scholarship as ripe and profound as that of those whose mistaken conjectures have rendered some refutation a necessity. And happily, it is after this manner that the student of Comparative Religion is busying himself to-day. Inasmuch as, after all, it is he who must give the final answer to many of the problems which now perplex men, and which render faith difficult and unstable, it is well that he is addressing himself to his task with confident and serious purpose. Every alleged fact that he can secure he greets with a friendly welcome. But he does more: he proceeds at once, without prejudice or impatience, qualified by the resources of acquired skill and ample learning, to subject *all* such conclusions to the ordeal of a rigid examination. The measure in which his quest has thus far been rewarded will be made clear in the subsequent Chapters of this Manual.

PART II

THE HISTORICAL PREPARATION

CHAPTER IV

ITS TARDY GENESIS

SYLLABUS.—General Remarks: pp. 99–100. The Postponement of the Advent of Comparative Religion—A brief Historical Survey: 500 B.C.—The Primitive Church—The Fourth and Fifth Centuries—The Middle Ages—The Renaissance—From the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century, inclusive: pp. 100–106. The Causes of this Postponement: An obstacle in Man himself—Religion, as a subject of inquiry, strangely misjudged—The earlier Zeitgeist unfavourable to such studies—The scantiness of working Material—The lack of a scientific Method: pp. 106–116. Summary: pp. 116–117.

LITERATURE—The subject-matter of the present Chapter is referred to in scores of books and in most of the more complete Encyclopædias, but no volume can be named in which it is dealt with exhaustively. It would be difficult to mention any publication in which the exposition given can be said to be even fairly satisfactory; for the treatment is almost invariably compressed within exceedingly narrow limits—as indeed must be the case, likewise, in the present instance. The brief list of references now supplied will achieve its aim if it serve as an introduction merely to the special theme with which this Chapter deals. Excellent glimpses of an historical character, giving a general survey of the whole field, may be found in the following works: PÜNJER (Georg Christian Bernhard), *Geschichte der christlichen Religionsphilosophie seit der Reformation.* 2 vols. Braunschweig, 1880–83. [Vol. i. only has been translated, Edinburgh, 1887.] DEUSSEN (Paul), *Allgemeine Geschichte der Philosophie mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Religionen.* Vol. i. only. Leipzig, 1894–99. [*In progress.*] CROZIER (John Beattie), *History of Intellectual Development.* 3 vols. London and New York, 1897–1901. [Vol. ii. has not yet been published.] BARROWS (John Henry), *The World's Parliament of Religions.* 2 vols. Chicago, 1893. JASTROW (Morris, Jun.), *The Study of Religion.* New York, 1901.

GENERAL REMARKS.—If one were to resolve to go back in imagination to that time when man began to interrogate

himself concerning the perplexities of Religion, it would be found impossible to pause until he had reached the era of the origin of the race; for, by inference from the known to the unknown, there has never been an age in the history of thinking beings when Religion has not boldly asserted its sway, and vindicated its right to rule in the lives and thoughts of men. But although speculation within this domain is as old as man himself, it is not of mere conjectures and guesses that the present treatise has to take note. Fortunately, its field of inquiry lies within much narrower boundaries, for it must restrict its survey to a review of efforts which have been made to promote the *scientific* study of Religion. Moreover, even within that limited area, it has to deal exclusively with the origin and development of Comparative Religion. The task, accordingly, will not be unduly burdensome. Since this new Science is of very recent growth, its history is brief and can without difficulty be outlined.

The Postponement of its Advent.—Of the individual Pioneers and Founders of this new discipline, detailed information will be given in Chapters V. and VI. Pains will then be taken to concentrate attention upon the *men* of different nationalities to whom, in so many characteristic ways, this study owes to-day its existence and its influence. In the meantime, however, some closer examination must be made of the Science itself, in order that one may better understand its spirit and worth. The present Chapter will deal, therefore, not so much with the actual advent of Comparative Religion, as with the historic *conditions* under which it pressed its way to the front.

A brief Historical Survey.—It has already been remarked that, prior to the seventeenth century, there existed not even the conception of a scientific study of Religion.[1] Men everywhere were moved, and profoundly moved, by religious sentiments—as is evidenced by their persistent (and more or less reverent) practice of various religious rites; but, for many ages after various nations

[1] See page 16.

of antiquity had attained to a most honourable place in the scale of civilisation, it does not seem to have so much as occurred to them that they should make Religion the subject of exact and exhaustive inquiry. Hence for a very long time—for thousands of years before the birth of Christ, and for at least seventeen hundred years subsequent to that event—we can discover no faintest trace of any attempt to build up a Science of Comparative Religion. Even during the century that followed, such efforts as were tentatively made were plainly doomed to failure. Thus during fully eighteen hundred years of our era, the scientific study of Religion was uniformly neglected.

1. *500 B.C.*—Suppose we *begin* with the year 500 B.C., —for it is practically useless to go back any further. It is only necessary to recall the way in which the peoples of that age had come to regard Religion, if one would understand how (for the time being) the advent of Comparative Religion was effectually barred. Take the Greek conception of Religion, current in that day. Professor Jastrow says: "It was perfectly natural to a Greek that the religion of Egypt should be different from the one prevailing in Hellas. How could it be otherwise? The countries were different, and therefore the gods were different. A difference in religion was accepted with the same complacency as was a difference in dress or in language."[1] The same view of the situation was commonly held by those who inhabited the Roman world; naturally uplifted through their pride of wealth and their triumphant successes in war, they accounted the Faiths of other peoples to be matters of secondary moment. The same remark holds true of the Hebrew race. It must not be forgotten, indeed, that among the earlier Hebrews there was not only a recognition of the existence of other Faiths, but (according to Professor George Adam Smith,[2] and others) a recognition of their

[1] Jastrow, *The Study of Religion*, p. 3.

[2] *Modern Criticism and the Preaching of the Old Testament*, pp. 128 f. London, 1901.

quite legitimate existence, under certain conditions; and it must equally not be forgotten that, later on, under the vigorous lead of the Prophets, Israel remorselessly denounced these alien Religions. Nevertheless, Israel never undertook—and, seemingly, never dreamed of undertaking—the difficult task of making a study of those Faiths which flourished all around her. It will be seen, then, that the spirit of this early age—whether it revealed itself in the action of Greek or Roman or Jew—was a spirit of complacent self-satisfaction. It frankly ignored, and it practically precluded, anything like a serious scientific inquiry into the religious aspirations and convictions which prevailed among outside races.

2. *The Advent of Christ.*—Soon after Christianity appeared, a widespread change of attitude towards "stranger" Faiths began to manifest itself. Men looked with ill-concealed dislike upon beliefs which were different from their own: and the spirit of antagonism, which the later Hebrews had often exhibited, not only visibly increased among that people, but spread to other races as well. Thus, in a very short time, indifference was succeeded by determined opposition, and apathy became changed into an eager and resolute resistance. Some have thought it singular that the advent of the Prince of Peace should have resulted in fanatical rigour, and even in religious war; but the Master's own words must eternally remain true: "I came not to send peace, . . . but a sword."[1] Moreover, a disposition to make proselytes—by compulsion if needful, as well as by persuasion—discloses itself everywhere in this immature age. What consequences followed? The Jews, finding it necessary to put themselves promptly upon their defence, were ready enough to adopt a line of action which promised to make good their losses. The Christians, full of zeal and flushed by the hope of a triumphant and speedy victory, showed themselves to be over-confident and aggressive. It was in this way, through excess of religious fervour, that the Roman

[1] Matthew x. 34.

Emperors were at length aroused from their attitude of indifference; and then, with cruel deeds verily, they vented their rage upon Jews and Christians alike. And it must not be overlooked that the good Emperors, equally with the others, have to be included in the list of remorseless persecutors. Indeed, the very best of them — Marcus Aurelius, for example—afflicted and harassed his subjects with a determination and seriousness which no one of the lesser Emperors ever surpassed. Why? Because a conscientious man *could* not remain indifferent when he began to see that the Faith of his country was being directly and deliberately threatened. This change of attitude on the part of the Court, therefore, is exactly what ought to have been anticipated; for if a man count *anything* to be worth maintaining and contending for, he will be certain to stand up in defence of his Religion. To be sure, the methods employed by the Emperors, in their sternly repressive undertakings, were those which few rulers to-day would sanction or employ; but that a determined opposition—backed up, as it was, by force—would express itself oftentimes in some severely drastic way, was plainly a foregone conclusion.

3. *The Fourth Century.*—By the middle of the fourth century, Christianity had become the Religion of the State. Ample resources of power, which in earlier days had been compactly arrayed against it, were now drawn up behind it, and yielded obedience to its command. And it will be remembered in what way the fierce spirit of that age inevitably asserted itself,—the same spirit which, in earlier days, was manifested so conspicuously by the Hebrew Priests and the Roman Emperors. The Jews were dealt with in a summary and reprehensible manner. Before the *Fifth Century* closed, it was announced that Paganism had been completely rooted up. In the *Seventh Century*, when Mohammedanism dared to dispute the exclusive sway of Christianity, the latter made instant appeal to arms, and prepared to crush without scruple this rash and impudent intruder.

4. *The Middle Ages.*—Then came the Dark Ages, during which the same narrow spirit ruled everywhere in men's minds. In some quarters, indeed, its sway was more absolute than ever. The details of the development may be omitted, as they are unimportant for the purposes of this Manual; but the Science of Comparative Religion was as yet plainly impossible.

5. *The Renaissance.*—That new birth in Letters, in Art, and in most of those factors which are the notes of modern progress—that movement, in a word, which is commonly known as the Renaissance—brought but meagre assistance to the student of Religion. Impulse and advance followed in almost every other domain; but manifestly men were still unprepared to scrutinise and compare the leading facts of their religious history. Hence there is nothing of moment, at this stage, that calls for remark; there is nothing, at any rate, that needs to be recorded. Although a great revival of interest took place within a score of departments of learning, no attempt to lay the foundations of Comparative Religion are discoverable in this period. Superficially looked at, this result may be surprising; but the historical survey which is now being made supplies us at once with a complete explanation. In the circumstances, no other outcome could logically have been looked for.

6. *The Sixteenth Century.*—At the beginning of the sixteenth century there dawned in Europe that wonderful Reformation, the inherent forces of which are not yet spent. Moreover, the revival, in this case, was distinctly a spiritual one; and it seemed not unreasonable to believe that, at last, the dominancy of Religion would have been universally acknowledged. But the event proved otherwise. Not even yet were the times fitted for the introduction of this new discipline; for new factors had appeared on the scene, and these resulted in a further inevitable postponement. Luther, Calvin, Knox, and their contemporaries were but the children of their age, and the spirit of their age distinctly influenced them. It was a time of incessant and bitter controversy.

Feeling ran high, and but scant restraint was laid upon men's embittered public utterances. Compulsion continued to be the universal watchword. No honest attempt to occupy an opponent's standpoint—but rather the exercise of force to compel him to abandon it, and to lay down his arms in unconditional surrender—revealed how vicious was the principle which then reigned supreme in literally every arena of religious thought and inquiry. The central figure of this period, even Luther himself, used unbridled freedom of speech, when speaking of the Jews on the one hand and of Roman Catholics on the other. His references to Mohammedanism, also, are equally pointed and equally uncomplimentary. In a word, the time for studious research and the exercise of the critical method had not yet come; and in this respect the *Seventeenth Century* differed but little from its unsatisfactory predecessor.

7. *The Eighteenth Century.*—Then followed the Deism of the eighteenth century,—a period during which keen hostility towards Christianity, for a considerable time on the increase, suddenly reached its culmination. At this juncture the fight raged, not so much between Christianity and Paganism, as between Christianity and Rationalism. Moreover, the citadel of the Christian faith began now to be attacked from within, with the result that an ever-increasing perplexity and confusion filled men's minds. M. Burnouf characterises these days very aptly when he speaks of "their scoffing tone, their insults and animosity."[1] In some quarters, the added blight of Atheism prevailed for a time. And so this reactionary century saw the flickering hope which a few had ventured to entertain concerning the commencement of the systematic study of Religion gradually disappear amid the deepening gloom.

8. *Summary.*—It goes without saying, that under circumstances so persistently adverse any serious investigation of the phenomena of Religion was simply out of the question.

[1] *La science des religions.* Paris, 1872. [Translated, London, 1888. P. 36.]

Either men felt no interest whatever in the subject, or else they took in it so fierce and remorseless an interest that even all barriers of honour and courtesy and justice were shamefully overthrown. During the whole period which has been under review, viz., from 500 B.C. to the close of the eighteenth century, the conditions which prevailed rendered men utterly unable to initiate, and equally unfit to prosecute, a pursuit which necessitates tranquil surroundings and an open, quiet mind. But, down to the end of the period just indicated, such an environment was plainly impossible. The din of successive disputations continuously filled the air. The passions of men were kept constantly at white heat, and in unceasing ferment. And in truth, the age being what it was, it is ground for gratefulness that nothing was attempted; for had any step been taken to introduce prematurely that Science which was now so soon to make its appearance, the enterprise could only have proved abortive and fruitful in unnecessary evils.

THE CAUSES OF THIS POSTPONEMENT.—In the course of the foregoing survey, reasons have incidentally been suggested why Comparative Religion had to await the advent of more propitious days before it could hope to be formally inaugurated. A complete revolution was soon to be wrought in men's minds, in obedience to which a study which had so often been postponed was suddenly to be elevated to a place of the highest importance; but, before advancing to give a description of this later period, some account must be furnished of the circumstances under which this remarkable change of attitude was successfully brought about. What then, in detail, were the causes of that prolonged intellectual inertia, that strange stolidity and seemingly utter indifference, concerning problems which to-day everywhere awaken the keenest and profoundest interest?

1. *An Obstacle in Man himself.*—One explanation of the fact that the advent of Comparative Religion had to be again and again postponed, is traceable to a defect in human conduct,—which, in turn, is based upon a miscalculation as

to the relative worth of things. Man has failed to discern that Religion is infinitely more than a means to an end,—that it is, in truth, a transcendent summit of human experience. Hence other and lesser things have been allowed to usurp its place in his thought. The demands of business or pleasure, being found to be pressing, have received the first attention. As these demands have multiplied, they have naturally called for more time and more consideration. By and by, the whole life has become concentrated upon the attainment of things of secondary moment, whilst the things of supreme importance have been crowded out of sight. It is largely owing, therefore, to man's defective personal relation to Religion, and to his ill-grounded belief that his "life consisteth . . . in the abundance of the things which he possesseth,"[1] that he has held himself aloof from a study towards which he has failed to be drawn by any inherent and vital sympathy.

Yet the fundamental claim which Religion makes upon our race is its claim upon our attention. Up to a certain point, indeed, and under the constraint of very powerful motives, it exacts all that it asks for. It tolerates neither excuse nor refusal. So profoundly does it move men, that they will argue for it, fight for it, and even consent to die for it. Nevertheless, an interest which reveals itself after this manner may, in truth, be but very evanescent in character, whilst it may spring from an impulse the very opposite of that which would tend to promote the study of Religion. Excess of zeal is begotten of ignorance, and has never cared for the light. It is only he who has had secret communings with God, who has experienced in his own soul the meaning of that precept: "In quietness and confidence shall be your strength,"[2] and who has rejoiced to yield obedience unto "the heavenly vision,"[3] who has developed a permanent readiness and fitness to uphold the claims of Religion. For him indifference to its demands has become a sheer impossibility; nor can any other study

[1] Luke xii. 15. [2] Isaiah xxx. 15. [3] Acts xxvi. 19.

awaken within him the same perennial and enthusiastic ardour.

It may be objected that the obstacle just named is markedly in evidence to-day, and yet the Science of Comparative Religion has managed to emerge and establish itself. But the answer is easy: other factors have entered into the problem meanwhile, and have proved quite revolutionary in their influence. Man's defective personal relation to Religion is, unfortunately, operative still; but in our day it is a tendency which, in the present connection, has successfully been counterbalanced. Increase of information has aroused, and is constantly enlarging, man's individual interest in Religion. In the period lying between the first and the eighteenth centuries, however, it was far otherwise. Amid all the chequered vicissitudes of that prolonged era, and largely because these vicissitudes were so various and often so revolutionary in their character, circumstances were highly unfavourable to the inauguration and promotion of the systematic study of Religion. There were to be found, indeed, many earnest and devout souls—a great and noble army of them; but these were for the most part isolated votaries, and there existed practically no facilities for co-operation either in council or in action. Nor were the horizons of these men, choice spirits though they were, sufficiently widened as yet. They were strictly conscientious and sincere; but any suggestions they might have offered concerning the collection and analysis of the facts of man's religious experience would not likely have proved to be contributions of any large or permanent value.

2. *An Obstacle in Religion, regarded as a field of inquiry.*—In addition to a defective relation between man and Religion, there is something in Religion itself—or, rather, in man's faulty conception of it—which undoubtedly helped to postpone the advent of Comparative Religion. It was a cause of delay which, unhappily, is still conspicuous and effective; but its influence was naturally more powerful in early times, when man's understanding of Religion was

more one-sided and superficial than it usually is to-day. It will be noted that this second obstacle has its seat, not in the student, but in the study which seeks to enlist his attention; for it has too often been supposed that Religion is a field of inquiry which can supply only a very scanty stimulus to the work of the investigator and explorer.

It is beyond denial that Religion is of such a character, viewed in the light of its inherent nature, that the number of those who devote themselves to its serious interpretation will always be limited. Up to a certain point, therefore, the hindrance which is now being considered is not conjectural merely, but actual; and it is bound to persist. The study of Religion is one which, at the outset, does not arouse any very eager enthusiasm, whereas it does make immediate demands on one's maturest resources of patience, concentration, and diligence. The majority of men, accordingly, have shown a distinct disinclination to enter deliberately upon the labours which such a task ensures. It is, however, the outcome of a hasty and faulty judgment—a widespread misconception as to what Religion really is[1]—that is chiefly responsible for diminishing the number of those who conscientiously study it, and who seek to unravel the problems with which it essays to deal.

Why is it so common an opinion that, in the very nature of the case, investigations within the domain of Religion must be abstract and uninteresting? It is said that these inquiries have to do with "other-world" perplexities, that they belong to a region where demonstration is impossible, and that they have their origin and being in an atmosphere which is framed and steeped in mystery. Surely no error more misleading has ever entered the mind; and it will be one of the aims of the present treatise, taken as a whole, to dispel a delusion which has wrought an immeasurable amount of mischief. Far from this mistaken view being tenable, there is absolutely no subject, within the whole range of human learning, which is more com-

[1] Cp. pages 334 f.

petent to evoke and sustain one's enthusiastic devotion than a right apprehension of the nature and contents of Religion. And happily there have always been men who have clearly discerned this truth. They have not always been the intellectual leaders of their age, and certainly they have not always been its most popular representatives; on the contrary, they have frequently been found among its Mystics and recluses. Nevertheless they have been men of insight, —men of acute and penetrative minds. They have not shunned the world's conspicuous places of honour because of any unfitness to struggle successfully in life's more busy arenas; they have simply been content to surrender these coveted posts to others, because Religion can best be realised and understood where there is opportunity for meditation and reflection. But assuredly they have never thought of themselves as martyrs, nor have they desired the tribute of a needless and unsought sympathy. For as he who stands *within* a great cathedral can best appreciate the glories of its glowing painted windows: so he who has once entered the majestic temple of Religion, and who has there feasted his eyes upon pictures which perpetually charm and delight him, needs no laboured persuasion to induce him to pass in (as often as he may) through its open welcoming portals.

3. *An Obstacle in the Spirit of the Age.*—In addition to the reasons which have already been specified, there were others—not negative but positive, not general but local and chronological—which must be included within the present survey; and, beyond all question, one of the most effective obstacles to the earlier advent of Comparative Religion is traceable to the peculiar mental attitude—varying, yet always distinctly marked—which characterised the first eighteen centuries of the Christian era.

In the historical sketch of the period which preceded the advent of Comparative Religion (supplied in an earlier part of this Chapter),[1] attention was drawn to the fact that a spirit of indifference, and then a spirit of intolerance,

[1] See pages 101–104.

controlled the action of the leaders of religious thought during the Ancient and Middle Ages. Professor Jastrow has worked out this sequence, with many interesting details, in a recent volume of the Contemporary Science Series.[1] This author shows conclusively that, at first, an attitude of easy unconcern was universally dominant. Then followed a period of fierce and determined proselytism, carried on fanatically in the interests of this or that particular Religion. And finally, we arrive at an era when the prevailing feeling towards Religion, of whatsoever type, was that of an uncompromising antagonism.

Of course, any one of these tendencies, if sufficiently pronounced, must inevitably have postponed the endeavour to carry forward the study of Religion. Mental indolence, mental narrowness, and mental antipathy—even had they operated singly, and not contemporaneously—would abundantly suffice to account for that long historical blank which, so far as Comparative Religion is concerned, stretches from the first to the eighteenth century. And the same unhappy void would certainly confront us still—in an age when all three of these tendencies, though in a lesser measure, continue to exert their blighting and hindering influence—had not the presence recently of a new and more potent temper demanded and compelled recognition. The human mind to-day is thoroughly awake; and not only is it alert, and enamoured of its ever-widening outlook, but it is consciously under control of the benign spirit of charity. This one fact has altered the whole situation, as regards the progress and prospects of Comparative Religion; and it was this complete change of mental attitude, an attitude which distinguishes and sets apart the nineteenth century from the entire series of its predecessors, which had not a little to do with making the beginning of Comparative Religion possible, and its subsequent history a career of rapid and assured progress.[2]

4. *An Obstacle in the Scantiness of adequate working*

[1] *The Study of Religion.* [2] See pages 364–367.

Material.—Yet another reason why this new Science had to wait so patiently for its inauguration, lay in the fact that the necessary material upon which investigators would have to begin their work has become accessible—at least in sufficient quantity—only within the last few decades.

We must not blame the Greeks, the Romans, the Jews, nor yet the primitive Christians, if they complacently entertained the belief that their own Faith was the *only* Faith, —or, at any rate, the only Faith that was really worth knowing. Such circumscribed views were due, as has been shown, to the *Zeitgeist* of an earlier civilisation; they were at once natural and inevitable. In like manner, we must not venture to blame the pioneers of the fifteenth century because, when they were eagerly inquiring their way through many a labyrinth of dim and forgotten lore, under the quickening impulse of the Renaissance movement, they did not devote themselves enthusiastically to the study of Religion. We indeed see clearly, from our loftier vantage-ground, that that domain offered as rich rewards to the explorer as any that were obtainable in the provinces of Art or Letters or Philosophy; but such knowledge is the outcome of very recent research and discovery. The acquaintance of scholars with alien Religions, during the fifteenth century, was at once meagre and unpromising; and they had never felt the stimulus of those simply countless suggestions which, through the actual comparison of Religions, have to-day become one of the most effective incentives to a difficult but fruitful service.

Among the agencies by means of which an acquaintance with the Religions of the world became gradually diffused, there are three that require to be specially emphasised :—

(*a*) *Geographical Discoveries.*—Until the close of the fifteenth century, a large part of the globe was practically unknown. One reason for this ignorance was due to the fact that the mariner's Compass, though used perhaps a hundred years earlier by the sailors of Genoa, was not employed generally in navigation until the beginning of the

fifteenth century; and so the voyages undertaken prior to that date were made only in small vessels and for short distances. But no sooner did that invaluable aid to seamanship which the Compass supplied begin to be commonly employed, than maritime discoveries of the very first importance followed each other in rapid succession. It was PORTUGAL that first won wealth and fame by means of this new enterprise. Colonies were planted at Madeira (1420), the Azores (1433), and along the West Coast of Africa (1440–60); the Cape of Good Hope was rounded (1487); before long, India was reached by Vasco da Gama (1498); and, shortly afterwards, trading began with China (1517), and Japan (1542). In the meantime, SPAIN had begun to compete with Portugal in these momentous undertakings; and Columbus conceived the idea of reaching India, not by doubling the Cape, but by sailing due West! In due course this famous navigator, a Genoese, by the way, discovered the Continent of America (1492), and inaugurated an entirely new era in the history of the world. The earlier over-land journeys—made by merchants amid vast risks on account of robbers, hardships, and disease—were now for the most part abandoned; and colonisation, commerce, facilities for travel, and the increase of wealth which made such journeys comfortable as well as possible, became the order of the day. Men began to move freely across the earth's surface, and to become acquainted at first hand with all those undreamed-of revelations of its resources which it had so long been holding in store.

(*b*) *Discoveries of various Religions.*—The pioneers who visited the newly found Islands and Continents were, of course, simply traders,—energetic and courageous men, who pushed their wares diligently wherever they could find or enforce an entrance. For a considerable period, moreover, these explorers were content to concentrate their thought upon the one purpose that had brought them from their homes: it was undeniably the commercial instinct that had been aroused into activity. But, by and by, other facts—

facts of an entirely different character—began to attract and secure their attention. There were no missionaries in that day, in these distant regions,—men who by their lives, and by their writings, kept the fact of Religion continually in the foreground, and who deliberately observed and recorded the phenomena which appertain to man's moral and religious nature. But the traders, in bringing back with them some report of what they had seen, described the varied forms of worship found among these alien peoples; and these rumours came to the ears of thoughtful and scholarly men. The problems of faith were certain, sooner or later, to force themselves into prominence; and, about the middle of the eighteenth century, a little group of investigators, working quite separately, began to give this whole matter deliberate and candid consideration. It is in the books of these earliest modern students of Religion that we find the first definite foreshadowing of the approach of the Science of Comparative Religion.

(*c*) *Discoveries of various Sacred Books.*—But a more noteworthy discovery than either of those yet named calls for special mention, viz., our acquiring from time to time fragments of entirely unknown literatures, and our gaining possession of the venerated Scriptures of the various great Religions of the world. It need scarcely be said that, by scholars working in the department to which the present treatise belongs, this portion of the spoils was deemed the most important of all. In that day, to be sure, most of the Sacred Books secured were literally sealed books; for very few had the capacity to decipher and utilise them. The vast modern domain of Philology was still a *terra incognita*. Nevertheless the very possession of these revered writings awakened a keen desire to read and understand their contents. The goal was now in sight; and although Comparative Religion had once more to possess its soul in patience, it received through these latest discoveries a powerful and permanent impulse.

5. *An Obstacle in the lack of a scientific Method.*—Full

reference has been made to this subject in Chapter II. We now know whence the distinctive "Method" of Comparative Religion has been obtained. It is an instrument of research which has admittedly been borrowed. It had proved itself to be so conspicuously effective and reliable, when applied in various other domains of inquiry, that as a matter of course it presently came to be employed likewise within the domain of Religion.

The advancement of *philological investigations* had not a little to do with hastening the advent of Comparative Religion. This philological movement may be said to have begun in the age of the Renaissance.—say, in the fifteenth century; but it was only a hundred years ago that scholars acquired facility in Sanskrit, while it is scarcely half that time since the written languages of Assyria and Egypt began to be interpreted with confidence. This increased ability to read foreign documents—whether written upon stone, or clay, or papyrus, or some other suitable material—meant, of course, the opening up of a new avenue of approach to the various Religions of the world. One after another, the Sacred Books of the East appeared in excellent translations,—in German, in French, and in English.[1] It is unfortunately true that there is not perfect agreement, even to-day, as to the precise meaning of some portions of these primitive texts. This uncertainty does not arise from any well-grounded suspicion as to the reliability of the texts themselves, for their *ipsissima verba* are not really to any great extent in dispute; the uncertainty arises rather concerning the ideas which the terms employed were intended to communicate. A paper prepared by the late Professor Tiele, and read at the Parliament of Religions in Chicago,[2] emphasised this point not unduly,—attention being drawn to the exceedingly wide divergencies in interpretation which

[1] *The Sacred Books of the East.* 49 vols. [An *Index* volume is to follow.] Oxford, 1879–1904.

[2] See John Henry Barrows, *The World's Parliament of Religions*, vol. i. p. 585.

separate some of the greatest masters in this field, alike in Egyptology and Assyriology, in Sanskrit and Zend. At the same time, these differences of opinion have not prevented the preparation of translations which are laudably accurate in the main; and thus the contents of the various Sacred Books of mankind are to-day fairly well known to us.

But greater far than the help which Comparative Religion obtained from the rapid progress made in Philology, was the assistance it received through the founding of the new Science of *Comparative Philology*. In relation to this important historical discipline, something has already been said in Chapter II.;[1] suffice it to remark here, that "it leads us into the remote past, far beyond the most ancient written documents, and confronts us with religious notions which in those remote times were shared and acknowledged by an entire race."[2] As all now know, it was by this gateway that the late Professor Max Müller passed into the realm of Comparative Religion; and it is not too much to affirm that, but for this gateway,—one which was not discovered until 1784,[3] *i.e.* the close of the eighteenth century,—the advent of that study would have been still further postponed. For beyond denial the most influential factor in bringing about the origin of the Science of Comparative Religion was the advent and activity of the Science of Comparative Philology,—just as, within recent years, the most influential factor in promoting the rapid advance of Comparative Religion has undoubtedly been the excavator's pick and shovel.

SUMMARY.—It appears, then, as the result of this condensed but careful survey, that the genesis of Comparative Religion cannot be placed earlier than the beginning of the nineteenth century. As a Science, strictly so designated, it

[1] See pages 33 f.

[2] Emile Louis Burnouf, *La science des religions*, p. 1. Paris, 1872.

[3] This is the date which Max Müller prefers. See *Introduction to the Science of Religion*, p. 34.

did not begin for half a century later, viz., until about 1850;[1] but, prior to the last-named date, for fully fifty years, it was constantly under review, and provoked more or less serious discussion. Several reasons have been enumerated which abundantly explain why the advent, both of the study and the Science, could not logically have been looked for at an earlier period,—the facts, for example, that the times were not yet ripe, the available materials were insufficient, and a competent scientific method had still to be discovered.

[1] Cp. Tiele in *The World's Parliament of Religions*, vol. i. p. 583. See also Jastrow, *The Study of Religion*, p. 43.

CHAPTER V

ITS PROPHETS AND PIONEERS

Syllabus.—General Remarks: p. 119. Comparative Religion has had many Forerunners—Its Advent analogous to that of Christianity: pp. 120–121. A Complete Enumeration of its Heralds impossible: pp. 121–122. A Select List of its Prophets and Pioneers. I. The Ancient Age. The Gnostics—The Alexandrian Theologians: pp. 122–128. II. The Middle Ages. Roger Bacon — Nicolaus Cusanus: pp. 128–132. III. The Modern Age. Mangu—Akbar—Spencer—Ross—Dupuis—Constant—Herder—Meiners—K. O. Müller—Adams—F. Max Müller: pp. 132–156. General Survey of the Period of Preparation, with the Lessons which it teaches: pp. 157–158.

Literature.—The following books deserve mention; moreover, taken together, they constitute a group of fairly representative volumes. Further, if they be carefully examined, the reader will secure a pretty accurate idea of the way in which the study of diverse Religions was first approached, and then honestly prosecuted by its earliest advocates and exponents. Mansel (Henry Longueville), *Gnostic Heresies of the First and Second Centuries.* London, 1875. Hastings (James), *A Dictionary of the Bible.* 4 vols. Edinburgh, 1898–1902. See article on "Gnosticism." Origen, Περὶ Ἀρχῶν. Alexandria, 232. [Translated freely into Latin by Rufinus, 398–99. Translated into English in "The Ante-Nicene Christian Library." 24 vols. Edinburgh, 1866–72.] Bacon (Roger), *Opus Majus.* London, 1733. [Reprinted, Venice, 1750. Latin Text, carefully edited, with Introduction. 3 vols. Oxford, 1897–1900.] Ross (Alexander), *Pansebeia; or, A View of all Religions in the World.* London, 1653. Spencer (John), *De legibus Hebræorum ritualibus, et earum rationibus.* Libri tres. Cambridge, 1685. Dupuis (Charles François), *Origine de tous les cultes, ou religion universelle.* 7 vols. Paris, 1795. [N. ed., 10 vols., 1834.] Constant (Henri Benjamin), *De la religion, considérée dans sa source, ses formes, et ses développements.* 5 vols. Paris, 1824–31. Meiners (Christoph), *Allgemeine kritische Geschichte der Religionen.* 2 vols. Hanover,

1806–07. HERDER (Johann Gottfried von), *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit*. 4 parts. Leipzig, 1785–92. [N. ed., Berlin, 1889.] MÜLLER (Karl Ottfried), *Prolegomena zu einer wissenschaftlichen Mythologie*. Göttingen, 1825. [Translated, London, 1844.] MAX MÜLLER (Friedrich), *Introduction to the Science of Religion*. London, 1873.

GENERAL REMARKS.—In the present Chapter, whilst completing our sketch of the historical preparation for the advent of an important new Science, we pass on from a review of the disheartening conditions which at first confronted this study, with the disabilities which they involved, to deal with a much more attractive subject. We are now to make acquaintance with some of the *men* who, notwithstanding these adverse circumstances, contrived to lend to Comparative Religion its first genuine impulse. We have seen how, as the years slipped by, the situation gradually improved. By the beginning of the nineteenth century, indeed, not only had the more serious difficulties of earlier days been surmounted, but effective inducements were being held out to those who had courage sufficient to inaugurate this new departure, and who were prepared to show themselves diligent in promoting its interests. We are now to concentrate our attention upon the Actors—or more strictly, meanwhile, upon the Supernumeraries of the Stage—who essayed to play their individual parts in a very fascinating Drama; and we are to seek to estimate the measure of success which crowned their painstaking labours. Let us then glance backward for a little, as we scan closely the pages of history in our search for outstanding and representative names. Our survey will cover the period embraced within the first eighteen Christian centuries,—during which, as it has already been shown, the Science of Comparative Religion was still a thing of the future. Our investigation, as we trace the steps by which the foundations of a new Science were unwittingly being laid, will be found to disclose to us the particulars of a quite enchanting story, and the stages in the development of a genuine romance.

THE PRECURSORS OF COMPARATIVE RELIGION: A GROUP OF NOTABLE MEN.—One of the latest of the great World Religions was CHRISTIANITY, and every one remembers that it was most unostentatiously ushered in. With a stable for its birthplace, a manger for its cradle, a little band of unlettered fishermen for its first propagators and expounders, its chief leader crucified as a malefactor, how utterly insignificant it seemed! Nay more; how completely, in these several aspects of its history, did it appear to be positively unworthy of serious attention! It is true that, according to the conviction of millions, while Jesus was indisputably the son of Mary, He was at the same time none other than the Son of God; yet who thought of Him as being even an *earthly* King, in those days when He walked among men! Pilate bluntly puts to Him the question: "ART thou the King of the Jews?" And Jesus, in effect, replies—as once He actually replied to certain Pharisees—"The Kingdom of God cometh not with observation."[1]

That "Kingdom," however, had its Precursor, its accredited Forerunner, in the person of JOHN THE BAPTIST. Men did not understand at the moment the full significance of his mission: they lightly accounted him to be an eccentric Prophet, a man of exaggerated visions,—one whose home had fitly been chosen in a wilderness, and whose garb revealed the pinch of extremest poverty. They did not foresee—they did not even dream of—that day when the high calling of this Prophet would be triumphantly vindicated, and when even Christ would declare concerning him: "Verily I say unto you, Among them that are born of women, there hath not arisen a greater than John the Baptist."[2]

It is worthy of remark, therefore, that the advent of Comparative Religion was quite analagous to that of the Christian Religion: it likewise came "without observation." And yet, before it came, it too was duly heralded. Indeed,

[1] Luke xvii. 20. [2] Matthew xi. 11.

as will immediately be shown, it was preceded by *many* Heralds; and not a few of these Prophets, grossly misunderstood and often roughly treated by their contemporaries, were men of whom the world was not worthy.

A COMPLETE ENUMERATION OF THE PRECURSORS OF THIS SCIENCE IMPOSSIBLE.—In dealing with the Prophets and Pioneers of Comparative Religion—and, for present purposes, it is not necessary to separate these two bands of workers in two distinct classes — nothing more than a selection of the most outstanding representatives will be attempted. Indeed, no sooner does one undertake to make a fairly adequate enumeration of them, than it becomes evident that a complete list is a practical impossibility. Two reasons abundantly justify this statement: (1) *No one has yet found time to pursue this inquiry exhaustively.* It still remains true that, even where such investigation has been carried on most thoroughly, the names of many who are entitled to a place on this roll have managed to escape notice, and so have remained unchronicled. Moreover, (2) *the first stages in the work of acknowledged Pioneers,* men whose valuable contributions to the Science are now universally admitted, *cannot always be traced with confidence.* The line of demarcation which separates these more successful explorers from their immediate predecessors is often a very faint one, and so is admittedly a matter concerning which there may exist considerable room for debate. Accordingly, when we push our inquiries still further into the past,—when we seek to determine who were the men of clear prophetic vision, the men who had foresight sufficient to discern the need and the approach of a new religious discipline,—we must be prepared to encounter still greater perplexity, and to be confronted continually with estimates and conclusions which are the very opposite of our own. Much will have been accomplished, however, when it has been shown, even by means of an incomplete survey, that unquestionably *many* laboured before students of the nineteenth century "entered into their labours." That word of

Christ, "One soweth and another reapeth,"[1] is as true of this harvest-field as of the one concerning which it was originally spoken. A good many of the items which fall to be registered in this Chapter form, strictly speaking, no part of the history of Comparative Religion, when that study is thought of *as a Science*; nevertheless, they must be admitted to hold an important relation to its history, in that they constitute a distinct *preparation* for it. Indeed, were it not for the existence of those workers whose investigations are now briefly to be mentioned, the genesis of Comparative Religion might have been considerably delayed beyond the date which witnessed its advent. The roots of the Science can beyond question be discovered, even though they seem to have been unable to penetrate very far, in the latter half of the eighteenth century; but long ages before that time, both within the Church and at remote points beyond its pale, the problems of this new discipline had asserted their existence and insistence within the breast of man. The list of names, therefore, which is now submitted, while making no claim to be complete, does claim to give at least an adequate bird's-eye view of the period which it covers.

A List of the most noteworthy Prophets and Pioneers of the Science of Comparative Religion.—In attempting to prepare this somewhat exacting catalogue, it will be convenient to divide it into three sections, corresponding historically with the Ancient, the Middle, and the Modern Ages. In this way, the names recorded will not only appear in their chronological sequence, but will stand directly associated with those periods whose "character" is bound to reveal itself, more or less markedly, in the thinking of all who belong to it.

A. The Ancient Age (A.D. 1–800).—Our historical survey will begin as early as the second century of the Christian era; for it is possible to discover, even in that remote period, some genuine Prophets of Comparative Religion. It is quite true that names belonging to a still earlier

[1] John iv. 37, 38.

date might legitimately be added to this list; but inasmuch as they suggest speculations which, for us at any rate, are obscure through lack of fuller information, all reference to them has purposely been omitted. Moreover, some representative thinkers who lived during the second century itself have been passed over in silence. Take, for example, TACITUS (flourished about 75–120[1]), whose "account of their origin [*i.e.* of the Jews] is perhaps a unique attempt in a Roman writer to investigate the religious antiquities of an Eastern people."[2] MAXIMUS OF TYRE (fifty years later) might also have been mentioned, seeing that, as the result of considerable inquiry, he was led to characterise "all the forms of faith" as being merely so many "powerless efforts directed towards the same lofty ideal."[3] Since, however, the following enumeration claims to be only a summary,—not a complete catalogue,—the results of the investigations pursued by many a diligent and highly valued worker must reluctantly be omitted from this record.

1. *The Gnostics.* (At the summit of their influence about 150.[4])—Many have grown accustomed to regard these men as being, with a few honourable exceptions, philosophers of the nebulous and arrogant sort; but, in reality, the ablest of them were thinkers who laboured diligently to construct a philosophy of Religion. It must honestly be

[1] In the present Chapter, as also in Chapters VI., VIII., IX., and XII.,—the subject-matter being to a large extent historical,—the *dates* of the various writers who are named will in each case be indicated. For the convenience of students, it may be added, the dates of *all* authoritative writers on Comparative Religion, referred to in this Manual, may be found in the Index which begins on page 607. This information, accordingly, whenever it chances to be needed, can be obtained without vexatious search and often embarrassing delay.

[2] Benjamin Jowett, *The Epistles of St. Paul to the Thessalonians, Galatians, and Romans.* 2 vols. London, 1855. [3rd ed., 1894. See vol. i. p. 209.]

[3] Goblet d'Alviella, *L'Evolution religieuse contemporaine, chez les Anglais, les Américains, et les Hindous.* Paris, 1884. [Translated, London, 1885. See p. 11.]

[4] Although embracing many and varied Schools, and extending from the days of St. Paul down to the sixth century, this movement produced no real Masters subsequent to the year 200.

admitted that their ideas were often very tenuous and vague, and that they did not employ in their investigations any adequate method. Their philosophical dicta, moreover, came under a considerable weight of reproach,—partly because they allowed too free a rein to mere speculation, and partly because much of that speculation was positively erroneous. Nevertheless these men did attempt to compare Christianity with such other Faiths as they happened to be acquainted with; and they afterwards announced certain general conclusions which they had reached, and which they publicly propounded as the outcome of these comparisons. Nay, something more requires to be said: as one of the direct results of the generalisations arrived at, and to which these early studies in Comparative Religion conducted the most distinguished of the Gnostics, these scholars subsequently became separated into three Schools or Groups. The late Professor Niedner[1] supplies us with the following classification of these teachers; and it must be said that his scheme deserves commendation, for it is at once convenient and sufficiently accurate. He taught that there were (1) those Gnostics who gave Christianity a place, and the highest place, among the Religions of the world. Within this division, where Gnosticism is found to exist in its fullest and most perfect form, we must place BASILIDES (flourished about 130) and VALENTINUS (flourished about 150). Then, constituting an entirely distinct group, we have (2) those Gnostics who maintained that Christianity was the first (and only true) revelation of God. Under this view some reproach was cast upon Judaism,—which was relegated to a place distinct from, and practically unrelated to, the Faith which is everywhere associated with the name of Jesus. To this School belonged MARCION (flourished about 160), TATIAN (about 170), and others of lesser importance. And finally, there were (3) those Gnostics who identified Chris-

[1] See Christian Wilhelm Niedner, *Lehrbuch der christlichen Kirchengeschichte, von der ältesten Zeit bis auf die Gegenwart* ("Handbook of the History of the Christian Church"). Berlin, 1866.

tianity—either (*a*) with Heathenism, as in the case of CARPOCRATES (flourished about 140), or (*b*) with Judaism, as in the case of the ESSENIC EBIONITES.

It may be rejoined that these thinkers were called "Heretics" in their day, and that the early Church took prompt and vigorous measures to crush them.[1] True, and they are for the most part officially classed among Heretics still. Moreover, there are some who fondly imagine that not only the Gnostic movement of the second and third centuries, but also other quite modern innovations, can always effectually be got rid of in a like summary fashion! Many changes, however, have been wrought since the days of Valentinus; and, in certain respects at least, it would assuredly have fared less ill with the Gnostics if they had been privileged to live some hundreds of years later. Dr. John Watson writes of Newman and Martineau: "It was their fortune, as it must be of all pioneers, to be misunderstood, misrepresented, and persecuted";[2] and certainly it was not otherwise with those ambitious earlier pioneers whose tentative studies are now being deliberately estimated. The verdict of history, as duplicated in so many other instances, has proved to be more sane and discriminating than that of contemporary opinion. The Gnostics, let it be admitted, were far from being faultless,—although, in this respect, they belonged to a category which was identical with the one that included the Church, which was so swift to condemn them. Their "heterodoxy" was often neither more nor less than *undeveloped* orthodoxy. Their thinking, like that of the Church itself, was marred by many defects of immaturity; but it was at least honest, and it was good of its kind. No one can deny that it exhibits great crudeness of conception — alike as regards God and man, and their mutual relations to each other. In the Gnostic doctrine of the Creation, of the essential evil of Matter, and so on, one finds just what might have been expected in the aberrations

[1] See Appendix. Note IX., page 501.

[2] *The Hibbert Journal*, p. 254. London, January 1903.

of primitive and premature speculations. Nevertheless, in these abortive gropings, in these guesses and failures and renewal of most eager inquiries, there was a *prophecy* of better things to come; and that prophecy has long since been abundantly fulfilled.

2. *The Theological School at Alexandria.* (Most influential about 250.)—Next in order, following closely upon the Gnostics, one must find a place for the Greek Theologians of Alexandria. In that city, a great Theological Institution was very early founded by PANTÆNUS. (Flourished about 180.) Of its famous Christian teachers, two were especially distinguished, viz., CLEMENT (150 ?–220) and ORIGEN (185–254).

It is not too much to say that Origen was the author of a work which, at least in a tentative way, lays hold upon some of the great principles which underlie the study of Comparative Religion.[1] At any rate, both he and Clement, when speaking of the case of those who had not received Christian teaching, often employ language which implies that they had contrasted other Faiths with Christianity, and that they had deliberately *compared* the claims which each was in the habit of putting forth on its own behalf. They seem also to agree in holding that every man is possessed of sufficient light, both within him and around him, to make him aware of the existence and authority of a Supreme Being. Origen went so far as to declare that Christ lay asleep within every man, as once He slept in the little ship on the Sea of Galilee; and that, whenever some sudden storm beat upon that ship, and the man cried out, "Lord, save me: I perish," THE SAVIOUR awoke within him.

At the same time, one looks in vain for anything like a critical or scientific doctrine of God,—even though Origen

[1] See his *De Principiis*,—or, as it is now commonly known, his *First Principles*. This epoch-marking book is divided in four main sections, which deal respectively with "God and Creation," "Creation and Providence," "Man and Redemption," and "The Holy Scriptures."

took a vast amount of pains to prepare for the Church, in the work already referred to, its first formal treatise on Systematic Theology. Much less does one find anywhere, as a product of this School, a succinct and reasoned account of the way in which man should strive to apprehend God. Perhaps, however, even had the Alexandrian Fathers gone further than they did, not much more could have been accomplished at that day. As teachers, they were speculative rather than deliberative. They lacked scientific method; and they lacked the skill, even had an adequate method been known to them, of bringing it effectively into service. Moreover, although set for the defence of orthodox opinions, the boldness with which they undertook the investigation of the mysteries of faith led them to be regarded with distinct and growing suspicion. Any further attempt, therefore, which they might have made to advance the profounder study of alien Religions would, in the circumstances, have resulted only in embarrassing the cause which they were striving to promote and foster.

3. *A Summary View of the Ancient Age.*—If one take a conjunct view of this early period, and then frame a concise statement of the prospects of Comparative Religion at the end of the eighth century, the following synopsis may perhaps suffice. The most that can be said is that, among the GREEK FATHERS (represented very well by Justin Martyr), there was a general disposition to describe man as being in possession of an *innate* idea of God; among the LATIN FATHERS (best represented, perhaps, by Tertullian), stress was specially laid upon the fact of the *universal assent* given to the doctrine of God, as soon as instruction to that effect was presented to man for his acceptance;[1] while, among BOTH GREEKS AND LATINS, chief reliance for securing man's acknowledgment of the supremacy of a Divine authority was placed upon the argument from *design in Nature*. This latter arsenal, indeed, was one from which

[1] The Greek Fathers did not wholly omit to use this line of reasoning; but, with them, it was an occasional (and not a characteristic) method.

at least some weapons were certain to be drawn in every theological encounter.

It is thus made plain that the Science of Comparative Religion, so far as any adequate conception of it was concerned, was still a long way off. Though it may truthfully be said that that Science was already vaguely foreshadowed, its structure (nay, its very foundations) were not foreseen even in faintest outline. Nevertheless, the Prophet and the Pioneer were surely at work, and they were unconsciously pressing on towards a goal which was grander far than they knew. It was enough meanwhile if a conviction had plainly been reached that, in addition to those other subtle forces which have their home within the human breast, there are always found certain genuine and irrepressible pulsations of Religion; and that these furtive experiences ought not only deliberately to be taken into account, but that they demanded the recognition of serious and persistent study.

B. THE MIDDLE AGES (A.D. 800–1500).—When one passes from the Ancient into the Middle Age, transition is made into a period which proved exceedingly unfriendly to the aims of Comparative Religion. The unfavourable conditions which prevailed in that day have already been referred to.[1] It can surprise no one, that, in view of the characteristic tendencies of those times, there are only one or two names so outstanding that they must needs be given a place in the list which we are now attempting to compile.

1. *Roger Bacon* (1214–1294).—It was in his *Opus Majus*, completed in 1266, that Bacon devoted himself especially to the examination of religious questions; and it was there, probably, that he achieved and recorded some of his most notable advances in the realm of scholarship. He boldly put forward the claim that all serious thinkers, and especially all religious leaders, should take pains to acquaint themselves with the features and factors which distinguish the Religions of mankind; and moreover that,

[1] See page 104.

to this end, the limits of conventional orthodoxy must forthwith be enlarged. He proceeded to show that men generally, and ecclesiastics in particular, suffered from four most hurtful restraints, viz., from the cramping pressure of (1) Authority, (2) Custom, (3) Prejudice, and (4) False Conceit of Knowledge. This last-named impediment to wisdom he held to be at once the most prevalent and the worst. He then went on to affirm that there had been many "anticipations" of Christian teaching, and ventured even to quote St. Augustine in support of his contention. Nor was this all. Not only did he declare his belief that "Aristotle, Plato, Porphyry, and others had apprehended, more or less dimly, some of the fundamental truths of Christian Theology—among them being the Trinity, the Incarnation, the existence of Angels, and the Resurrection of the body,"[1]—but he frankly acknowledged his conviction that Greek Philosophy, not less than Hebrew Religion, had profited by the subtle intervention of Divine guidance. He instanced also the ethical teachings of Cicero and Seneca, and the service that had been derived even from the propaganda of Mohammedanism. Then, having summarised the effective qualities of the various Religions which he knew, Bacon proceeded to exhibit the grounds upon which Christianity could reasonably claim to be superior to them all. Concerning the real nature of spiritual things, man (he said) is necessarily ignorant; hence a special revelation had been vouchsafed to him.[2] Of course, *all* Religions assert that they enjoy this supernatural assistance; accordingly a *comparison* of their claims must honestly be attempted.[3] In this undertaking, as one might anticipate, Bacon reveals sagacious insight; but his work is imperfect, and exhibits considerable evidence of immaturity. He divides all the Religions he had heard of into six groups, viz., (1) Pagans,

[1] John Henry Bridges, in his Introduction to the *Opus Majus*. 3 vols. Oxford, 1897–1900. See Vol. i. p. lxxxi.

[2] See *Opus Majus*. Part VII. pp. 381–89.

[3] Cp. page 134.

i.e. fetish worshippers, men who reason little about the high concerns of the soul, men who are not dependent upon an order of Priests, etc.; (2) Idolaters, including Buddhists in particular, and Polytheists; (3) Tartars, whom he commended because of their belief in the unity of God, but condemned because they resorted to magic, etc.; (4) Saracens, *i.e.* Mohammedans; (5) Jews; and (6) Christians. The final group, in his judgment, represented a type of Religion which was undubitably the best; and this conviction he grounded chiefly upon the three following reasons:—(1) Philosophy confirms the truth of the teachings of Christianity, whereas the other five forms of faith are plainly only preparatory, and point onward to something else and something better; (2) Christ alone, of all the founders of Religions, openly claimed to be Divine, and then authenticated that claim by the performance of Divine acts; and (3) the Sacrament of the Host, which Christianity alone possessed, was essential to the bringing of mankind into unity with God and Christ.

It is not surprising that Mr. Bridges, perhaps the foremost interpreter of Bacon to-day, lays special emphasis upon this side of the teaching of an ardent and scholarly Franciscan. When he goes on to declare that this half-forgotten Monk furnishes us with "the first attempt ever made at the comparative study of the religions of the world,"[1] his conclusion can hardly be accepted in contradiction to the various facts which have already been chronicled in this Chapter; yet the help he has rendered countless students, through directing their attention to the great work which Bacon succeeded in accomplishing, is a service of unspeakable value. The propounder of the revolutionary views, hastily sketched in the last few paragraphs, has for centuries been misrepresented, and so (very naturally) he has generally been quite misunderstood. His reputation was not saved by his adherence to many orthodox positions; in his own day he was everywhere regarded with suspicion,

[1] See his Introduction to the *Opus Majus*, p. lxxxvi.

then charged with sorcery as well as with heresy,[1] and finally cast into prison. The *Opus Majus* was written, indeed, and sent to Pope Clement IV. at the latter's demand, that the author might explain to His Holiness the opinions which he actually held. His aim was not subversion but reformation. "It is not Philosophy," he said, "but Theology, that is supreme; for all the wisdom that is useful for man is contained in the Scriptures." The ideal which he longed to see realised was a "progressive papacy, carrying on in continuous and harmonious development the work which Mosaic law and Greek intellect had begun."[2] He saw how the Schoolmen talked glibly of Aristotle and his teachings, while in many cases they were totally incapable of reading his works; this hypocrisy he deplored and denounced. He condemned also, in great plainness of speech, the glaring corruptions of the Church. It is freely conceded that in some particulars Bacon was fanciful, and that in many ways he was rash. He seems to have had great hope concerning the future of Astrology and Alchemy; and, like most Pioneers, he drifted often dangerously near to extreme and indefensible positions. But the courage of the man, and his immovable confidence in the final triumph of truth, are at once engaging and inspiring. Unfortunately he forgot that recklessness is never wise, for it directly contributes to defeat its own ends. He forgot also that, so far as humanity is concerned, truth enlarges by way of evolution, which is only another way of saying that it advances very gradually; it is fatal to seek to "rush" the ramparts of any hoary superstition. Hence the temporary ineffectiveness of the crusade he so valiantly inaugurated. The story of his life is the record of a tragedy. "Endowed with one of the greatest intellects that Europe has ever produced, he was compelled often to keep his lips sealed, because his message to the monkish horde around him spelled only heresy, blasphemy, and insanity!" Still, from his grave this "suspect" has at last assuredly risen. With the

[1] See Appendix. Note IX., page 501. [2] *Ibid.*, page lxxxii.

revival-impulses of the Renaissance, he also returned to his obscurantist fellow-countrymen: in 1733, the *Opus Majus* was first given to the world; and now, in the twentieth century, its author bids fair to gain that appreciative and universal recognition which has so long and relentlessly been denied him.

2. *Nicolaus Cusanus*[1] (1401–1464).—Of this Pioneer, a modern admirer has declared that "he seems to have been the first to study non-Christian religions in the independent spirit of a scholar and an historian."[2] Such an award of praise is calculated to give a perhaps exaggerated prominence to this worker; for his information, as regards at least its range, was unquestionably narrow. He occupied himself chiefly with the classic lands of Greece and Rome,—though in Semitic fields, likewise, he pursued many interesting inquiries. One important conclusion, however, which he reached is all the more worthy of being put on record because of the source whence it comes to us:[3] he gradually became convinced that, beneath all the variety of forms which characterise the various Religions of mankind, there may be traced the impulse and energy of the same Divine Spirit.

C. THE MODERN AGE (A.D. 1500–1850).—Thus one is brought to the commencement of modern times, and to the beginning of an era which has been pre-eminently distinguished for its reformatory movements. Among these reforms, one of the most conspicuous consisted in men's viewing after an entirely new manner certain fundamental religious problems. And inasmuch as, in connection with the preparation for the inauguration of Comparative Religion, a considerable number of workers will have to be mentioned, it will be best to arrange their names in the order of

[1] Also known as Nicolaus Khrypffs (or Krebs) de Cusa.

[2] Max Müller, in *Universal Religion*, p. 21. Chicago, 1897.

[3] This investigator attained the dignity of the Cardinalate before he was fifty years of age. For fuller particulars as to his researches, see Pünjer, *History of the Christian Philosophy of Religion*, vol. i. pp. 66–89. Edinburgh, 1887.

their respective nationalities. As is natural, the Prophets and Pioneers of Comparative Religion became increasingly numerous as the date of its advent drew near; and hence, as we advance in our survey, a severer scrutiny on our part, and a higher standard of attainment on the part of those who are ultimately singled out from their contemporaries, cannot reasonably be objected to.

(*a*) *The Orient.*—It might have been anticipated that, in modern as in ancient times, the earliest deliberate attempts of the human mind to secure for itself a solution of the deeper problems of Religion would have been made in the East. The locality, as being the home of many divergent Faiths, and where almost every grove has its Temple or Shrine; the very atmosphere of that world which, from time immemorial, has been freighted with consecrated incense; the mental bent of the people, which has always made them peculiarly susceptible to the summons of such inquiries; and the increasing tendency everywhere, in these later days, to deal with religious questions more after the intelligent and serious manner in which men usually deal with the secular perplexities of life,—these, and similar considerations, seem more than sufficient to ensure that many thinkers in the Orient, from the fifteenth century onwards, must have been led to contrast and compare those Religions with which they chanced to be acquainted. And, beyond question, many such inquirers existed, although it has proved exceedingly difficult to discover them. At the same time, when one recalls the dread influence of that lethean spirit of inertia by which the Orient has always been dominated, no wonder can be evoked by the statement that the list of real students in this field seems to have been an exceedingly short one. The secrets of Comparative Religion have never yet been wrested from it by those who sleep and merely dream! Accordingly, although half a dozen names might here very easily be added to our list, there are perhaps only two that can claim admission to it as a matter of privilege and right.

1. *Mangu* (1200–1259).—According to a report which was published by William de Rubruquis[1] about the middle of the thirteenth century, a wonderful *Parliament of Religions* was said to have recently been held at Kara Korum in Tartary.[2] Missionaries despatched to the far East, bearing the message of the Gospel, had returned saying that the name of Christ was already well known in those regions; and that Mangu had even convened a great Council of representatives of the leading non-Christian Faiths, in order that the many questions at issue might be made the more clear to all. The assembly was said, further, to have been well attended; and the champions of different schools—"Saracen, [Nestorian] Christian, and Buddhist"—were permitted freely to express and expound their beliefs. Roger Bacon tells us that he personally conversed with the Monks who brought back this strange intelligence, and no doubt his own liberal views were distinctly coloured by the information which he chanced to secure in this way. The Missionaries reported that three umpires were chosen, one being selected by each of the Religions under examination. The debates, accordingly, were conducted in a seemly and orderly manner. They were singularly temperate in tone also,—possibly because, at the outset, the speakers were reminded that he who ventured to allude disrespectfully to a Faith different from his own would do so at the risk of instant death!

The details of this Conference, as regards the results reached, are unfortunately very meagre. We are indeed expressly told that the doctrine of the unity of God was (in effect) affirmed by the Council as a whole; but the composition of the Council at least foreshadowed that

[1] This monk—a Franciscan, as was also Roger Bacon—was sent on an embassy to the Grand Khan of Tartary, in May 1253. As the representative of King Louis IX. of France, he was shown much favour by the Mongol Emperor. See *Recueil de voyages*, Transactions of the Geographical Society. Paris, 1839.

[2] The forerunner, though on a much inferior scale, of a great Parliament convened in the West six hundred years later. Cp. pages 198, 392, etc.

finding. The chief importance of the event lies in the fact that—at so early a day, and in so remote a quarter—a Convention of this character should have been summoned at all, and that it carried on its discussions in so manifestly amicable a spirit. It may safely be inferred, also, that this Congress was not unique in history at the time of its occurrence; a larger knowledge will doubtless show that it had precursors, as it has had many successors.

2. *Akbar* (1542–1605).—The late Professor Max Müller holds that this great Eastern Emperor "may be considered the first who ventured on a comparative study of the religions of the world."[1] He states further, that Akbar "had a passion for the study of religions, and invited to his court Jews, Christians, Mohammedans, Brahmans, and Zoroastrians, and had as many of their sacred books as he could get access to translated for his own study."[2]

Whether the late Oxford Professor was justified in allotting to this Ruler so early a place, and so eminent a place, among the students of Comparative Religion, is certainly open to question; but at any rate, in the person of Akbar we are brought into contact with a keen and original thinker, who was determined to take some personal share in the religious discussions of his day. We need not be surprised that, as indicated in a number of extracts from contemporary writings which Professor Max Müller has cited for us, the Emperor's action seems to have awakened considerable opposition,—especially as his inquiries led him ultimately to give up his faith in Islam, and to declare that "there are sensible men in all religions, and abstemious thinkers and men endowed with miraculous powers among all nations." Perhaps one may detect a note of conscious over-statement in this remark, or it may indicate merely the counter-swing of the pendulum. Be that as it may, from being a Mohammedan of the extremist type, Akbar became one of the most remorseless critics of that Faith.

[1] *Introduction to the Science of Religion.* Appendix to chap. i. p. 68.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 23.

Moreover, he deliberately accumulated a perfect armoury of weapons with which to defend himself within his newly constructed citadel; for he is reported to have "collected everything which he could find in books,—with a talent of selection that was peculiar to him, and in a spirit of inquiry that was opposed to every [Islamic] principle."

The student of Comparative Religion to-day, it is to be feared, can glean little from the investigations which were inaugurated by this Eastern potentate. His outlook was circumscribed by the narrow horizon of his times, and it was circumscribed still further by the proverbial prejudices of a proselyte. The work accomplished, moreover, wholly ignores Buddhism; it is thus seen to be incomplete, as well as sketchy and superficial. At the same time, Akbar's unquestionable ardour served a useful purpose in its way, and fully entitles him to the rank of a Prophet and Pioneer.

(*b*) *The Occident.*—In accordance with the suggestion already offered,[1] the names which have to be dealt with under this section, while arranged chronologically, will be grouped territorially as well.

1. GREAT BRITAIN.—There are two prominent British investigators whose names are deserving of most honourable mention.

(1) *John Spencer* (1630–1693).—The credit of supplying the foremost Pioneer of the coming Science has more than once been claimed for England. Thus the late Professor W. Robertson Smith writes: "Dr. John Spencer, Master of Corpus Christi College in Cambridge, [wrote a] . . . Latin work on the ritual laws of the Hebrews, [a book which] may justly be said to have laid the foundations of the Science of Comparative Religion."[2]

[1] See pages 132–133.

[2] *The Religion of the Semites.* Preface, p. vi. Dr. Spencer's book, *De legibus Hebræorum ritualibus*, was reprinted at the Hague (1686), Leipzig (1705), Cambridge (1727), and—the best edition—Tübingen (1732). As might have been anticipated, numerous replies were immediately published. See, *e.g.*, Joannes Wigersma, *Disputatio theologica, in qua vera Hebraicorum rituum origo vindicatur contra J. Spencerum.* Franequeræ, 1690.

In most matters, as experience amply teaches, one acts wisely when he deals respectfully with any opinion expressed by this brilliant Scottish critic. Robertson Smith was a genius; and although he was quick and often sharp in rejoinder, he instinctively weighed his judgments before he uttered them. Nevertheless, as in the case of the Emperor Akbar, care must be exercised in the selection of commendatory epithets, lest a false impression be conveyed as to the measure of honour to which a given author is entitled. The quality and permanent value of Dr. Spencer's work may very easily be over-stated. While it may be fair to claim that his book is "by far the most important . . . on the religious antiquities of the Hebrews"[2] which we *possess*, that is by no means equivalent to saying that no modern writer need hope to produce an exposition that would be clearer, fuller, and better! On the contrary, Dr. Spencer's contribution, though notable and praiseworthy, does not approach in value the service which Professor Robertson Smith himself afterwards rendered to international scholarship through his well-known *Burnett Lectures*,[1]—in which he institutes "a systematic comparison of the religion of the Hebrews, as a whole, with the beliefs and ritual practices of the other Semitic peoples."[2] We can never be sufficiently grateful to the Expert who undertook, and so successfully discharged, this complex and difficult task; and we must ever regret that one who began so well was not spared to see his labours reach their natural and intended completion. Dr. Spencer's work, on the other hand, is a promise rather than a performance. It seems almost rudimentary when we set it beside the volume in which we find it so generously commended. One cannot, therefore, do more than assign it a place, though admittedly an honourable place, among books which have been written by representative Pioneers.

(2) *Alexander Ross* (1590–1654).—Not a few have contended, and with considerable vigour, that in Alexander

[1] 1888–1891. [2] *The Religion of the Semites.* Preface, p. vi.

Ross, the author of a book that appeared about the middle of the seventeenth century,[1] we discover not only a Prophet, but a Founder of Comparative Religion. One of the King's Chaplains in his later years, this writer had become an ardent student of theology when he was but fifteen. His published works, which were numerous, deal especially with questions of philosophy and theology.

As this investigator was a representative of that country whose claim on behalf of Dr. Spencer cannot be held to have been established, there is a natural disposition in some quarters to press for a recognition of Mr. Ross' alleged title, and to rally aggressive friends to support it by every contrivance of ingenious argument. But it must be confessed that this writer's book leaves very much to be desired. It is not sufficiently comprehensive in its scope; and even the abbreviated task which it attempts, it has very imperfectly performed. Yet further, the conclusions at which Ross ultimately arrived exhibit an almost utter want of acumen. His undertaking was pursued with singular unconcern as regards either order or method. But, worst feature of all, this piece of work was executed under the influence of an *animus* which, while possibly unconscious, is almost everywhere unmistakable. The author had little or no sympathy with any faith save Christianity. Even Judaism is not spared, but is repeatedly subjected to keen and sometimes almost savage criticism. It need scarcely be said that a volume, dominated by so unfriendly and prejudiced a spirit, is utterly incapable of being ranked among the genuine exponents of the Science of Comparative Religion.

At the same time, notwithstanding all his defects, Alexander Ross was undoubtedly in the line of the true succession. He recognised the existence and vitality of Religions other than his own, and the importance of the gains that might be secured through competent examination of them. His horizons were necessarily limited; but in as far as he was in a position to do it, and with an honesty of

[1] *Pansebeia; or, A View of all Religions in the World.*

purpose which cannot be assailed, he diligently compared all the Religions of which he was able to learn anything. Doubtless his theory was better than his practice; nevertheless, as the result of his very mistakes, he helped to counsel and forewarn those who were shortly to follow him.[1]

2. FRANCE.—Crossing the Channel, and passing South into France, the volume which first demands attention is one which will always occupy an important place in the historical development of this Science.

(3) *Charles François Dupuis* (1742–1809).—This writer put into the hands of scholars a book which marked a distinct advance upon anything that had thus far been attempted.[2] Not only did it make a complete survey of the field of the then known Religions, but it exhibited a rarely sympathetic spirit in its manner of dealing with every Faith of which it offered an exposition. It is not too much to say, therefore, that in this work we possess a production of real merit; and when account is taken of the fact that it appeared somewhat early in the history of this study, it must be esteemed to be a work of conspicuous merit.

It is greatly to be regretted, however, that this book is marred by a blemish of a very serious character. Dupuis firmly believed that all Religion began in Nature worship, a view which has a considerable number of advocates even in our own day; but his central mistake lay in the fact that, setting out with this *a priori* opinion, he tried to turn his alleged inquiry concerning the origins of Religion into a demonstration of the truth of this theory! How completely he reversed a legitimate scientific procedure — seeking merely for traces of Nature worship, when he should instead have been inquisitive solely for facts, for all sorts of relevant facts, and for all the facts—does not here need to be em-

[1] For the names and publications of yet other precursors of Comparative Religion in Great Britain, see Appendix. Note X., page 505.

[2] *Origine de tous les cultes, ou religion universelle.*

phasised; but, owing to this disastrous error, the chief value of his immense and difficult undertaking was hopelessly destroyed. One's disappointment is distinctly augmented when Professor Jastrow remarks that, "but for his fatal defect in giving theory the precedence over fact, he would have merited the distinction of being the founder of the historical study of religion."[1]

(4) *Henri Benjamin Constant* (1767–1830).—The next work which is entitled to mention in this list is one which we owe to M. Benjamin Constant.[2] And although but a short interval in time separates this writer from M. Dupuis, we discern at once that he has led us up to a quite different and much higher plain. We are brought nearer to the boundaries of Comparative Religion,—unquestionably nearer than we could have hoped to advance by the aid of any of the publications which have thus far been enumerated.

Accordingly it is surprising that Professor Jastrow, in referring to this work, labels it "less satisfactory," and merely "an interesting survival." It would seem to be worthy of a much more honourable verdict. The late Professor Tiele, for instance, speaks of it with markedly less reserve, and adds that it is a production in which, "for the first time, a distinction is made between the essence and the forms of religion,—to which the writer also applied the theory of development."[3] It may with confidence be declared that the place of M. Constant among the Pioneers is not only secure, but prominent.[4]

3. GERMANY.—Under this heading, as might have been anticipated, one is confronted with an imposing array of names, many of which will always occupy an outstanding

[1] *The Study of Religion*, p. 26. Professor Tiele has characterised Dupuis' contribution as "A gigantic pamphlet, not an impartial historical research."

[2] *De la Religion, considérée dans sa source, ses formes et ses développements.*

[3] Barrows, *The World's Parliament of Religions*, vol. i. p. 583. 2 vols. Chicago, 1893.

[4] See Appendix. Note XI., page 508.

place in connection with the study of Religion. Only a few of these writers, however, are prominently associated with the study of Comparative Religion; and of this group almost every member has restricted himself to such preparatory investigations as are usually undertaken by Prophets and Pioneers. German scholarship has not been so helpful as it might have been, and as it ought to have been, in supplying this new Science with either Founders or eminent Masters.

For example, the value of the services actually rendered in this connection by *Johann Gottfried von Herder* (1744–1803) may very easily be exaggerated. Herder assuredly gave himself with great devotion, and with conspicuous success, to the study of various Religions. Moreover, we find in him—and for the first time—one who worked in this field with absolute impartiality, and under the dominance of the strictest historical motive.[1] His influence upon his own and succeeding ages has been immense. His sole aim was to discover the facts, all the facts, and nothing but the facts; and to this test he submitted the claims of Christianity, and quite as rigidly as the claims of any other Religion. This is rare praise indeed, and yet it is no more than Herder deserves. It should be added that this explorer was one of the first to affirm that Religion is a constituent element in man's nature, and that it is therefore bound to disclose itself wherever man is found It is largely upon this ground, no doubt, that Professor Jastrow deems this thinker to be fairly entitled to "the distinction of being the founder of the historical treatment of Religion."[2]

But Herder's relation to the study of Comparative Religion was never very close. His inquiries had much more to do with the Philosophy of Religion than with Comparative Religion. In truth, his neglect to bridge over the chasm which separated the two important domains in

[1] See his *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit* ("Contributions to the Philosophy of the History of Mankind").

[2] *The Study of Religion*, p. 31.

which he worked, viz., in History and in Philosophy, led him to take a flying leap into a region whither many who have imitated ~~him~~ have unfortunately proved unable to follow him. It was only by an accident, moreover, that the study of Religion was undertaken by Herder at all; for all are aware that he made no pretence to be a special student in that field. He was, on the contrary, a student of Civilisation; and it was only because he came upon Religion incidentally, viz., as it manifested itself and became modified in the *progress* of Civilisation, that he turned aside to deal with the problems of its genesis and growth. Later on, he felt himself constrained to declare that Religion was "the highest humanity of man." It was a factor, therefore, which the student of Culture was compelled to take account of. As the result of his inquiry, Herder,—in the well-known words of Heine,—"instead of inquisitorially judging nations according to the degree of their faith, . . . regarded humanity as a harp in the hands of a great master, and each people as a special string contributing to the harmony of the whole." As might be supposed, Herder traced all Religions to a purely "natural" source; but, in a day when such testimony was rarer than it is now, he recognised and affirmed that the claims of Christianity were distinctly superior to those of any of its rivals.

Or, if the names of *Gotthold Ephraim Lessing* (1729–1781) and *Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel* (1770–1831) be brought forward, and similar claims touching the alleged services they have rendered be advanced in their behalf, practically the same rejoinder as before will abundantly meet the case. Their relation to Comparative Religion is slight and distant; and in this respect, unhappily, it represents very fairly the attitude of almost every German scholar of note down to the present hour. It is a surprising fact, but it is a fact, that Germany thus far has done practically nothing for the advancement of the Science of Comparative Religion. In so far as that study has of late been recognised to be a separate department of inquiry,

with its own distinctive method and its own individual goal, it has been assisted least of all from that quarter in which both inspiration and impulse have so long been sought for in vain![1]

At the same time, there are at least two names which, under the heading of Germany, one must not omit to mention:

(5) *Christoph Meiners* (1747–1810).—Meiners will long be remembered by scholars in this field, because of two important works which he projected and published. In 1785, he printed his *Grundriss der Geschichte aller Religionen*. It was not, however, until twenty years later that he issued the work which entitles him to a place in the present special catalogue.[2] It consists of two volumes, and is fairly comprehensive in its scope. To be sure, judged of by to-day's ideal of excellence, it must be pronounced a defective and halting performance; but, measured by a somewhat less rigid law, it was a piece of work that proved not only helpful but prophetic. The late Professor Tiele was accustomed to handle it with considerable severity, affirming that it was neither "general" nor "critical." On a notable public occasion, he declared that "it only just came up to the low standard which, at that time, historical scholars were expected to reach."[3] Possibly this estimate was needlessly harsh. As already admitted, the work is marred by many a blemish. It reveals only a very faint conception of what Comparative Religion is, when that study is regarded as a department of serious investigation. It assuredly does not belong to the literature of the Founders of that Science. It unfortunately shows also the strong tendency of the German mind to indulge in speculation, even within the domain of a scientific inquiry. Nevertheless, in its own way, the work has rendered excellent

[1] See Appendix. Note XII., p. 512.

[2] *Allgemeine kritische Geschichte der Religionen* ("General Critical History of Religions").

[3] *The World's Parliament of Religions*, vol. i. p. 583.

service. It has always proved at least suggestive, to those who have studied it with an alert and open mind. Hence it may quite fairly be included in the list in which we have ventured to place it.

(6) *Karl Ottfried Müller* (1797–1840).—The other German writer referred to, another honourable exception among his fellow-countrymen, is the late K. O. Müller. In his book[1] he has occasion to trace the gradual growth of Myths; and for this purpose he employs, and very adroitly, the historical and comparative methods.

It will be observed that the scope of the inquiry in question is limited to one phase merely in the development of Religion, and that it deals with a matter which belongs largely to the domain of the Philosophy of Religion. The results secured, moreover, are not wholly satisfactory; for, in his endeavours to eliminate the parasitic element in Mythology, Müller is sometimes led to adopt singularly short-sighted and demonstrably untenable conclusions. Yet this publication is singled out from its contemporaries because it furnishes an instance of the deliberate and effective utilisation of the comparative method. Moreover, the author, while occasionally he was plainly misled during his too eager advance, was undoubtedly on the right track. As in the case of Alexander Ross,[2] it will ever stand to the credit of this explorer that he served in the ranks as an honest and capable Pioneer.[3]

4. THE UNITED STATES.—It is not surprising that, under

[1] *Prolegomena zu einer wissenschaftlichen Mythologie* ("Introduction to a scientific System of Mythology").

[2] See page 137.

[3] Georg Friedrich Creuzer (1771–1858), and his *Symbolik und Mythologie der alten Völker, besonders der Griechen* ("Symbolism and Mythology of Ancient Peoples, especially the Greeks"), 6 volumes, Leipzig, 1810–23, are not referred to here, because the work in question, while not contracted in bulk, *is* decidedly contracted both in scope and outlook. Hence, while containing much valuable material, it has long been outgrown. Likewise, Ferdinand Christian Baur (1792–1860) and his *Symbolik und Mythologie*, 2 volumes, 1824–25, do not need to be more than mentioned in a place where only such authors as are representative in this particular department of study can claim to be included.

the pressure of the responsibilities which immediately preceded and followed the revolution of 1776—the assertion of certain rights of autonomy, the definition of the limits of Federal and State control, the securing of an ampler population, the development of the magnificent material resources of the new Republic, and many kindred undertakings of great complexity—the adequate study of the Sciences, whether older or more recent, had for a considerable time to be postponed. Universities, in the modern sense at least, were not as yet existent. Those that had been founded were few in number and primitive in equipment; and even had they been more numerous and more competently endowed, not many would have been found who were in a position to attend them. It is not denied that there were individual thinkers and students who, amid the solitude and often distressing vicissitudes of those early settlement days, were diligent readers of such books as they were able to procure. Though they were able to derive but scanty stimulus from the companionship of men of like tastes with themselves, and though they were harassed by the continual distractions which arose out of urgent temporal cares, these undaunted explorers must often have turned over in their minds the various aspects of those great problems of the soul which still invite and perplex the thought of every eager inquirer. But such investigators were relatively rare, and they have left us only the most fragmentary record of the conclusions to which they were led. Indeed, it might with some confidence be affirmed that, among these distant and shadowy Pioneers, there are none who deserve a place in the list which we are now seeking to prepare. Fuller research, however, serves to show that there were at least several whose names are entitled to honourable mention; but there is certainly one worker who, in the judgment of every one who will make himself intimately acquainted with her history, may unhesitatingly be added to the catalogue which we are now engaged in compiling.

(7) *Hannah Adams* (1755–1832).—Mrs. Adams, very appropriately associated by residence with Boston, seems to have devoted to the study of Religion the persistent and conscientious investigations of very many years; but it was only after the conclusion of the War of Independence that she permitted the results of her inquiries to appear in a systematised form in print. After the manner of those days, the title of her book was ponderous, if not indeed somewhat imposing.[1] This piece of laborious research was begun with no intention of giving publicity to the conclusions which might be reached. The author was a great reader, who at the same time was fairly well acquainted with Latin and Greek; and she undertook this task simply as the outcome of a high and scholarly purpose. Naturally a serious and ambitious student, she wanted to ascertain for herself what the facts actually were. As she remarks in the Preface of the fourth edition of her book: "Such things [as diverse Faiths] exist, or have existed in the world, whether we know them or not; and the reading of them in the proper spirit may induce us to cleave more closely 'to the law and to the testimony.'"[2]

These concluding words reveal at once the latent persuasion — and, to that extent, the somewhat unscientific attitude of mind—in which this ardent researcher entered upon her work. She felt confident at the outset that Christianity could easily be shown to be immeasurably superior to all earlier or contemporary Religions; and it was with the intention of demonstrating the truth of that belief that Mrs. Adams marshalled very skilfully all her carefully accumulated information. It is true that she sought at least, and invariably, to hold the balances impartially; her evidently sincere desire was to discover the truth, and to report frankly just what she found, in each

[1] *An Alphabetical Compendium of the various Sects which have appeared in the World from the beginning of the Christian era to the present Day.* With an Appendix containing a brief account of the different Schemes of Religion now embraced among Mankind. Boston, 1784.

[2] See p. v.

successive case that came under her review; and her unalterable aim, however imperfectly achieved in particular instances, may well be commended to some of her more fortunately situated successors. Mrs. Adams, indeed, drew up a brief series of Rules by which she sought to govern her action throughout the whole course of her investigations. One of these canons was to the effect that each Faith was to be allowed to speak for itself, and to frame its formal creed in terms of its own choosing. In this way she tried to avoid the risk of unwittingly misrepresenting, and of giving a personal colouring to, teachings which she had undertaken merely to register and report. Another principle which she sedulously observed was, that no man, no matter how much his religious standpoint differed from her own, was to be reproached with the name of Heretic: if his opinions were conscientiously held, and reasonably and loyally defended, she recognised his inalienable right to render the fullest homage to his convictions. A privilege which she claimed for herself could not consistently be refused to her neighbour.[1] Yet further, Mrs. Adams declined to record in her book the censures which others had indiscreetly passed upon many of the beliefs which she was attempting to sketch; for she felt that this lack of charity, all too quickly and too generally imitated, might communicate its spirit to her readers, and thus at the very outset warp and mislead their judgment. Accordingly, after her volume had been republished in England, she deliberately excised certain statements which had appeared in the second London impression, remarking that she was determined to "avoid giving the least preference to one denomination above another."

In the first three editions of her book, Mrs. Adams dealt, in varying degrees of fulness, with the *three* following topics, viz.: — (1) An Alphabetical Compendium of Christian Denominations; (2) A brief Account of Paganism, Mahometanism, Judaism, and Deism; and (3) A View of the

[1] Cp. Appendix. Note IX., page 501.

Religions of the different Nations of the World. The general title of her volume has already been given in a footnote, but Mrs. Adams herself early set the example of referring to it as *A View of Religions.* The third American edition bore no date, but it appeared apparently in 1801; and it was upon this edition that the first London version was founded, viz., in 1805. The second London edition, revised and considerably enlarged, was issued in 1815; and it is worth while remarking that this volume, under its new English Editor, bore a somewhat altered title.[1] The name of the book was changed, we are told, because all its contents had been re-assorted, and then distributed under the successive letters of a *single* alphabet. Mrs. Adams seems to have been well pleased with the new arrangement, as regards both the name selected and the additional matter incorporated in the book; indeed, in her next American edition (the fourth[2]), she substituted "A Dictionary" for "A View" in the authorised title of the volume. The third London edition was based upon this fourth American issue; but it was again subjected to careful editorial supervision, the same hand which had already contributed so much towards giving to the modest little work of a previous generation its now wider and more visible influence being easily traceable in its pages.[3]

These rather minute details have been chronicled because it has often been alleged that scholarship in the United States lent practically no aid towards the inauguration of the Science of Comparative Religion. Had the charge been true, there are abundant reasons (as it has been shown) why the argument ought not to be unduly pressed; but perhaps enough has been said to indicate that such a conclusion is not based upon any very exact information. Mrs. Adams' Essay was no doubt far from being faultless; nevertheless,

[1] *A Dictionary of all Religions and Religious Denominations, ancient and modern, Jewish, Pagan, Mahometan, and Christian; also of Ecclesiastical History.* Based on Mrs. Hannah Adams' "A View of Religions." By Thomas Williams. London, 1815.

[2] 1817. [3] 1824.

everything considered, it was a production that was highly creditable both to its author and to the age that produced it. No book prepared under the conditions which confronted this writer could hope to attain to the standard of achievement which is easily possible even for an amateur of to-day; but he who takes into account the difficulties under which both the compiler and the editors of its successive editions executed their task, and who recalls also the lack of sympathy with which inquirers of this type were in that age generally regarded, will certainly not withhold praise from those who brought to successful completion a really notable undertaking.

It is a pleasing reflection also, that this new departure, in so far as the United States is concerned, was projected and carried into execution by a woman. In this twentieth century the names of Mrs. Agnes Smith Lewis and Mrs. Margaret Dunlop Gibson are rightly held in esteem, because of the conspicuous devotion and success with which, for many years, they have carried on together their fruitful literary labours.[1] Yet another Cambridge name, that of Miss Jane Ellen Harrison, recalls the work of another distinguished authority, and one whom Universities and learned Societies have equally delighted to honour;[2] and several similar instances might readily be quoted. It is sincerely to be hoped that the example which these industrious ladies have set, whether Mrs. Adams or her more fully equipped successors,[3] will now quite frequently be imitated; indeed, it may confidently be predicted that, under the vastly improved conditions which at present prevail, the example in question will before long be deliberately and strenuously emulated. Why should not ladies of scholarly tastes, and possessed of the leisure and skill which

[1] See, *e.g.*, *The Palestinian Syriac Lectionary of the Gospels.* London, 1899.

[2] See her *Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens*, London, 1890; or her *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*, Cambridge, 1903.

[3] Another American name, well deserving mention, is that of Mrs. Lydia Maria Child. See her *Progress of Religious Ideas through successive Ages.* 3 vols. New York, 1855. [3rd ed., 1871.]

this quest so rigidly demands, apply themselves with patience and diligence to a solution of one or more of the problems which Comparative Religion unfolds? A study more engaging in itself, more broadening in its influence, and more likely to furnish truthful answers to the eager interrogations of the soul, it would be simply impossible to name.

5. AN INTERNATIONAL SCHOLAR. — One further name remains to be added to this select and distinguished list, viz., that of the late Professor Max Müller.[1] This scholar cannot properly be placed either in the British or German sections,—although, from different points of view, he may be said to belong to both; he occupies, in truth, a position which is international, alike in its individual character and in its far-reaching and permanent influence. Moreover, since he holds a quite unique relation to the Science whose genesis and growth we are patiently tracing, it is fitting that he should be assigned to a category in which he stands by himself.

(8) *Friedrich Max Müller* (1823–1900).—As it is not easy to allot this investigator to any one country, seeing that different nationalities lay claim to him, so it is difficult to decide whether he ought to be placed under the present heading of "Prophets and Pioneers," or be reserved for an important place in a future Chapter which is to deal with "Founders and Masters." The question is: Did Professor Max Müller's great contribution to Comparative Religion

[1] This name is dealt with by bibliographers in a strange variety of ways. The Professor himself, during his long residence at Oxford, was accustomed to prefix the second of his Christian names to his surname. It was under this later designation (Max Müller) that he always referred to himself, when citing passages from his own writings. In the University of Cambridge, however, in its University Library Catalogue, this name has still to be searched for, not under "Max" or under "Mul," but under "Mue" (Mueller). In the Bodleian Library, Oxford, the same rule is followed,—though there, *within* the proper Catalogue volume, the name is found under "Mül." In the London Library Catalogue (St. James's Square), this author is placed under "Max"; but the "Max" is incorrectly joined by a hyphen to the "Müller."

consist in his laying the foundations of this new Science, or did it find expression rather in his effort to uprear a new and scientific structure upon foundations which others had already enduringly laid? The only adequate answer must affirm that he discharged in a measure both functions, and that in both instances he carried forward his task with no small amount of skill. Accordingly, his name and labours must be admitted to be important in both connections. Inasmuch, however, as his chief aid to Comparative Religion was furnished in the work which he did as one of its Heralds and Pioneers, his services to this Science must emphatically be dealt with within the compass of the present Chapter. Moreover, if a relatively larger space shall be found to have been allotted to him than to any of the others who have thus far been named, his exceptional relation to the genesis of Comparative Religion fully warrants the special distinction which this more ample treatment proclaims.

It is surprising that, in certain quarters, it should still be maintained that the Oxford savant was unquestionably *the* Founder of Comparative Religion. It has been asserted that he was the one outstanding leader, the man who rose head and shoulders above all others, among the Fathers of this Science; and that to him, more than to any one else, the world is beholden to-day for that valuable new discipline which stands inseparably associated with his name.

This ill-founded opinion will be dealt with, and disposed of, elsewhere.[1] Suffice it to say, meanwhile, that these high-sounding claims would never have been advanced, or would at least have been considerably modified, if closer attention had been paid to the character of the work to which Professor Max Müller deliberately devoted himself. Moreover, this teacher, in more than one passage, has taken pains to describe with some exactness what his undertaking actually was. Those who knew him remember that he was not in the habit of allowing his laurels to be endangered without his making a calm but effective protest; and he

[1] See Appendix. Note XIV., page 521.

was quite conscious of the fact that Comparative Religion owed him a considerable debt. At the same time, over and over again, he characterised his own contribution to that Science as being nothing more than the aid which he was able to lend to it as a mere Pioneer. He applied to himself, indeed, this express designation.[1] Yet further, he described the study as being "a new Science,"[1] and as being "a promise rather than a fulfilment."[2] He declared, it is true, that it was still a Science of the future; but he also affirmed his conviction, as regards the probability of its advent, "It is only a question of time."[2] In a word, he undertook to show, by anticipation, "in what sense a truly scientific study of religion was possible."[3]

And, in addition to these repeated and vigorous disclaimers,[4] one has only to examine the publications that bear Professor Max Müller's name in order to strengthen the view that is here being supported. Not only did Professor Max Müller write no formal work on Comparative Religion, but he did little that advanced directly the aims of that Science. He published, indeed, an admirable treatise which many have employed as a stepping-stone towards such studies. He fitly entitled it "An Introduction to the Science of Religion"; and, in the Preface, he describes the aim of the book as "an introduction to the Comparative study of the principal religions of the world."[5] In the same place, one is informed that the author had been collecting the needful material "for many years." Nevertheless, the actual work of *comparison*—save as we find isolated specimens of it scattered up and down the pages of his numerous writings, with a few of the results (chiefly philological) which he had in this way been able to glean—Professor Max Müller was constrained to leave to others, either his contemporaries or his successors.

[1] *Introduction to the Science of Religion*, p. 193.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 35. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 218.

[4] Cp. also his own estimate of his contributions to Comparative Mythology. See page 297.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 5.

In his Essay on "False Analogies in Comparative Theology,"[1] the Oxford Professor feels called upon to criticise pretty severely the conclusions of a writer from whom he radically differed; and we find him penning these sentences: "It is not pleasant to have to find fault with a man possessed of such genius, taste, and learning as Sir W[illiam] Jones; but no one who is acquainted with the history of these researches will be surprised at my words. It is the fate of all pioneers, not only to be left behind in the assault which they had planned, but to find that many of their approaches were made in a false direction, and had to be abandoned. But as the authority of these names continues to sway the public at large, and is apt to mislead even painstaking students and to entail upon them repeated disappointments, it is necessary that those who know could speak out,—even at the risk of being considered harsh or presumptuous."[2]

Doubtless, to many it will seem that these words might, with equal appropriateness, have been written concerning Professor Max Müller himself. He too was a man of "genius, taste, and learning." He too possessed a name that carried with it an undeniable weight of authority. He too was a pioneer, and was subject to all the necessary limitations of such a worker's career. In truth, there appear other words as well, further on in the same Essay, which also are capable of being given a personal application of which their author never dreamed. Professor Max Müller adds: "Mistakes cannot be avoided; for science is progressive, and does not acknowledge, even in the most distinguished scholars, any claims to infallibility." Exactly; and, judged by the rigid standards of that Science which the Professor did so much to inaugurate, a good deal of his own work seems to-day incomplete and strangely defective. He was a singularly strenuous student. During his long and

[1] Or "in COMPARATIVE RELIGION," as we would prefer to say. Cp. page 27.

[2] *Introduction to the Science of Religion*, p. 301.

active life he certainly never spared himself. But he attempted to be an investigator in far too many departments. When unexpectedly he found a door that gave admission to some new and inviting domain, he could not resist the temptation to enter it; and oftentimes he was detained far longer, and his interest was absorbed to a much fuller degree, than he had foreseen or intended. In view of the various discoveries he made, it is not in one's heart to reproach him; and yet the natural consequences had perforce to follow. As teacher, author, lecturer, and investigator, Professor Max Müller had always an overwhelming amount of work on hand; and, to very much of it, he was able to devote only such fragmentary leisure as he could manage to command. It was for this reason that he never really found time to apply himself, with resolute and persistent purpose, to the promotion of Comparative Religion.[1]

One feels inclined, therefore, to say that in Professor Max Müller we have a Pioneer who pointed out the dividing-line that separates the *study* of Comparative Religion from the *Science* of Comparative Religion; nay, to him belongs also the credit, as will shortly be pointed out, of leading many across from the one domain into the other. He was emphatically a brave-hearted explorer; and, working sometimes on one side of the boundary and sometimes on the other, his discoveries made easy and natural that great intellectual transition by which they have so conspicuously been followed.

One is apt to think of this teacher, for the most part, as being a distinguished Orientalist. In 1860, the University of Oxford selected him as her first Professor of Comparative Philology; and this study remained his speciality to the end, in spite of every temptation that coaxed him to concentrate his attention elsewhere. Nevertheless, his own distinct preference, frequently and most forcibly expressed, led him towards the investigation of problems in Religion; and nearly

[1] Max Müller clearly foresaw this danger. In the Preface to his *Introduction* he writes: "I shall find little leisure for these researches." P. viii.

all his best-loved work was done in that connection. In one place he writes of "my favourite study of ancient language, mythology, and religion."[1] The order in which these three departments of investigation are named is significant, and denotes doubtless the trend of a strong personal inclination; for, in a more recently published statement, the Professor declared that "the work of my life, as I had planned it many years ago, [is to be found] mainly in an exposition, however imperfect, of the four sciences of Language, Mythology, Religion, and Thought,—following each other in natural succession, and comprehending the whole sphere of activity of the human mind, from the earliest period within the reach of our knowledge to the present day."[2] Yet again, in his latest book, he claims that he was ever in quest of "the thread that connects the origin of thought and languages with the origin of mythology and religion."[3] And although, in this sphere, he was not destined to achieve that high distinction which he hoped for, he certainly was permitted to bring the goal within the reach of many others, and to encourage them greatly in their efforts to gain it.

It may seem to some that such praise is faint, and that the special merit claimed for this worker is, after all, unexpectedly small; but no words that have been used seek to obscure or minimise the fact that the assistance which Professor Max Müller did actually lend to this Science possessed a value that was greater than any one to-day can fully realise. Moreover, if the assistance rendered was chiefly help of a sort which paved the way for advances which it merely heralded but in which it was seldom privileged to participate, and if some of the books which cost Professor Max Müller great labour are unquestionably doomed to be superseded and presently forgotten,—it can

[1] *Introduction to the Science of Religion*, p. viii.

[2] *Contributions to the Science of Mythology*. 2 vols. London, 1897. See vol. i. p. v.

[3] *Autobiography*, p. 3. London, 1901.

never be remembered without gratitude that it was he who secured for us the translation of THE SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST,[1] and thus rendered accessible for all time a simply inexhaustible quarry of untold riches. This single achievement is sufficient to render his memory immortal. It is to be regretted that the General Editor of this work did not live to see his project completed, but, on the other hand, there is abundant ground for satisfaction in the fact that the success of this great undertaking far exceeded even the enthusiastic hopes of its author.[2] Instead of "a series of twenty-four volumes, the publication of which will probably extend over eight years," the number of volumes actually issued grew to fifty in the course of somewhat more than twenty-five years. The major part of these translations, as might have been anticipated from the strong personal leaning of the Editor, relate to the various Religions of India; but other Faiths as well are fairly represented, and it will be an added debt which the world will yet owe to an honoured name, when this great Eastern Theological Library shall be enlarged by the issue of a new and supplementary series.[3] Nor must it be overlooked that, by the charm of his style and the clearness of his thought, Max Müller lent an immense impetus to a movement which was greeted with no very generous welcome at the outset. Accordingly he did more to popularise the new Science, and to acquaint people generally with its method and aims, than can be claimed by the disciples of any other Master. In a sentence, Professor Max Müller created for the coming discipline a future that was bright with promise; he aroused something like enthusiasm among its few and scattered and often sadly disheartened friends; and he boldly announced that its advent meant the inauguration of a new and important Science.

[1] Cp. pages 115 and 171.

[2] Max Müller himself prepared only three of the volumes.

[3] Thus far, 21 vols. are representative of Brahmanism, 12 of Jainism and Buddhism, 8 of Zoroastrianism, 6 of Confucianism, etc., and 2 of Mohammedanism.

A RETROSPECTIVE SURVEY OF THE PERIOD OF PREPARATION.—Instead of limiting to a few rigidly condensed paragraphs our review of "The Historical Preparation" for Comparative Religion, it is manifest that the long interval of time which it covers, and the special significance of some of the factors which influence it, suggest and even demand that the subject should be dealt with in a much more adequate manner. Accordingly the GENERAL SUMMARY OF CHAPTERS IV. AND V.—corresponding to the Summary supplied on pages 93 f., at the end of the "Prolegomena"—will in this instance be furnished in the form of an extended Note in the Appendix.[1]

It must be remembered, of course, that the task of the intrepid prospector and pioneer has by no means been completed. It might be thought that, since a brighter day has dawned, the struggling enterprise which once allured such as were heroic and far-sighted to come to its help is now abundantly able to look after itself. In one sense, this view is quite correct. It will be shown in subsequent pages that, as soon as the new Science had manifestly *come*, competent leaders and scores of willing workers were found ready to lend it assistance. Every kind of information, concerning every known Religion, began to be accumulated with diligence and with almost feverish eagerness. A strong impulse was lent also to the study of Comparative Religion, and to the increasing conviction that this field should be explored under the governance of methods which already ruled in all other branches of historical and scientific inquiry. From that day until now, the religious beliefs of the most widely separated peoples have been examined with close and persistent scrutiny. The steadily increasing supply of material for the investigator has never slackened for a moment, so that the special embarrassment of to-day is found in the very mass of details by which the earnest searcher is confronted. Accordingly, the advance of this Science within

[1] See Appendix. Note XIII., page 516.

recent years, if not, strictly speaking, rapid, has at least been satisfactory and steady. That it is destined to fill an important place in the future is now seldom disputed. At the same time, it must distinctly be borne in mind that the work of the Pioneer, though now modified in its character, must still go bravely on. The necessity of preaching a gospel of enlightenment to those who persist in viewing this Science with distrust, of enlisting competent recruits for the work of sifting the results which historical students of Religion are now so rapidly collecting, of securing the interest and support of various kindred Sciences, and of seeing to it that all alleged comparisons are confined within strictly legitimate boundaries, demand the training and skill of men who, for many years to come, will be essential to the accomplishment of a simply invaluable work on the frontiers of scientific progress.

PART III

THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT

CHAPTER VI

ITS FOUNDERS AND MASTERS

SYLLABUS.—From Prolegomena to History—The late Advent of Comparative Religion—Who founded the Science?—In truth, there were many Founders: pp. 162–166. The most eminent Exponents of this Science, classified on the basis of their Nationality: pp. 166–169. I. THE BRITISH SCHOOL. Max Müller—Robertson Smith—Fairbairn: pp. 169–179. II. THE DUTCH SCHOOL. Tiele—Kuenen—Chantepie de la Saussaye: pp. 179–185. III. THE FRENCH SCHOOL. Renan—Réville—Marillier: pp. 185–191. IV. THE BELGIAN SCHOOL. Goblet d'Alviella: pp. 191–192. V. THE SWISS SCHOOL. Orelli: pp. 192–193. VI. THE SCANDINAVIAN SCHOOL. Rydberg—Westergaard—Fausböll: pp. 193–196. VII. THE GERMAN SCHOOL: pp. 196–197. VIII. THE AMERICAN SCHOOL. Clarke—Johnson—Warren—Toy—Ellinwood: pp. 197–202. IX. A CANADIAN SCHOOL: pp. 203–206. Retrospective Survey: pp. 206–210.

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vols. Paris, 1885–1901. Among *American* authorities, see :— CLARKE (James Freeman), *Ten Great Religions*. 2 vols. Boston, 1871–83. [Vol. i. has passed through more than thirty editions.] JOHNSON (Samuel), *Oriental Religions and their relation to Universal Religion*. 3 vols. Boston, 1872–85. ELLINWOOD (Frank Field), *Oriental Religions and Christianity*. New York, 1892.

FROM PROLEGOMENA TO HISTORY.—Passing now from a review of the topics which pertain (1) to the Prolegomena of the subject, and (2) to the different stages in the long Preparation for Comparative Religion, attention is now to be concentrated upon the History of the Science itself. The beginnings of this study are obscured by much uncertainty; but its career has been so brief, and its advance has been so manifest, that it will not be difficult to prepare a summary at least of the more salient facts. The sketch which is to be attempted can be presented, however, only in barest outline; for the items that demand mention are at once numerous and varied.

Thus far, in preceding Chapters, a very inviting field of inquiry has been surveyed wholly from without; but we are now to enter the field, and to acquaint ourselves with its resources (both developed and undeveloped) when these resources are viewed from within. Or, to change the figure: we are now to study the interior of an imposing structure, upon which countless hands—many of them quite unknown, and others of them long since stilled by death—have through the centuries diligently wrought; and we are there to watch the busy builders who to-day ceaselessly labour, that they perchance may be able to complete the fabric which others were once bold enough to plan and begin. We are about to survey, in detail, the process of THE ACTUAL UPREARING OF A SCIENCE; and, as we proceed, we shall have abundant opportunity of acquainting ourselves with the emergence of all those complicated demands which so exacting an enterprise involves.

THE ADVENT OF COMPARATIVE RELIGION NECESSARILY DELAYED.—Chronologically considered, the Science of Com-

parative Religion was late in making its appearance. Ample explanation of this circumstance has already been given;[1] but, in brief, workers in this field could not commence their task until facts concerning Religion had been accumulated in sufficient quantity to justify the institution of deliberate comparisons. No sooner, however, were the highways of the world thrown open, and the gates of Hermit Nations wrenched away, than a supply of the needed materials for study began to become available. And, in all the intervening years, there has been no lack of information touching the religious beliefs of the most widely separated peoples. The accumulation of information, indeed, has never slackened for a moment; and the special embarrassment of to-day is the overwhelming mass of detail, still rapidly increasing, which confronts every earnest investigator. Yet it is with these facts—and with the sifting, assorting, and labelling of them—that the student of Comparative Religion is now diligently occupying himself; and the results secured even already, as will immediately be shown, have been in the very highest degree encouraging.

WHO FOUNDED THE NEW SCIENCE?—This query, so often voiced and so hotly debated a few years ago, is seldom framed to-day. Strictly speaking, the question is still an open one; but, to all intents and purposes, it is now finally closed. It is true that this honour has more than once been formally awarded,—as when some Master in the Science has graciously bestowed the coveted distinction upon some eminent predecessor. But no sooner has the name thought of been made public, than a perfect babel of dissent has filled the air, and every argument that has been cited in defence of its selection has been met with a prompt and vehement rejoinder.[2]

THE QUESTION A RELATIVELY UNIMPORTANT ONE.—It is not proposed to arouse again this dead and barren

[1] Cp. pages 58–61, and pages 106–117.

[2] Take, for example, the case of the late Professor Max Müller. See Appendix. Note XIV., page 521.

controversy; and yet a few words concerning the merits of the dispute are distinctly called for. The inquiry, in truth, is superfluous; it is a quest which appeals strongly only to a superficial mind. For which Faith, even among the great World Religions, is able to name its "Founder"? Are there not some enterprises which are so wide in scope, so profound in meaning, and so complex in detail, that it is a manifest impossibility that any one man could have originated them? Is there not serious risk, therefore, that we may obscure important facts, when we insist upon fixing dates with an inflexible rigidity? These considerations will be found to be fully justified, if we apply them to the case of JESUS CHRIST; for, though here more restricted in their range, they hold true even of Him, when we view with exactness the relation in which He stands to Christianity. He was rather the Prophet and Pioneer of that Faith than the actual Founder of it; the unfolding of it, nay, the actual beginning of it, belonged to a day that was later than His: as a great Master Builder, He superintended the preparation of foundations which others were permitted to lay. At the time of Christ's death, the Christian Church had as yet no existence; and, beyond question, if it had not been for the compelling force of circumstances, this teacher's first followers would have been exceedingly reluctant to sever the ties which still bound them to the familiar worship of the Synagogue. When one deliberately reviews the situation, it becomes clear that, as regards the planting of Christianity, Christ did very much less than some have been wont to imagine. With His own hands He did little —comparatively nothing, indeed—that can be said to have been constructive and permanent. On certain occasions, we find Him deliberately abstaining from identifying Himself in any directly personal way with the promotion of that great undertaking upon which He had set His heart.[1] Nevertheless, that little which Christ did achieve—but which, by and by, proved to be the leaven that "leaveneth

[1] John iv. 2.

the whole lump"[1]—would unquestionably have been very much less than it was, had He not been assigned His place in the van of that long line of earlier Prophets and Pioneers who prepared the way for Him. Or, to take a modern example, drawn from the same field of widespread religious movements: every one recognises that while MARTIN LUTHER, in a popular way, is often called the "Founder" of the Reformation in Germany, that great enterprise could never have been inaugurated by him alone; nor could he ever have secured his now inseparable connection with it had there not been many brave and active Reformers before his time. History may say relatively very little about these earlier heroes, but no competent historian denies either their existence or their obvious and imperative necessity.[2]

The "Founder" of the Science of Comparative Religion, therefore,—supposing that one were able to name him,—would not be entitled to occupy in our thought a place of solitary pre-eminence. At the best, whilst his discovery would well reward the search of those who like to estimate everything from the chronological point of view, he would still be found to be only a link in a chain; for he too had predecessors and contemporaries who made his achievement possible. Moreover, the "Founder"—could we name him—might not prove to have been one of the most helpful of the workers who actively advanced the movement with which he stood so closely identified! On the contrary, it might be found to be true—as it assuredly was true, in certain respects, of Martin Luther — that the so-called Founder and Leader was also the author of some of the chief positive hindrances which have never ceased to handicap the success of a vast and beneficent undertaking.

IN TRUTH, COMPARATIVE RELIGION HAD MANY FOUNDERS.

[1] 1 Cor. v. 6.

[2] See Dr. Carl Ullmann, *Reformatoren vor der Reformation.* 2 vols. Hamburg, 1841–66. [Translated, "Reformers before the Reformation." Edinburgh, 1855.]

—The fact is that Comparative Religion has attained its present status through help contributed from so many different quarters, at so many different periods, and through channels so diverse and often wholly independent of one another, that it is quite impossible to say *who* its Founder was. Certainly no one Savant can lay claim to the credit of having effected this highly important achievement. We have been able to show that a considerable number of investigators—working separately, in different countries, and for the most part wholly unaware of what others had already done, or were at the moment attempting to accomplish—are entitled to be enrolled, either among the Prophets of this new departure, or among the Pioneers who personally did much to hasten its advent; but its "Founder" is still quite unknown to the world. After all, as Professor Max Müller once wrote when speaking of Darwin's relation to the doctrine of evolution: "What is really important is, not the priority of the individual, but the priority of the ideas" which many reverently associate with his name. Suffice it to say here, that when, in the preceding Chapter, an attempt was made to specify and briefly characterise the work of the several Heralds of this new department of Science, the fact must have been made amply clear, that before its Prophets and Pioneers had fully completed their task, and wholly without formal inauguration, the Science of Comparative Religion had already made its advent! And not only had it thus early been unostentatiously yet substantially founded, but already a strong scholarly impulse had been given to it, and it had begun to hold on its way with conspicuous vigour.

THE MOST EMINENT FOUNDERS AND MASTERS OF COMPARATIVE RELIGION. — It now becomes our duty, rising above all disputes as to the relative measure of honour which ought to be awarded to individual workers, to frame a careful estimate of the labours of the several Founders and Masters in this field, of the researches of Scientists of distinction and imperial outlook, the Apostles and

Architects of a new interpretation of the Faiths that prevail among men. To accomplish this aim successfully, the critic must be possessed of a wide and competent knowledge; but he must also modestly utter his opinions in the terms of the utmost candour. Such outspokenness, it goes without saying, is not without its perils. When alluding to the somewhat similar attempt which Bopp, Schleicher, and Brugmann had made in the interest of students of Comparative Philology, the late Professor Max Müller expressed his personal feeling touching this matter in the following forcible terms: "Nothing is more troublesome, and more thankless, than to prepare a complete and accurate survey of the work done by our predecessors and fellow-workers, and to award to friends and foes that amount of praise and blame which they and their labours seem to deserve in our own eyes."[1] And then he adds: "We should therefore be all the more grateful to those who undertake, from time to time, that laborious and often invidious task."[1] These words are unquestionably true. Still the effort, though not without its embarrassments, is quite worth all it may cost; and those who best understand its difficulties will doubtless prove the most lenient when they come to pass judgment upon those defects by which it may chance to be marred.

A DISTINGUISHED GROUP OF SCHOLARS.—It is certainly very gratifying that, within the brief period of half a century (viz., from 1850 to 1900), a goodly array of names can already be marshalled under the heading, "The Founders and Masters of Comparative Religion." It is, of course, understood that students who work *exclusively* in other departments of the Science of Religion—in the History of Religions, for example—cannot be included in this review. In the field just mentioned, and in that field alone, fully fifty prominent names could be cited without the slighest hesitation: it is the domain within which the vast majority of present-day inquirers are busying them-

[1] *Lectures on the Science of Language.* 2 vols. London, 1861–64. See Vol. i. p. xxvi.

selves, and within which they seem perfectly content to restrict the range of all their scholarly researches. The number of those who cultivate Comparative Religion with a similar ardour, and whose chosen life-work lies wholly within *its* boundaries, is, unfortunately, very small. Nevertheless, many who labour in contiguous fields are constrained from time to time to enter this field also; and it is because account must be taken of this fact, a fact of the very first importance, that it can now confidently be affirmed that those whose efforts and achievements have already rendered them conspicuous in the realm of Comparative Religion, and some of whom have made permanent contributions to that study, are no longer merely a few. Their aggregate, indeed, is so considerable, that, in order to deal with them intelligibly, one is under the necessity of adopting some principle of classification. Probably the most convenient method of arrangement will be the one which was employed in Chapter V., when reference was being made to the work accomplished by the chief Pioneers in this department.[1] In this way we shall most easily group together, as when one studies the history of Sculpture or Music or Painting, the leading representatives of the Dutch School, the French School, the British School, the American School, etc. etc. Of course, as all can see at a glance, the laws which dominate Science are very different from those which rightly rule within the domain of Art. A Science is never fenced in by artificial national barriers. It is essentially international; nay, in essence it is universal. A particle of knowledge, be it ever so small, is like a particle of gold: it passes current everywhere. On the other hand, some canon of Painting which is perfectly orthodox in Holland may (it is at least conceivable) be regarded as heterodox in every other corner of Europe!

[1] See pages 132 and 136. In the present Chapter, as in its predecessor, the limited amount of space at our disposal precludes any attempt being made to do more than supply a mere sketch of the work which each of the authorities named succeeded in accomplishing.

Accordingly, within the field of Comparative Religion—where there is ever the freest interchange of ideas, and where there can be no clearly marked lines of national separation and division—it is only as a matter of convenience, and perhaps also as a useful means of indicating the sort of contribution which individual countries have made towards a common end, that the following scheme of classification has been preferred and adopted.

It may be premised that only a few of those whose names are about to be mentioned could claim to be enrolled among the "great" Masters of this new and advancing Science. Its history is as yet very brief, and the task that had first to be faced was somewhat elementary in character. Accordingly, the majority of successful workers in this field have been those simply who have esteemed the Comparative method very highly, who have introduced it into the realm of research in Religion, and who have there applied it with patient and hopeful ardour. Yet even at this early day, as will at once be made plain, some of the investigators in this department have obtained international distinction.

I. THE BRITISH SCHOOL.[1]—The first name that falls to be chronicled is the one with which an earlier catalogue was appropriately closed.[2] The last among the most noteworthy of the Pioneers, it stands easily foremost, alike chronologically and influentially, among the real Founders of Comparative Religion.

1. FRIEDRICH MAX MÜLLER[3] (1823–1900).—It is to Oxford, beyond all question, that this new Science owes its earliest impulse. Dr. Max Müller never secured, indeed, a Chair in this department; and it must always be remembered that, in this respect, he was less fortunate than were the two greatest of his contemporaries in the same wide field of inquiry. If he had enjoyed the advantages which fell to the lot of Professor Tiele in Leyden and Professor

[1] Cp. pages 380–383. [2] See pages 150–156.
[3] Formerly Professor of Comparative Philology, Oxford.

Réville in Paris,—with the opportunity and incentive to concentrate his labours, and to gather about him a select band of disciples,—a place would have been allotted him to-day, not among the Founders only, but among the very foremost Masters of Comparative Religion. In any case, in view of this teacher's intimate and prominent association with this Science at the time when it had only begun to assert itself, it is easy to explain the widespread tradition that he exclusively was the Founder of it.[1]

There were several ways in which Professor Max Müller was pre-eminently fitted to secure for Comparative Religion an auspicious beginning. He was a man of courage and of broad and generous sympathies, and so was not likely to be deterred in his investigations by the opposition either of personal prejudice or of contemporary protest and alarm. He had unusual facility in foreign languages, and so was able to acquaint himself with foreign literatures at first hand. He was a constant and rapid reader, and so had at his command the resources of a remarkably well-stored mind. He possessed an attractive personality, and so he had hosts of friends. A prominent personage all his life, he was able to engage and influence opinion in many quarters which other teachers utterly failed to reach; and of this exceptional opportunity, especially in connection with the progress of these new studies, he availed himself to the full. As already stated, he utilised also the lecture platform, invoking its aid continually during his earnest and persistent propaganda; and, being gifted in a high degree with powers of attractive and lucid exposition, he rendered a simply incalculable service to the cause which he so cheerfully undertook to promote.

As it proved in the end, a large part of the help which Professor Max Müller lent to Comparative Religion, immense and varied though it was, must be accounted to have been indirect and temporary.[2] Such a verdict conveys in

[1] See Appendix. Note XIV., page 521.
[2] See pages 155 and 175.

it no undertone of reproach; indeed, it was just *such* help that, at that particular time, the new movement especially needed. If this early writer had done no more than bravely face, and then begin gradually to stem and turn, that tide of fierce opposition which his suggestions and teachings at first everywhere encountered; if he had done no more than direct the attention of professors of religion to the necessity of seeking to understand better the Faith to which they adhered; if he had done no more than raise the question: "Does God spurn all prayers save such as ascend to Him from the lips of those who are called Christians?"—he would have rendered this new Science simply invaluable assistance, and services of a sort which it could never hope to repay.

But, in addition to the results just specified, Professor Max Müller accomplished a great deal more. We are so accustomed to think of him as a brilliant populariser,[1] that we sometimes unwittingly underestimate the seriousness of his method and ideals. His outlook at first may sometimes have been hazy and circumscribed; but it became enlarged, and grew rapidly more distinct, with his advancing years. It must never be supposed, therefore, that Max Müller was one who merely prepared the way for others, and who himself did but little to carry forward his immense undertaking to its distant and difficult goal; as a matter of fact, he did much substantial work on behalf of Comparative Religion in labours that proved to be of direct and permanent value. Take, for example, his researches in (*a*) *Philology*. Apart altogether from the high service he rendered to international scholarship through his editing the text of the Rig-Veda, his publication of an important History of Literature,[2] and his securing the translation of "The Sacred Books of the East" (covering fifty volumes[3]), he possessed a knowledge of Sanskrit which

[1] Cp. page 156.
[2] *History of Sanskrit Literature*. London, 1859.
[3] See pages 115 and 156.

was at once rare and exact. This statement requires to be emphasised, since some critics of repute still echo the complacent verdict that his erudition was in no respect profound. At the time of his death, the London *Spectator* remarked that he was "fanciful" in exposition, and that "he lacked penetration." Nevertheless, even in the philological field, Professor Max Müller's investigations were of distinct value in helping to secure that remoter end which he invariably had in view; for it was he who inaugurated in Great Britain the study of Comparative Philology, and then used it as a stepping-stone to studies in Comparative Religion. Thus he compared minutely the various *names* by which the deities of widely separated peoples were designated; and then, tracing the philological affinities between the terms severally employed, he sought very ingeniously to account for the diversity and similarity of the beliefs which had gradually become associated with the deities in question.[1] It is now universally admitted that he exaggerated the importance of Philology in this connection, and was inclined to find in this key alone the "Open sesame" of the most complex religious subtleties.[2] His doctrine of the identity of Language and Thought—viz., that, as he puts it, "we can as little think without words as we can breathe without lungs"—has made him the target of much censure and sarcasm. And it must be confessed that such a doctrine (while it draws attention to certain curious truths, and in a happy and effective way) seriously fails to take full account of the facts which it undertakes to explain. Philology, beyond denial, is an important and helpful factor, when one is striving honestly to unravel some of the mysteries of Religion; but it must never be given a determinative place in the framing of one's ultimate theory of Religion. It has often proved to be a useful aid, and a sagacious and chatty companion,

[1] Cp. Appendix. Note XXVII., pages 552–553.

[2] See page 33. See also page 188. Also, Appendix. Note XXVII., page 554.

as one has had to make a wearisome journey along an unknown highway; but it must ever consciously be held in restraint, else it is almost sure to mislead the too-trustful traveller. Unquestionably it misled Professor Max Müller. Nevertheless, while unreliable in many of its applications, the principle in itself was good; and it opened up the way to some very remarkable discoveries. Without the assistance of an exact Philology, the contents of the sacred writings of various alien races would be practically of very little use to us; whereas, through its aid, many a coolly planned deception of the unwary has promptly been unmasked and disarmed. "It is not easy to imitate ancient language, so as to deceive the practised eye of the Grammarian."[1] It would be amusing, as well as surprising, if one were to record only a tithe of the historical instances in which those who were *not* practical Philologists have been grossly imposed upon by the unscrupulous vendors of documents which possessed neither intrinsic nor pecuniary value.

Or take Max Müller's inquiries into (*b*) *Comparative Mythology*.[2] His well-known Essay, bearing this title, appeared in 1856; and some have been inclined to claim that the Professor deserves the honour of being the founder at least of this particular department of research. Be that as it may, one here meets with a publication which was the direct outcome of Professor Max Müller's comparative studies, and which constitutes a direct contribution towards the advancement of Comparative Religion.[3] As in so many other instances—where one had hoped to secure some result of permanent value—the substance of this inquiry is often sorely disappointing; yet the aim of the writer was praiseworthy, and the means employed to secure it were valid and scientific. Professor Max Müller's theory as to the origin of Mythology, and his alleged clue to the exposition

[1] Cp. page 411.

[2] Cp. pages 296–297.

[3] See also his *Contributions to the Science of Mythology*. 2 vols. London, 1897.

of its problems, may not be accepted as adequate. Indeed, his proffered solution at once aroused keen and widespread opposition, and it is scarcely heard of to-day. Nevertheless, the author of this scheme gave strongest practical commendation to the comparative method by employing it himself. Nay, in so many words, he recommends a similar procedure on the part of others, declaring that students should "serve their first apprenticeship in a *comparative* study of religion."[1] It has already been remarked that this Oxford teacher lamented often that no one had been found, prior to his own day, who attempted to apply systematically this new method in a field where the fruitage secured was likely to be so abundant and so beneficial;[2] hence, though severely handicapped because of many other demands upon his time, he essayed to enter that field himself, and to accomplish within it that quantum of results which lay within the limits of his power.

Or take, finally, (*c*) the more formal *Courses of Lectures* which he delivered before University audiences, and at the request of various Learned Societies. These prelections invariably possessed the distinction of a rare attractiveness, but they were intended to reach and move a constituency that demanded something more than gratification merely. And the attempt was not made in vain. In his *Royal Institution Lectures*,[3] delivered in 1870, and to which repeated reference has been made in these pages,—but particularly in his *Hibbert Lectures*,[4] delivered in 1878, as the first of a valuable series of Studies which he was privileged very happily to inaugurate,—one is made to feel, as never before, how, in all the great Religions of mankind, the motto "Quod ubique, quod semper, quod ab omnibus" finds its warrant and its actual realisation. Hence Professor Max Müller selected that dictum as the fitting keynote for

[1] See his *Introduction to the Science of Religion*, p. 167.

[2] See Appendix. Note XIV., page 522.

[3] *Introduction to the Science of Religion.* London, 1873.

[4] *The Origin and Growth of Religion, as illustrated by the Religions of India.* Oxford, 1878. Cp. page 569.

his persistent and strenuous quest. Likewise, in his *Gifford Lectures*,[1] delivered at the University of Glasgow, he gave to the world a summary of his latest and maturest thought concerning those deep problems with which he had busied himself for more than a quarter of a century.

While, therefore, all must regret that a scholar who was abundantly qualified to have become one of the most distinguished Masters in the history of Comparative Religion must always occupy a secondary and less conspicuous place, this worker has won, nevertheless, great and immortal renown. So long as men continue to remember their benefactors, and so long as modern Science continues to take pride in those who have been its patient precursors and promoters, the name of Max Müller will always be recalled with prompt and genuine gratitude. It was fitting, therefore, at the close of his career, that few could point to a larger number of tokens of public esteem—cheerfully bestowed in the form of official decorations, both academic and civic, and coming even from the hands of Emperors and Kings—than Professor Max Müller was able to do. It may have been that, in his later years especially, he set too high a value on distinctions of this kind: certainly he made no concealment of the fact that he was greatly pleased when they chanced to be awarded to him. If any one will consult Appendix H. in the recently published *Life*[2] of this great scholar, he will find that the list of such honours was a long and most distinguished one. But, at the same time, it must be acknowledged that few men have more fully deserved the satisfaction which such recognition is intended to convey. He was a most diligent as well as painstaking student; his collected Works constitute a considerable Library by themselves. Besides his ceaseless industry in his study, he was always accessible to strangers, and very patient with their

[1] *Natural Religion*, *Physical Religion*, *Anthropological Religion*, and *Psychological Religion*. 4 vols. London, 1889–92. Cp. page 570.

[2] *The Life and Letters of the Right Honourable Friedrich Max Müller*. 2 vols. London, 1902.

demands upon his time.[1] Unfortunately, the range of his studies soon became too wide, and he had no opportunity to devote his full strength to *any* department of really exacting research; nevertheless, it was in the study of Religion—whose dawn before the days of Christ he has somewhere likened to "songs before the sunrise"—that he found his supreme delight. As regards Comparative Religion in particular, he did what no writer up to his time had achieved or even attempted: he accomplished, indeed, more than all his predecessors, were the sum of their labours to be added together.[2] He was one of the earliest authorities who deliberately employed the term "Science of Religion";[3] and we have seen how successful he was in pleading for the wider introduction of that discipline which had thus appropriately been named. The important distinction between the essence and the form of Religion—a distinction to which even Alexander Ross drew attention,[4] and upon which Professor Tiele has rightly laid such stress—was always clearly recognised by him, and was amply and vigorously enforced. When the Parliament of Religions was convened in Chicago in 1893, he lent it his cordial commendation; and, in truth, his support was never sought for in vain, whenever some similar movement, whether popular or scientific in its character, seemed likely to advance the cause for which he lived and laboured.[5] He was permitted to see a good old age; and yet surely few men have passed away leaving behind them a more worthy record, or one that was more enriched by the fruits of prolonged and disinterested industry.[6]

[1] His Library, with its magnificent collection of Oriental literature, has been one of the highly valued possessions of the Imperial University of Japan, Tokyo, since 1901.

[2] See his *Chips from a German Workshop*. 4 vols. London, 1867–75.

[3] Cp. page 23.

[4] See pages 137 f.

[5] Cp. what he says about "the work of my life," already reported on page 155.

[6] For particulars concerning the Oxford Memorial to Professor Max Müller, see Appendix. Note XV., page 523. It may be added that the Oxford School of Comparative Religion has, of late, busied itself in a

To British scholars, other than the late Professor Max Müller, a briefer reference will suffice. Thus far, unfortunately, the direct contributions made to the science of Comparative Religion from this quarter have been all too meagre. At the same time, while only a few names can rightly claim a place in the present catalogue,—admittedly select and exclusive,—it is no little satisfaction to include within it at least two outstanding British authorities.

2. William Robertson Smith[1] (1846–1894).—The aid which this eminent investigator had begun to lend to the science of Comparative Religion was prematurely terminated by his death. It can never be known, therefore, what the exact measure of his help would have been had his life been prolonged, and had he not for years been suffering from a malady that had marked him for its own; but as to the quality of that assistance, there can be no question. He has been described as "the man who was master in almost every field; as great in science and philosophy as he was in theology and Oriental languages."[2] In point of scholarship, courage, and a singularly unbiassed mind, Great Britain has not produced his superior during the last half century. Not only was he a man of wide and profound learning, but he possessed also powers of unusual penetration. It is to him we owe the conception of the *Encyclopædia Biblica*, which enterprise, however, he did not live long enough to do more than begin.[3] The chief memorial of his worth which he has left to his successors is contained in the First Series of his *Burnett Lectures*. These discussions, in their complete

direction entirely different from that in which it moved at the outset. Moreover, it is now distinctly British in tone; and, in so far as its investigations in Anthropology, Ethnology, etc., are concerned, it is being loyally supported by kindred workers in Cambridge, Durham, and other British Universities. Of its more recent history, some account will be given in Chapter VIII.

[1] Formerly Professor of Arabic in the University of Cambridge. See page 137.

[2] W. Robertson Nicoll, in *The British Weekly*. London, December 13, 1900.

[3] Cp. page 63.

form, covered the general topics of Religious Institutions, the Gods of Semitic Heathenism, and Semitic Religion in universal history. Only the first course of Lectures, however—the one delivered in the winter of 1888–89[1]—was revised by the Author and issued from the press. In the introductory chapter we read, indeed, that "We have not the materials for anything like a complete comparative history of Semitic religions, and nothing of the sort will be attempted in these Lectures"; but the materials that were actually available were certainly employed with masterly skill. It was hardly necessary for the writer to remark in his Preface: "The subject proposed had interested me for many years";[2] for, even to the most casual reader, this fact must soon have been made apparent in an unmistakable manner. For half a century to come, this volume will be valued and quoted as an indispensable authority.

3. ANDREW MARTIN FAIRBAIRN[3] (1838–).—The indirect contributions of Principal Fairbairn to Comparative Religion have been continuous, and of the very highest value. As all are aware, it is in the exposition of Comparative Psychology, the Philosophy of History, and the Philosophy of Religion that the pen of this profound interpreter has found its most congenial fields; but no one could successfully conduct these broad and difficult inquiries without taking some part also in weighing and estimating the problems which Comparative Religion presents. Take, for example, Dr. Fairbairn's *Gifford Lectures*[4] as an ample confirmation of this statement. Or take his most notable book;[5] while its theme is not different from

[1] *The Religion of the Semites.* Edinburgh, 1889. [2nd ed., London, 1894.] The fuller title of the book, as given to the reader in the Preface, discloses the entire scheme as it spread itself out before the author's mind, viz., "The primitive religions of the Semitic peoples, viewed in relation to other ancient religions, and to the spiritual religion of the Old Testament and of Christianity."

[2] Preface, p. v.

[3] Principal of Mansfield College, Oxford.

[4] Delivered at Aberdeen, 1892–94. [Not published.]

[5] *The Philosophy of the Christian Religion.* London, 1902.

that which has persistently absorbed his attention from the first, the student of Comparative Religion will find in it many exceedingly helpful suggestions, especially in Book I., chapters vii. and viii. Principal Fairbairn was selected to prepare and deliver in India the Second course of *Barrows Lectures* on Comparative Religion; but unfortunately these discourses, like their Gifford predecessors, have not been separately printed.[1] It has been heard lately with much satisfaction, that Principal Fairbairn contemplates publishing a volume which will deal expressly and exclusively with Comparative Religion; and it is not surprising that this report has awakened widespread and genuine expectancy. For Dr. Fairbairn is acknowledged to possess unusual qualifications for this task. His intimate acquaintance with the immense literature of the subject, his quick insight, his ability to distinguish sharply things that differ, his wide experience as a traveller, his habit of taking comprehensive views of things, and those philosophical talents which have so often enabled him to discover the unity which underlies diversity—on these and other grounds many are cherishing the hope that Oxford will once again, and before long, resume her former honoured place as the chief British representative and promoter of this advancing new Science.[2]

II. The Dutch School.[3]—As British scholarship in this field has often been designated, though certainly with insufficient warrant, "The Oxford School"; so in Holland, speaking again merely in a general way, one may be said to find himself brought into contact with "The Leyden School." For, of the four Universities of the Netherlands, Leyden is

[1] Much of the matter included in them is now contained in the volume whose title has just been given. See also his *Studies in the Religion of the New Testament*. London, 1905.

[2] For the names and publications of other leaders in Comparative Religion, of British nationality and deserving of honourable mention, see Chapter XII.

[3] Cp. pages 378–379.

the one which stands out most conspicuously in the annals of Comparative Religion.

It is also true of Holland, as of Great Britain, that the field to which the present Manual is devoted has hitherto been very imperfectly cultivated. Much more, indeed, has been done for this study on the Continent, and especially in Holland, than in the United Kingdom. The educational authorities of Great Britain have as yet taken no initiative in the matter, whereas the Dutch Government more than a quarter of a century ago established a separate Chair for giving instruction in Religion—not, indeed, in any dogmatic interest, but on a purely scientific basis—in each of the Universities of the State. Moreover, Holland was the first country in Europe to take this step. Unfortunately, however, these Chairs are officially devoted to the dual study of the History of Religions and the Philosophy of Religion. Hence the intermediate subject—the Comparison of the results which historical investigation supplies—while not by any means ignored, is dealt with incidentally and briefly rather than directly and exhaustively.

1. Cornelis Petrus Tiele[1] (1830–1902).—There is one outstanding name, in the history of Comparative Religion in Holland, which occupies a place closely resembling that which Professor Max Müller's name holds to-day in England. Not that the two men were in all respects alike, or that the relative eminence they attained as scholars can be said to have been approximately equal; yet the resemblances were certainly many and marked. As linguists,[2] and as men who had travelled extensively, both were well fitted for the special task they undertook. In manner both were simple, straightforward, and frank in their greeting to those who, as strangers, continually sought their counsel. Both were modest in their office as guides.

[1] Formerly Professor of the History and Philosophy of Religion, University of Leyden.

[2] Tiele, it may be stated, was as much at home in Semitics as when he was engaged at work on some problem belonging to the Aryan family of languages.

It is a very characteristic touch, as revealing the genuine humility of the man, that Tiele in one of his books refuses to treat formally of the old Keltic and the national Japanese Religions, because so little was really known concerning them. "I preferred," he says, "to leave them out entirely, rather than to be led astray myself, or to propagate mere conjectures which might prove errors after all."[1] In another place, upon the conclusion of a splendid piece of work, he writes: "Although keenly alive to the difficulties of my task, and the imperfection of its fulfilment," etc.[2] Yet further, both Tiele and Max Müller were masters of literary style, and both wrote copiously. Both knew what it was to enjoy the satisfaction of winning ample honours at the hands alike of Church and State. Both lived to reach an advanced age; and, working strenuously side by side, both passed away together. Moreover, both bear truly representative names. Not only was each of them a fearless and successful leader, but each was also so outstandingly pre-eminent among his fellow-countrymen, that few attempted to call in question the weight of his personal authority.[3] And finally; if, as regards the inauguration of a Science of Comparative Religion, we date the beginning of Professor Max Müller's effective help from the year 1870, *i.e.* from the year in which he delivered his memorable Lectures on *The Science of Religion* at the Royal Institution, London, Professor Tiele pressed very closely upon his heels; for it was in 1872 that he completed his exceedingly able work, entitled *Comparative History of Egyptian and Mesopotamian Religions.*[4] Several years prior to this date, indeed,

[1] *Outlines of the History of Religion.* Preface, p. x.

[2] *Elements of the Science of Religion.* 2 vols. Edinburgh, 1897–99. Preface to vol. ii.

[3] The most notable exception, in so far as Max Müller was concerned, was found in Professor Whitney of Yale University. Cp. page 468.

[4] *Vergelijkende Geschiedenis der Egyptische en Mesopotamische Godsdiensten.* 2 vols. Amsterdam, 1869–72. [Cp. page 66.] Only vol. i. has been translated into English, viz., London, 1882; but during that year both volumes, though in a condensed form, were translated into French and published at Paris.

Dr. Tiele had published a study of Zarathustrianism which speedily secured for him a European reputation.[1] His post at Leyden constrained him to give up a large portion of his time to purely historical work; and this quest he thoroughly enjoyed. He never tired of emphasising the importance of *beginning* with the facts which history supplies to us.[2] In his *Gifford Lectures* at Edinburgh, he remarked: "I have been engaged in historical inquiries more than anything else, and all the more considerable works I have published have been of a historical kind. My late friend Kuenen used to say, 'I am nothing if not critical.' I would venture to say of myself, 'I am nothing if not historical.'"[3] Hence he has been able to put into our hands two historical works of first-rate importance.[4] But while his Chair, to which he was appointed in 1877, necessitated his giving continuous attention to historical studies, he never contemplated confining himself exclusively to those pursuits. He recognised that any information he might collect, in order to be reliable, must indeed be based upon such studies; but he always regarded this part of his task as merely introductory to his real lifework. His supreme service to learning was rendered in connection with his various contributions to the Philosophy of Religion,[5] and so the major part of his

[1] *De Godsdienst van Zarathustra, van haar ontstaan in Baktrië tot den val van het Oud-Perzische Rijk* ("The Religion of Zarathustra, from its rise in Bactria till the Fall of the ancient Persian Empire"). Haarlem, 1864. Cp. page 69.

[2] See Appendix. Note II., page 487.

[3] *Elements of the Science of Religion*, vol. i. p. 17.

[4] See his *Babylonisch-assyrische Geschichte* ("Babylonio-Assyrian History"), Gotha, 1885–87, upon a new edition of which he was busy at the time of his death; and his *Geschiedenis van der Godsdienst in de Oudheid* ("History of Religion in Antiquity," viz., down to the time of Alexander the Great). Of this latter work, begun in 1895, the concluding part of vol. ii. appeared in 1901. Professor Tiele was engaged upon two additional volumes, which were to deal with the History of Religion in Ancient India, Greece, and Rome, when he passed away. See also his *De plaats van de Godsdiensten der Naturvolken in de Godsdienstgeschiedenis* ("The Place of the Religions of Savages in the History of Religion"). Amsterdam, 1873.

[5] See his *Elements of the Science of Religion*; also his *Outlines of the History of Religion*. This latter work, a most useful Manual, has in some

industry must be passed by without mention in this treatise; but he was ever-persuaded that it is only as one *compares* adequately the materials which history affords that any permanent progress can be made in the Science of Religion.[1] The historical method must be employed in the first instance; but the comparative method—following hard upon it, and working in fullest sympathy with it—was regarded as being no less essential and interpretive. Hence he esteemed and employed the apparatus of Comparative Religion in all his higher and more complex investigations.

The death of this great Master—mentally equipped, happily situated, optimistic in spirit, ardent in outlook, and successful in achievement to a degree that might well be envied him—must be accounted a severe misfortune for the Science he so cheerfully laboured to promote. No greater loss in any field of inquiry has been experienced within the last two decades. In several respects his removal was much more serious, as regards the interests which he served, than was that of his eminent English confrère. First, because he had concentrated all his high powers upon the perplexities which a single field of research presented to his view. Secondly, because—while, as with Max Müller, Comparative Religion was necessarily for him only a subordinate sphere of investigation—he had achieved so much really permanent work in that subsidiary department. He was one of the founders of an able *Review*,[2] in which (as also in the *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* at Paris) many of the most

respects been outgrown; but happily it has been completely recast and brought up to date (1903), under the Author's own supervision, by Professor Söderblom of Upsala. [Cp. pages 194 and 438.] See also Tiele's Article on "Religions" in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. (Ninth Edition.)

[1] See his *De Vrucht der Assyriologie voor de vergelijkende Geschiedenis der Godsdiensten* ("The Results of Assyriology for the Comparative History of Religions"). Leiden, 1877. [Translated, "Die Assyriologie u. i. Ergebnisse für d. vergleichende Religionsgeschichte." Leipzig, 1877.] In his Article on "Religions," in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, he states that he had conducted his investigations, for the most part, in the three related departments of (1) the comparative historical study of Religions, (2) the psychological study of Man, and (3) the Philosophy of Religion.

[2] *Theologisch Tijdschrift*. Cp. page 438.

valuable articles were written by his pen. In this way, aided by his unfailing perseverance and acumen, he showed himself fully competent to grapple with the fundamental problems of this Science. Thirdly, because he had made special contributions to our knowledge of the testimony that may be drawn from Cuneiform sources. He distinctly widened in this connection the horizon of our inquiries. And so, when we come to read his *Gifford Lectures*,[1] we find in them evidences of a capacity, a firmness of grasp, a comprehensiveness and impartiality of view,[2] and an unmistakable maturity of thought, which are as invaluable as they are covetable and rare.

2. ABRAHAM KUENEN[3] (1828–1891). — Another distinguished representative of the Leyden School, Abraham Kuenen, has recently passed away. This great teacher's personality has become identified so closely with complicated critical inquiries, and with somewhat advanced critical views, that not a few overlook the profound value of his purely historical work, and the penetration and skill with which he pursued it.[4] His field of investigation, most fitly chosen and ever most diligently cultivated, was emphatically that of Religion; but his attention was especially concentrated upon the Christian Scriptures. Hence his comparisons were confined within somewhat narrow boundaries, but they were often singularly incisive. His activity as a leader in wider comparative studies is best illustrated by his suggestive *Hibbert Lectures*.[5]

[1] *The Elements of the Science of Religion.*

[2] Complete freedom from bias is very conspicuous in all of this investigator's work. He had the power, when framing slowly his ultimate conclusions, to hold himself quite aloof from everything like partizanship and special pleading.

[3] Formerly Professor of Theology, University of Leyden.

[4] See his *De Godsdienst van Israël tot den Ondergang van den Joodschen Staat.* 2 vols. Haarlem, 1869–70. [Translated, "The Religion of Israel to the Fall of the Jewish State." 3 vols. London, 1874–75.] Also his *De Profeten en de Profetei onder Israël.* 2 vols. Leiden, 1875. [Translated, "Prophets and Prophecy in Israel." London, 1877.]

[5] *National Religions and Universal Religions.* London, 1882.

3. Pierre Daniel Chantepie de la Saussaye[1] (1848–).—The name of this eminent scholar is well known to all students of Religion, especially perhaps because of the very valuable Handbook which he has placed at their disposal.[2] Upon the appearance of this work, its importance was immediately recognised; but when issuing it in a second edition, the author secured the assistance of half a dozen distinguished collaborators, with the result that his Handbook is now the best that can be had in any language. Unfortunately for Comparative Religion, however, this Manual is almost exclusively historical in its method; nevertheless, even for students of a more advanced discipline, it is simply indispensable as an aid.[3] Professor Chantepie de la Saussaye, who taught at the University of Amsterdam between 1878 and 1890, obtained his Doctorate in Theology at Leyden in 1871; and, for more than thirty years, he has been a tireless investigator and writer, constantly increasing our knowledge concerning a great variety of themes connected with the scientific study of Religion.[4]

III. The French School.[5]—Again it is possible to bestow upon the trend of a nation's thought the designation of a single representative locality. Indeed, this step is much more justifiable in the case of France than it can

[1] Professor of the History of Doctrine concerning God, Ethics, and Theological Encyclopædia, University of Leyden.

[2] *Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte* ("Handbook of the History of Religion"). 2 vols. Freiburg, 1887–89. [2nd ed., 1897; 3rd ed., 1905. The first volume of the first edition was translated under the title, "Manual of the Science of Religion." London, 1891.]

[3] See also his *Geschiedenis van den Godsdienst der Germanen voor hun Overgang tot het Christendom.* Haarlem, 1900. [Translated, "The Religion of the Ancient Teutons." Boston, 1902.] Also his *Die vergleichende Religionsforschung und die religiöse Glaube* ("Research in Comparative Religion, and Religious Belief"). Freiburg, 1898.

[4] For the names and publications of other leaders in Comparative Religion, of Dutch nationality and deserving of honourable mention, see Chapter XII.

[5] Cp. pages 379–380.

be said to be as regards either Great Britain or Holland; for Napoleon's idea of centralising the control of education within the imperial capital tended to make Paris for the time being, in fact as well as in name, the heart of the whole Empire. The force of this dominating conception prevails even yet to a quite perceptible extent. Accordingly, we have come to be indebted, and indebted perhaps in a pre-eminent degree, to "The Paris School" of Comparative Religion.

And within recent years, just as the Dutch Government has been found to be fully alive to the importance of including the Science of Religion in the curriculum of its chief Institutions of learning, the same hopeful spectacle has begun to greet one in France also. In the University of Paris,[1] and in the neighbouring Collège de France, courses of Lectures in this department have for a considerable period been regularly delivered. Unlike Holland, however, where the impulse lent to this study has exhibited often a distinctly speculative and philosophical bent, it is to the History of Religions that French savants have almost exclusively confined their attention.

1. Ernest Renan[2] (1823–1892).—To Renan, although the fact is sometimes singularly overlooked, Comparative Religion is unquestionably under deep obligation. The help he rendered it was indirect, but that help was none the less real. Unfortunately, a prejudice, based on various grounds, has been awakened against this scholar; and so the sympathies of many of those who consult his published opinions are already averted from him before they listen to what he may have to say. He was no real enemy of Religion. Deprived of his Chair for a time, as the result of his publishing his *La vie de Jesus* in 1863, he was honoured forty years later in the public unveiling of his Statue by the

[1] See the paragraph in reference to L'École Practique des Hautes Études, page 380.

[2] Formerly Professor of Hebrew, Collège de France.

Premier of France.[1] His wide information, his grace and skill as a writer, and his genuine Semitic scholarship,[2] have given him an authority which is certain to secure for him always, at least from the thoughtful, a calm and respectful hearing. The *Le Temps* of Paris undertook recently,[3] as a labour of love, to collect deliberate estimates of Renan from a number of the most eminent leaders of thought to-day; and the result must surely have proved a surprise to some who have judged him too hastily and harshly. He has been described by one who knew him well, and who knew also how contemporary scholars were accustomed to appraise his worth—even though the picture be perhaps slightly overdrawn—as "the greatest man of genius our generation has known: in style, sentiment, poetry of feeling, no less a Master than Victor Hugo; in his history and philosophy, the compeer of Taine; in philology, the heir of Burnouf."[4] He secured beyond question the sincere affection of his friends, and to a degree which it is seldom the privilege of any man to attain. If only because of his own profound struggles and perplexities within the domain of Religion, that field for him was consecrated ground; and he laboured in it to the end with conscientious diligence. Every type of religious feeling, no matter how remote from his own, aroused at once his interest and his sympathetic examination; and he possessed a singular gift of quick and penetrating insight. He sought for facts, and emphasised strongly the necessity of making *them* invariably one's starting points: these facts, moreover, he always carefully

[1] This interesting event occurred at Tréguier in Brittany, Renan's birthplace, on Sunday, 13th September 1903. Several laudatory addresses were delivered. The Statue represents Renan, at the age of sixty, seated in a pensive attitude. Behind him stands Minerva, holding a laurel wreath over his head.

[2] See his *Histoire générale et système comparée des langues sémitiques.* Paris, 1855. [Only Part I. was published, but it passed through many editions.] See also his *Histoire du peuple d'Israël.* 5 vols. Paris, 1887–94. [Translated, 3 vols., London, 1888–91.]

[3] January 1903.

[4] Madame Darmesteter, *Life of Ernest Renan*, p. 278. London, 1898.

analysed before he reached and published any of his conclusions. Take his own words: "I am convinced there is a science of the Origin of Man which will be constructed one day,—not from mere ratiocination and hypothesis, but from the results of scientific research. . . . The true philosopher is the philologist, the student of myths, the critic of social constitutions. By the subtle study of speech we remount the stream of time till we reach almost the source, till we come within hail of primitive man. By comparative grammar, we touch our first ancestors; by comparative mythology, we understand their soul; by social science, we watch their development. Every speech, every myth or legend, every form of social organisation from the humblest to the most august, ought to be compared and classified. The man who could thus evoke the origins of Christianity would write the most important book of the century. How I envy it him! Should I live and do well, I mean that book to be the task of my maturity."[1] Hence, though he has furnished students of Comparative Religion with no book which deliberately undertakes to guide and counsel them in their studies, he has surrounded the whole subject with a new and living interest, while he has also stimulated others to achieve results which did not fall within his own purview.

2. ALBERT RÉVILLE[2] (1826–).—Three years after Professor Tiele had been appointed to his Chair in the University of Leyden, a foundation was created in the Collège de France for the purpose of securing the delivery of similar courses of lectures before the students of Paris; and Professor Albert Réville was selected as the first occupant of this important post. This was in the year 1880.

[1] See his *L'avenir de la science*, p. 278. Paris, 1890. This paragraph reveals great confidence in the capabilities of Philology, a confidence which Max Müller shared with him, and firmly held to the end. Cp. page 172. See also his *Histoire des origines du Christianisme*. 8 vols. Paris, 1863–83. [Translated, 7 vols., London, 1890.] Also his *Le Judaïsme et le Christianisme: identité originelle et séparation graduelle*. Paris, 1883.

[2] Professor of the History of Religions, Collège de France.

As already intimated, in accordance with the project which the French Government has kept steadily in view, the work which Professor Réville undertook has been for the most part historical.[1] He has especially devoted himself to a study of the Religions of non-civilised and imperfectly civilised peoples; and, in this connection, he has been constrained to institute numerous comparisons between the beliefs held by the various races of men who have risen but slightly in the scale of general culture. It is on this ground, coupled with the high rank he holds as an authority in this field, that Professor Réville's name appropriately finds its place in the present catalogue, although his contributions to Comparative Religion have probably been less than those of either Professor Max Müller or Professor Tiele. At the same time, like both of his illustrious contemporaries, he has rendered invaluable service on the platform, — his *Hibbert Lectures* in particular being very highly esteemed, both for their insight and for their comprehensive learning. His pen, likewise, has been kept perpetually busy, and it has won for him an ever-enlarging circle of readers. His various studies of the Life of Christ,[2] his critical Essays,[3] and his numerous translations,[4] abundantly attest a literary career of competent and sustained diligence.

3. Léon Marillier[5] (1863–1901). — This young instructor might seem scarcely to belong to that select list

[1] See his *Prolégomènes de l'histoire des religions.* Paris, 1881. [Translated, London, 1884.] Also his *Histoire des religions.* 5 vols. Paris, 1883–88. This work includes *Les religions des peuples non-civilisés,* in 2 vols. (1883), *Les religions du Mexique, de l'Amérique Centrale, et du Pérou* (1885, an amplification of the *Hibbert Lectures* entitled "The Origin and Growth of Religion, as illustrated by the native Religions of Mexico and Peru," published in London, 1884), and *La religion chinoise,* in 2 vols. (1888).

[2] *E.g.*, *Jésus de Nazareth.* 2 vols. Paris, 1897.

[3] *E.g.*, *Essais de critique religieuse.* Paris, 1860. [N. ed., 1869.]

[4] *E.g.*, his *Manuel d'histoire comparée de la philosophie et de la religion.* Paris, 1861. [A French rendering, from a German version, of Scholten's work, mentioned on page 161.]

[5] Formerly Maître de Conférences, à l'École Practique des Hautes Études, à la Sorbonne, Paris.

of eminent men who have proved themselves to be the most effective agents in securing the advance of Comparative Religion. He began, indeed, his inquiries as a student of Psychology. As early as 1887 he delivered, under the direction of the Protestant Theological Faculty of the University of Paris, a special course of lectures, entitled *Psychologie dans ses rapports avec la religion.* Already greatly influenced and inspired by his contact with M. Sabatier, catching something of his distinguished teacher's spirit, and being an ardent devotee of the scientific method, he resolved to devote all his time to the study of the Psychology of Religion. It was thus that he became compelled to engage in the comparative study of Religion. In 1888 he gave a special course of lectures under the auspices of L'École des Hautes Études (Section des Sciences Religieuses), his theme being *Les phénomènes religieux, et leur base psychologique.* In 1890 he was awarded a permanent post in this School, being put in charge of the department designated "Religions des peuples non-civilisés"; and it was here that he was busily at work when his sudden and tragic death terminated his fruitful labours. As in each previous instance we have cited, the direct contribution made by M. Marillier to Comparative Religion was disappointingly small. But the genius of a Master dwelt within his soul; and had his life been spared, no doubt can be entertained that his name would have ranked among those who were the most prominent promoters of this Science. His career was too brief, and too crowded with engagements, to permit of his preparing more than a single volume for the press; but through the *Reviews*—particularly through the pages of the *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, for which he very frequently wrote, and of which he was one of the Editors from 1896 onwards—he was almost as busy with his pen as, when standing upon some platform, with tongue and fluent speech he continually gave delight to those who gathered to hear him. Students of Comparative Religion will read with special advantage not

a few of the numerous sketches of which he was the author.[1]

IV. The Belgian School.—As the present Manual, in accordance with its aim, must content itself with presenting a very summary view of the wide field it is surveying, the next four sections—which will deal with Belgium, Switzerland, Scandinavia, and Germany—must be compressed within the very narrowest limits. This curtailment does not imply that no successful students of Comparative Religion are to be found in any of the four countries named. As might be anticipated, such a statement would demonstrably be untrue; but thus far, in each of the fields indicated, this study seemingly has been able to attract to itself only a very few who can be called international leaders. The causes of this failure admit, no doubt, of different explanations; but all will concede that a dearth of distinguished exponents of Comparative Religion, among representatives of the several nationalities in question, is unfortunately the fact.

Eugène Goblet d'Alviella[2] (1846–).—The exception proves the rule; and, in so far as Belgium is concerned, that kingdom may well be congratulated upon its possession of a scholar whose investigations, in the domains alike of Law and Theology, have made the citizens of many lands his debtors. As a member of the Belgian Senate, a great traveller, the editor of a *Review* and a voluminous writer, he has been in a position to exercise a very wide-reaching influence. As regards his study of theological questions, he has approached the subject generally from the jurist's standpoint, and with a mind unsubjected to theological bias.

[1] See, for example, *La survivance de l'âme, et l'idée de justice, chez les peuples non-civilisés*, 1894; *Du rôle de la psychologie dans les études de mythologie comparée*, 1895; *La place du totémisme dans l'évolution religieuse*, 1898; and his Article on "Religions" in the *Grande Encyclopédie*. [Paris, 1885–1901.] For additional French contributors to this Science, see Chapter XII.

[2] Professor of the History of Religions, University of Brussels.

Indeed, he opens one of his books with these words: "Unattached to any Church, but in moral and intellectual sympathy with all who (either as representatives of a religious organisation or otherwise) are seeking to reconcile religion and reason," etc.[1] Students should acquaint themselves, in particular, with the Lectures he delivered in Brussels in 1884–85,[2] and with his *Hibbert Lectures*.[3]

V. THE SWISS SCHOOL.—This band of workers falls naturally into three groups, in accordance with the predominance in certain localities of French, German, or Italian influence. Unhappily, however, in no one of these divisions has Comparative Religion as yet succeeded in asserting its sway. Where the Science of Religion has been granted a place in the official curricula of the Universities, attention has been concentrated almost exclusively upon the historical phases of the subject.[4] Exceptions may be cited, however; and, as in the case of Belgium, it will suffice if only a single representative name be selected for special mention.

CONRAD VON ORELLI[5] (1846–).—Unlike the University of Geneva, where studies in the Science of Religion are conducted by members of the Philosophical Faculty, Professor Orelli occupies a Chair in the Theological Faculty. He has written much, and lectured for a quarter of a century, on various aspects of this general theme; but although, in common with all his countrymen, he pursues his inquiries chiefly along historical lines, he does not limit himself strictly to questions of that character. Accordingly, those who are serious investigators cannot afford to miss a recent important volume from his pen;[6] and they will find that many

[1] *L'Évolution religieuse contemporaine, chez les Anglais, les Américains, et les Hindous.* Paris, 1884. [Translated, London, 1885.]

[2] *Introduction à l'histoire générale des religions.* Bruxelles, 1887.

[3] *The Origin and Growth of the Conception of God.* London, 1891. See also his *Ce que l'Inde doit à la Grèce.* Paris, 1897.

[4] See Appendix. Chart IV., page 590; also Notes 74–76, pages 603–604.

[5] Professor of Theology, University of Bâle.

[6] *Allgemeine Religionsgeschichte* ("General History of Religion"). Freiburg, 1899.

problems proper to Comparative Religion are there dealt with in a way that is at once very helpful and suggestive.

VI. The Scandinavian School.—It seems at first sight unfair that Norway, Sweden, and Denmark should be viewed within the compass of a single survey; and yet it is possible to follow this course without incurring the charge of any material injustice. For the method of Scandinavia in this field, like that of Switzerland, has been almost exclusively historical; and Comparative Religion in consequence, thus far at least, has received but very meagre attention.

It would doubtless prove less embarrassing if, instead of attempting the invidious task of selecting a few competent representatives, one were to refer *quite generally* to the beginnings and prospects of the Science of Religion in Scandinavia,—in so far, that is, as a statement of the facts may be compressed within the limits of one or two paragraphs. But some very worthy names appear upon the roll of workers who, in these Northern lands, have made valuable contributions to the progress of this study; and it is but fitting that they should at least be mentioned, however briefly.

1. Abraham Viktor Rydberg[1] (1829–1895).—Known throughout Europe as a poet and man of letters of the first rank, and by writings which have been translated into many languages, Professor Rydberg devoted much of his time to the investigation of strictly religious problems. While he looked at these questions largely, it is true, under their more philosophic aspects, his historical instincts have won for him the respect due to a genuinely scientific student. He did excellent work, in particular, in his collecting of legendary stories,[2] and in the wide and difficult domain of Mythology.[3]

[1] Formerly Professor of the History of Civilisation, University of Stockholm.

[2] *E.g.*, his *Romeska sagner om apostolarne Paulus och Petrus* ("Roman Legends of the Apostles Paul and Peter"). Stockholm, 1871.

[3] See his *Undersökningar i Germanisk Mythologi*. 2 vols. Stockholm, 1886–89. [Vol. i. was translated, "Teutonic Mythology," London, 1889.]

2. NATHAN SÖDERBLOM[1] (1866–).—Another Swedish scholar who deserves special recognition is Professor Söderblom. A distinguished student at L'École des Hautes Études in Paris,—in which city also, for some time, he acted as pastor of the local Swedish congregation,—he recently rendered signal service to the friends of Comparative Religion, by supplying them with a new and revised edition of the late Professor Tiele's *Compendium*.[2] The products of his own pen, however, have been varied and invariably helpful.[3]

3. WILHELM SCHENCKE[4] (1869–).—Passing from Sweden to Norway, the University of Christiania is likely soon to provide additional facilities for such students as may desire to pursue advanced studies in this field. The post vacated by Professor William Brede Kristensen, when the latter was appointed in 1901 the successor of Professor Tiele at Leyden, has been filled by a scholar whose enthusiasm and training give promise of much fruitful work in the future. Though Docent merely ("Stipendiat i Religionshistorie") and not as yet a Professor, Dr. Schencke has already won success in the arena of theological authorship.[5]

As regards Denmark, there are at least three names that ought to be chronicled.

[1] Professor of Theology, University of Upsala.

[2] *Kompendium der Religionsgeschichte* ("Compendium of the History of Religion." Known to English students as "Outlines of the History of Religion." Cp. pages 161 and 438). Breslau, 1903.

[3] See *Les Fravishis*, Paris, 1899; *La vie future d'après le Mazdéisme, à la lunière du aryennes paralleles dans les autres religions*, Paris, 1901; *Treenighet* ("The Trinity"), Upsala, 1903; *Uppenbarelsereligion* ("Revealed Religion"), Upsala, 1903, etc. Also, contributions to the *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, and to the *Annales du Musée Guimet*.

[4] Docent in the History of Religions, University of Christiania.

[5] See his *Amon-Re: En Studie over forholdet mellem enhed og mangfoldighed under udviklingen af det aeggptiske gudsbegreb* ("Amon-Re: An Essay on the relations between Unity and Multiplicity during the development of the Egyptian idea of God"). Kristiania, 1904. Also his *Om den israclitisk-jödiske religion i dens sammenhang og berörring med naboreligionerne* ("On the Israelitic-Jewish Religion, in its connection and contact with its neighbour Religions"). Kristiania, 1904.

4. Niels Ludwig Westergaard[1] (1815–1878).—An industrious worker, and influential far beyond the boundaries of his own country, Professor Westergaard expended most fruitful labour upon the sacred writings of Persia. It was he who edited the earliest complete text of the Avesta, and it is chiefly in connection with these investigations that his name will always be held in honour by the scholars of every land.[2] But he achieved not a few other results of very high importance. He may be said to have fixed the date of Buddha's doctrine of Nirvana. He made considerable additions also to our knowledge of Sanskrit Grammar and Indian History.[3] Of his briefer contributions to the Science of Religion, two very useful essays should be specified.[4]

5. Michaël Viggo Fausböll[5] (1821–).—This eminent Orientalist—a specialist in Sanskrit, and particularly in Pali, literature—may be said to have inaugurated the systematic exploration of Buddhism by European scholarship. The worthy successor of Westergaard, he has published many texts of venerated Buddhist writings.[6] He has prepared also various translations,[7] and may claim to have settled finally the manner of transcribing Singhalese and Burmese documents in Western characters. His work upon

[1] Formerly Professor of Indian Philology, University of Copenhagen.

[2] See his *Zendavesta*. Copenhagen, 1852–54.

[3] See his *Radices Linguæ Sanscritæ*. Copenhagen, 1841.

[4] *Bemoerkninger over de Persiske hellige Skrifters Alder og Hjemstaun* ("Remarks concerning the Age and Birthplace of the Sacred Scriptures of the Persians"). Copenhagen, 1852. Also his *Bidrag till den oldiranske Mythologi* ("A Contribution to ancient Iranian Mythology"). Copenhagen, 1852.

[5] Formerly Professor of Indian Philology, University of Copenhagen.

[6] See the *Jatakatthavannana*. 6 vols. 1875–98. Fausböll's edition in Pali was translated by Professor Rhys Davids under the title "Buddhist Birth Stories," London, 1880. [This translation is now out of print; but the Cambridge University Press has published a new translation in six volumes, the last of which appeared in 1905.] Cp. Appendix. Note XXX., page 558.

[7] Cp. his *Dhammapadam* (Text, Translation, and Commentary). 1855. [2nd ed., 1900.] *Sutta-Nipata* (vol. x. of "The Sacred Books of the East"). Oxford, 1881.

the Jataka books has proved to be of conspicuous value in connection with the study of Indian antiquities and Indian folklore. Quite recently he has supplied a volume for a new series of Manuals, now being issued by an enterprising British publisher.[1]

6. Carl Henrik Scharling[2] (1836–).—Professor Scharling will long be remembered with gratitude by students of the Science of Religion. It is to his pioneering enterprise that Denmark owes her introduction to this study,—especially as viewed on its historical side,—and the present ecclesiastical rule which requires that all her candidates in Theology must show themselves familiar with its claims and its gradual development. Moreover, Professor Scharling, many years ago, published a work which has rendered much good service in this department, and which has been widely translated. In itself a very competent Philosophy of History, it includes also a History of Religions and a survey of Christian Theology.[3]

VII. The German School. — As already intimated,[4] the results of work in this field in Germany, thus far, have been exceedingly disappointing. Accordingly, it can only by anticipation be affirmed that there is a "German School" of Comparative Religion. A beginning, however, has been made. If no Master in this sphere has yet appeared, some among the younger group of scholars are already busily at work, and the fruit of their labours will doubtless soon be made generally accessible. Incidentally in Germany the subject has often been referred to, and more or less fully dealt with, alike in the class-room and in the press. In the Universities, the Professors of Dogmatic, of Philosophy, of Encyclopædia, and of Oriental literatures find themselves

[1] *Indian Mythology according to the Mahabharata.* London, 1902.

[2] Professor of Theology (Dogmatics, Ethics, and the Philosophy of Religion), University of Copenhagen.

[3] *Menneshehed og Kristendom* ("Humanity and Christianity"). Copenhagen, 1872–74.

[4] See pages 140 f.

compelled at times to *compare* the particulars in which various Religions are found to resemble one another; and the same remark holds true of numerous publications through which Germany is constantly enriching the thought of the world. But as yet Comparative Religion, regarded as a distinct discipline, has received in that country only very scanty aid, and scarcely a vestige of official recognition. As remarked elsewhere, this fact is all the more to be regretted, since the assistance which has reasonably been looked for would, if yielded, have proved to be of the very highest order.[1]

VIII. The American School.[2]—It is quite impossible to label with any local name the increasing group of leaders who, even already, are recognised representatives of this new study in the United States. Suggestive of the country in which they dwell, these investigators exhibit a largeness of view and an independence of character which resent conventional barriers and restraints. Hence one finds *several* distinguishable Schools of opinion, as there are several distinct centres of work, among the masters of Comparative Religion in America. It will not be necessary to define with exactness the boundaries of these various subdivisions of the field; yet it is desirable that the fact of their existence should be remembered, else perplexity and consequent embarrassment must inevitably ensue.

It must be remarked, further, that investigators in this domain, in the United States, are as yet chiefly occupied with the History of Religions. Having only recently recognised that the Science of Religion is entitled to a

[1] For a selection of authors and volumes, valued aids to this study which Germany has furnished, see Chapter XII. See also Appendix. Note 68, page 602.

[2] The term "American" employed in this heading has exclusive reference to the *United States*. Modern usage sanctions this limitation. Besides, as information relating to South American scholarship in this department has been sought for in vain, and Canadian writers are referred to in a separate section, no confusion is likely to result. Cp. pages 383–384, and 462–479.

place, and a foremost place, among the studious inquiries of all thoughtful men, the procedure just indicated is both natural and correct; but of course it limits the likelihood of our being able to find those in whom this Manual is especially interested. At the same time, there is no country in the world where the outlook, as regards also Comparative Religion, is brighter to-day than it is in America.[1] For this encouraging prospect no small credit is due to the late Dr. John Henry Barrows, and to his many willing coadjutors, who conceived and carried into execution the project of a great modern Parliament of Religions.[2] It was really the first attempt of its kind, and it has remained to this hour absolutely *sui generis*.[3] It is quite true that the Parliament, in its inception, did not aim at lending an impulse to directly scientific studies, but sought merely to unite in the bonds of fellowship and common esteem those whom differing conceptions of Religion had too long sufficed to keep asunder; nevertheless, the publication of the Proceedings of the Congress has done a great deal both to popularise and to stimulate advanced research in this fruitful field of inquiry.[4] It was the express effort of this Council to bar the possibility of anything like acrimonious discussion during the period of its sessions, and hence any formal comparison of the Religions which were represented upon its platform was neither invited nor permitted; but long before the Parliament was dissolved, such comparisons began to be instituted in private, and they have been framed anew and expounded and defended ever since. About the same time[5] an influential Committee, representing officially some of the leading seats of learning, was constituted with the view of bringing the Science of Religion more prominently before the country; but un-

[1] Cp. pages 208, and 383–384.

[2] Cp. pages 392–393.

[3] As an anticipation of this Congress, we may recall one which was convened many centuries before in the far East. Cp. page 134.

[4] *The World's Parliament of Religions.* 2 vols. Chicago, 1893.

[5] In 1892. This Association is known as "The American Committee for Lectures on the History of Religion."

fortunately, as already indicated, it devotes its labours exclusively to the study of the History of Religions. Yet further; a series of Handbooks, which are simply admirable in every scholarly quality, is at present in course of publication in the United States;[1] but they also are limited to the History of Religions! This too-circumscribed line of treatment may, at first sight, seem disappointing; but it indicates really the thoroughness and stability of the work which the United States is determined to accomplish. The next logical step in the advance is certain very speedily to follow.

1. JAMES FREEMAN CLARKE[2] (1810–1888).—In the preface to the first volume of his well-known work in this field,[3] Professor Clarke affirms that in 1868, when the nucleus of that great undertaking was issued from the press, he had "not come to the task without some preparation," seeing that it was "more than twenty-five years since he first made of this study a speciality." This erudite inquiry, taken as a whole, embraces the entire range of the Science of Religion. That such a Science was possible is the verdict which, already quoted,[4] Professor Clarke formally put on record more than a quarter of a century ago. Volume I. deals with the historical origin and development of individual Religions. Volume II., on the other hand, concerns itself with the origin and development of individual Doctrines,—in particular, the doctrines of God, of the Soul, and of their mutual relations to each other. The conceptions entertained touching these momentous problems are, in point of fact, immensely varied; and it is these conflicting conceptions which Professor Clarke deliberately *compares*. The Author affirms concerning Volume II., that it "contains, so far as I know, the first attempt to trace these

[1] Issued by the press of Ginn & Company, Boston. 1895– . [*In progress.*] Cp. page 475.

[2] Formerly Professor of Natural Religions and Christian Doctrine, Harvard University.

[3] *Ten Great Religions: An Essay in Comparative Theology.*

[4] See page 24.

doctrines through all the principal religions of mankind. It is only an attempt, but it indicates at least what I believe to be the best way of understanding the value of any belief, viz., that of Comparative Theology."[1]

2. SAMUEL JOHNSON[2] (1822–1882).—Educated at Harvard Univerity, where he graduated in 1842, Mr. Johnson decided to devote himself to the work of the ministry. He proceeded therefore to study theology, and completed his course in the Divinity School in 1846. Soon afterwards he undertook the duties of a Unitarian Pastor; but his extreme outspokenness as an anti-slavery advocate led to his speedy withdrawal from his charge. He continued to make his protest, however; and, though listened to manifestly with but partial approval, he carried on his campaign with great courage and vigour. Thus it came about that the platform rather than the pulpit became his rostrum, and that his original purpose to be a preacher was perforce radically changed. He turned his attention more and more to literature, seeking to reach an audience through the printed page; and eventually his strong theological aptitudes led him to study carefully the history of the great Religions of the world. The remainder of his life, therefore, he devoted with all conscientiousness to carrying forward this inquiry, and the fruits of his toil may now be found in that suggestive and learned work which bears his name.[3] He was a man of broad sympathies and outlook; and if he had been spared to complete the comprehensive programme he mapped out for himself, international scholarship would unquestionably have been very greatly the gainer. As it is, Johnson's name is in no danger of being forgotten; but his labours will be all the more fully appreciated when his successors understand better the chivalrous spirit in which they were invariably faced, and under the impulse of which they were made markedly contributory to the ends he had in view.

[1] Preface, p. vii.
[2] Lecturer and Author.
[3] *Oriental Religions, and their relation to Universal Religion.*

3. William Fairfield Warren[1] (1833–).—For more than thirty years President Warren has been an active and enthusiastic advocate of the importance of promoting, in all its various branches, the study of the Science of Religion. In the official account of the Parliament of Religions, prepared for the press by the late Dr. Barrows,[2] reference is made to a Lecture by Dr. Warren which materially helped to prepare the way for that great international assembly. Besides being widely circulated in the United States and Canada, it was translated into Chinese and published at Foo Chow, into Japanese and published at Tokyo, into Spanish and published in South America, whilst a special English edition of it was quickly absorbed in India.[3] In 1873, Boston University established a Professorship of "Comparative Theology, and of the History and Philosophy of Religion"—the first separate Chair provided for this study in America; and President Warren was its occupant for the space of an entire generation. The influence he has wielded on behalf of this new discipline, both directly and indirectly, and covering so long a period of time, has been of the very greatest value.

4. Crawford Howell Toy[4] (1836–).—Like Principal Fairbairn of Oxford, Dr. Toy is entitled to cordial recognition for the sound and profound learning which marks all his work. His direct contributions to Comparative Religion have been all too limited, but they possess a quality which ensures for them frequent consultation and the acknowledgment of their permanent worth. Like Principal Fairbairn again, Professor Toy's personal preference leads him to undertake the elucidation of questions

[1] Formerly President of Boston University.

[2] *The World's Parliament of Religions*, vol. i. p. 9.

[3] *The Quest of the Perfect Religion.* 1886. [Now out of print.] Dr. Warren has published also, in this connection, *The Religions of the World and the World-Religion.* 1900.

[4] Professor of Hebrew and other Oriental Languages, Harvard University.

in religious philosophy; but this end he achieves often by means of comparisons which are at once informing and suggestive. No student of Comparative Religion can afford to ignore the help so abundantly furnished by this refreshing and stimulating writer.[1]

5. FRANK FIELD ELLINWOOD[2] (1826–).—By temperament, by training, by professional occupation, and by an intimate acquaintance with practical missionary problems, Dr. Ellinwood is one who is eminently competent to be a leader in this department. He has made his investigations personally, and thus at first-hand; and he has made them, not in books exclusively, or even chiefly, but rather by bringing himself into direct and sympathetic contact with those whose Faith was different from his own. As a result, his well-known book in this department is still frequently referred to.[3] Sometimes it may seem that the writer's mind is too much dominated, throughout his task, by that thought which finds expression in the title of his concluding lecture, viz., "The Divine Supremacy of the Christian Faith." The volume also, at best, is merely a popular presentation of its subject. Yet, these facts being granted, Dr. Ellinwood's sane and liberal judgments have been scattered all the more widely, and in some quarters have made all the more abiding impression, because they have not been hindered (and perhaps completely frustrated) through their possessing characteristics of a directly opposite character. By his securing, moreover, the foundation of "The American Society of Comparative Religion," Dr. Ellinwood accomplished a result of no inconsiderable value, to which fuller reference will be made in a subsequent Chapter.[4]

[1] See his *Judaism and Christianity: A Sketch of the Progress of Thought from the Old Testament to the New Testament.* Boston, 1890.

[2] Secretary of the Board of Foreign Missions, Presbyterian Church, U.S.A.; and Professor of Comparative Religion, New York University.

[3] *Oriental Religions and Christianity.*

[4] See page 389. For the names and publications of other leaders in Comparative Religion, scholars of American nationality, see Chapter XII.

IX. A CANADIAN SCHOOL. — The substitution of the indefinite for the definite article, in the heading of this paragraph, is not due to a mere slip of the pen. It raises an interesting query: it is intended to carry with it the force of a sudden interrogation. *Is* there, to-day, a "Canadian School" of Comparative Religion?

This question, to some, may appear to be no better than the veriest trifling; for, undeniably, there is not in existence at present any such group of investigators. The conditions of life in Canada, thus far, have been persistently unfavourable to launching a project of this character. The rapid development of the country's material resources; the prompt absorption, accordingly, of all its available capital; the incessant demands upon one's time, whereby scholarly leisure has been rendered almost impossible, and the expressed desire for it has been accounted inopportune; the stronger claims which other and "more practical" subjects have advanced, even in quarters where University influences have already begun to exert their enlightening sway,—these and many other impediments have long conspired to defeat the hope of securing some real progress in the direction indicated, and have changed it again and again into the empty fabric of a dream.

But admitting that the truth of these statements must, in the main at least, be conceded, the question just raised is by no means presumptuous or ill-timed. The conditions of life in the Dominion are undergoing very rapid transformation. The changes which have been wrought since the confederation of the several Provinces, in 1867, are a perpetual surprise to those who have been privileged to witness them. It must therefore distinctly be recognised that, if Canadians thus far have done little or nothing to promote the study of Comparative Religion, that fact is due merely to adverse local restrictions; and that now, these barriers having very largely been removed, Canada proposes to accept responsibility for its share in this task, and to take part in contributing towards the solution

of that group of complex and inter-related questions in which it also is deeply interested. That Canada may be relied upon to render much useful service in this field, is proved by what her sons have achieved in other countries, where they have been able to carry on their investigations under more promising surroundings. Many of these workers have already passed away—as, *e.g.*, GEORGE JOHN ROMANES,[1] GRANT ALLEN,[2] and others. Some are still with us, as eagerly as ever following up the quest of their prolonged and fruitful labours,—as in the case of JOHN BEATTIE CROZIER,[3] JACOB GOULD SCHURMAN,[4] FRANCIS ROBERT BEATTIE,[5] GEORGE AARON BARTON,[6] and others who might equally be mentioned. Each one of these workers, in the chosen land of his adoption, has lent a distinct and valuable impulse to the profounder study of those principles by which man's religious life seems uniformly to be governed.

Plainly there is no lack of willingness or capacity on the part of Canadian students, reasonable opportunities being presented to them, to concentrate their attention upon the problems which this particular inquiry has so rapidly raised. The organisation of a "Canadian School" of Comparative Religion accordingly is not only a possible and probable event, but it is practically certain of accomplishment at no very distant day. Indeed, the first steps towards its forma-

[1] See his *Darwin and after Darwin* (3 vols., London, 1892–97), one of the ablest expositions, thus far, of the doctrine of Evolution; *A Candid Examination of Theism*, London, 1878; and, as a striking counterpart of the last-named book, his *Thoughts on Religion*, London, 1895.

[2] See *The Evolution of the Idea of God. An Inquiry into the Origins of Religions.* London, 1897.

[3] See his *History of Intellectual Development.* 3 vols. London, 1897–1901. This work is written, avowedly, "on the lines of modern evolution." Vol. i. deals with the evolution of (1) Greek Thought, (2) Hindoo Thought, (3) Judaism, (4) Christianity. Vol. ii. has not yet appeared.

[4] See his *Belief in God: Its Origin, Nature, and Basis.* New York, 1890.

[5] See his *Apologetics.* 3 vols. Richmond, Va., 1903. [*In progress.*]

[6] See his *Sketch of Semitic Origins, Social and Religious.* New York, 1902.

tion have already been taken. Of course those factors and currents of influence which have hitherto hindered the more rapid progress of this study in the United States, and those considerations which usually lead its earlier exponents to devote themselves almost exclusively to investigations of a purely historical character, have asserted their presence (and, naturally, in an intensified form) among similar workers in Canada. One name, however—and it stands by no means alone—deserves mention on this page, if only because it so emphatically signalises the introduction of a new and significant element into Canadian literature. GEORGE MUNRO GRANT,[1] whose life was cut off in the midst of its usefulness, has left behind him a most serviceable little volume belonging to this inviting new department.[2] In its amplified form, it is securing an ever-widening circulation: it has already been translated into Chinese, as well as into several other languages. Necessarily condensed, and chiefly historical in its aim, it is at the same time characterised by penetrative insight, and by the delicate touch of an unfailing yet discriminating sympathy. It presents to the reader, moreover, a series of skilful comparative estimates of the various Religions of which it offers a sketch. Reference might also very fitly be made to other native-born Canadians, who, in spite of countless obstacles, have devoted their persevering studies to some selected portions of this field. The name of SIR WILLIAM DAWSON[3] will at once occur to many; although an eminent Geologist, the inquiries of his later life led him to deal almost continuously with the relation between the teachings of Physical Science and the Christian Scriptures.[4] The diligence also of JAMES FREDERICK MCCURDY,[5] alike as a

[1] Formerly Principal of Queen's University, Kingston.

[2] *The Religions of the World.* Edinburgh, 1894. [N. ed., revised and enlarged, 1901.]

[3] Formerly Principal of M'Gill University, Montreal.

[4] See his *Modern Ideas of Evolution, as related to Revelation and Science.* London, 1888. [4th ed., 1890.]

[5] Professor of Semitic and Oriental Literature, University of Toronto.

student and as an author,[1] can neither be overlooked nor unappreciated by any watchful observer of the steady progress Canada has recently been making in this intensely engaging department of research.

It is beyond denial, therefore, that the interests of Comparative Religion, although hitherto advancing very slowly, are now steadily securing recognition within the Dominion of Canada. Already the subject is one which is beginning to be assigned a place in the curriculum prescribed for theological students; usually room is made for it, more or less adequately, under the general head of Apologetics.[2] In at least one Canadian University, examination papers are now annually set in "Comparative Religion" and in "Comparative Theology."[3] It cannot, therefore, be many years before Canadian scholars will be found taking their full part in the labours and honours which are the high privilege of all who are seeking to advance this new and suggestive branch of important modern inquiry.

A RETROSPECTIVE SURVEY. — Before concluding this Chapter, two general remarks seem to be justified in the light of the foregoing sketch of the origin and development of this new Science.

1. *The contribution which each Nationality has made to Comparative Religion possesses an individual character.*[4]—The following instances may serve as illustrations. In HOLLAND,[5] earliest in the field, this study exhibits the qualities, and perhaps also the defects, which are due to a purely official backing. Its investigators have been responsible only to the State, which has supplied the needed funds but has exercised little or no restraint upon the worker. A good deal of the speculative element, accordingly, has entered into the conclusions which have ultimately been reached;

[1] See his *History, Prophecy, and the Monuments.* 3 vols. New York, 1894–1901.

[2] See Appendix. Chart IV., pages 580 f.

[3] Victoria University, Toronto.

[4] Cp. page 415.

[5] Cp. page 378.

and hence the Dutch School, while honouring signally and collecting most diligently the materials which history furnishes, has attained special prominence in the development of religious philosophy. Neighbours of the Germans, and specially interested in the same general lines of inquiry, the two countries have produced scholars of a markedly similar type. In FRANCE, while State support has materially aided the work, the Government has stood even more remote than in Holland from any attempted control of the teaching of the instructors in its Colleges; and the natural bent of the French mind, with its rigid insistence upon the necessity of basing scientific conclusions upon "facts," has turned the channel of *its* inquiry in the direction of religious history. Hence the French School provides students of Religion with greater facilities—in the way of lectures, museums, special publications, and other similar agencies—for securing an intimate acquaintance with the beliefs and customs of all known peoples, than the corresponding School of any other country. In the matter of a careful mapping out of an immense field, and then of supplying means for enabling individual students to pursue their investigations to the fullest possible extent within that field, Paris to-day leads the Universities alike of the Old World and the New. In GREAT BRITAIN, the organisation of this special form of research is still almost entirely wanting. Scholars of the first order are at work; but as for Chairs, specially endowed for the purpose of promoting this study, only one or two exist as yet in the entire United Kingdom! Brief courses of lectures are occasionally given in the Universities; but for the most part these are merely incidental, being tacked on as an appendage to some thoroughly equipped department. Lectureships abound, in England and Scotland especially, either under the auspices or quite independently of the Universities; and on these foundations, as we have seen,[1]

[1] *The Hibbert Lectures, The Burnett Lectures, The Gifford Lectures, The Croall Lectures, The Bampton Lectures, etc.* Cp. page 387. See also Appendix. Notes XXXIII. to XXXIX., pages 562–571.

some notable courses of advanced studies in this field have from time to time been conducted. But anything like system—revealing itself in a carefully planned subdivision of the field, and in a distribution of the work in accordance with some competent scheme—has yet to be inaugurated.[1] Hence Comparative Religion in Great Britain, as at present pursued, is completely lacking in individuality and national character. Every investigator is a law to himself. Finally, in the UNITED STATES, this enterprise represents a movement which has so recently been launched, that its national type has not yet had time to manifest itself. The present strong leaning towards exclusively historical study will soon be outgrown. And in that coming day, now close at hand, two existing factors of importance are certain to bear rich fruit: American scholars have great faith in the merits of Comparative Religion as a Science, and American benefactors are showing themselves prompt and generous in the provision they are making for directly promoting these inquiries. With several Chairs of Comparative Religion already endowed and ably manned, and possessed of at least one University which has established a "Department of Comparative Religion," — whose Faculty have authority to recommend for a Doctor's degree students who can reach a sufficiently high standard of merit,[2]— the outlook of this discipline in America is inspiringly hopeful.

2. *Individual Scholars, rather than groups of Experts, have inaugurated all the important advances in this Science.* —This remark is probably true of every Science, but it is pre-eminently true of Comparative Religion. Reference has been made to the several scientific Commissions which, at the present moment, are investigating the cause and cure of Cancer, Consumption, and other human ailments with

[1] The action which is now being taken by the University of London will be referred to subsequently. See page 381.

[2] The University of Chicago. A student of Harvard University, also, may now secure the degree of Ph.D. in connection with these studies, provided his attainments are such as fully satisfy his Examiners.

which the medical profession has to deal;[1] and no doubt some highly important discoveries will reward the expenditure of all this expert labour. But, in the experience of the world, it has generally been some patient unit of industry—the individual investigator, possessed of imagination and dauntless courage—who has most added to the steadily growing accumulation of the world's knowledge. And apparently it will not be otherwise within the domain of Religion. If instances of the operation of this law be called for, it is perhaps no more than true to say that there have been thus far but two — or at most three — real *Masters* of Comparative Religion in the whole course of its history. Moreover, as it happens, each stands as the single representative of the country in which he has lived and laboured. In Great Britain, MAX MÜLLER; in Holland, TIELE; in France, ALBERT RÉVILLE: there are but these three! They remind one not a little of the great triumvirate who for a time were the pride and distinction of Cambridge, viz., Lightfoot, Westcott, and Hort. Of this trio, all have now passed from us; and of the other three, whose similar pre-eminence among their fellow-workers in a different field has not unfitly suggested this comparison, only one now remains. Professor Max Müller, the first to undertake his exacting yet tireless labours, was first also in the completion of his task, viz., in 1900. Professor Tiele, some of whose most fruitful inquiries were begun as late as 1896, died in 1902. Professor Réville, for so many years contemporary with his two distinguished confrères, is still meeting his classes in Paris with all his accustomed eagerness and success. As, however, the English University that has lost its three great leaders—while it will ever hold their names and memory in an abiding reverence—continues to exist, and to expand with each advancing century; so likewise, when the last of these three great authorities in Comparative Religion shall have passed from our view, the Science itself will not be permanently retarded. Demand

[1] See page 53.

and supply must ever adjust themselves to existing conditions; and as the demand for workers in this field was never so great as to-day, the required helpers (sooner or later) are certain to be forthcoming. At the same time, while the department of investigation with which this Manual deals will no doubt be immensely enlarged under the guidance of its new leaders, there is one sense at least in which its earliest Masters will continue to occupy their place through all time to come. For as long as students of Comparative Religion glance with pride at the steadily lengthening roll of its distinguished representatives, the thought of MAX MÜLLER and TIELE and RÉVILLE will never disappear from human memory. Not in Great Britain only, or in Holland, or in France, but throughout the whole wide Republic of Letters, these three names will ever stand illumined by the halo of a sincere and increasing gratitude.

CHAPTER VII

ITS SEVERAL SCHOOLS

SYLLABUS.—General Remarks: p. 212. The separation of scholars into Groups—Two early and clearly defined Schools—A Third School, an offshoot of the others: pp. 212–214. I. THE REVELATION THEORY. The Origin of this Theory—Its Inadequacy—Summary: pp. 214–223. II. THE EVOLUTION THEORY. Differences among Evolutionists—A Fourfold Classification—Primitive Belief supposed to have been either (1) Fetishism, (2) Spiritism, (3) Animism, or (4) Naturism—Revelation versus Evolution—The Evolution Theory likewise proves inadequate—Summary: pp. 223–231. III. THE COMPOSITE THEORY. A very natural Transition—The Rise of a new School—Interpretation of man's religious Knowledge — Summary: pp. 231–249. General Recapitulation: pp. 249–253.

LITERATURE.—Only a brief list of volumes, chosen with a view to securing fairly representative phases of opinion, can be enumerated here. The following books ought certainly to be examined: —QUATREFAGES (Jean Louis Armand de), *L'Espèce humaine.* Paris, 1877. [Translated, "The Human Species." London, 1879.] GOBLET D'ALVIELLA (Count Eugène), *The Origin and Growth of the Conception of God.* London, 1891. TYLOR (Edward Burnett), *Primitive Culture.* London, 1871. [4th ed., 1903.] SPENCER (Herbert), *Principles of Sociology.* 3 vols. London, 1876–96. [Re-issue, complete in one volume, 1904.] DAWSON (Sir William), *Modern Ideas of Evolution, as related to Revelation and Science.* London, 1888. [4th ed., 1890.] MAX MÜLLER (Friedrich), *Natural Religion.* London, 1889. FAIRBAIRN (Andrew Martin), *Studies in the Philosophy of Religion and History.* London, 1876; also his *Philosophy of the Christian Religion.* London, 1902. SMITH (Henry Boynton), *The Idea of Christian Theology as a System.* New York, 1855. KELLOGG (Samuel Henry), *The Genesis and Growth of Religion.* New York, 1892. SCHURMAN (Jacob Gould), *Belief in God: Its Origin, Nature, and Basis.* New York, 1890. ROMANES (George John), *Thoughts on Religion.* London, 1895. ILLINGWORTH (John Richardson), *Reason and Revelation.* London, 1902.

General Remarks. — It is not surprising that, in assorting the phenomena with which Comparative Religion has to do,—materials which are at once so abundant and so diverse,—different principles of classification, and even different canons of interpretation, should very soon have begun to manifest themselves. In truth, this result was inevitable; and as the years continue to multiply, these divergencies of judgment are multiplying likewise. At the same time, underlying them all, certain important points of agreement have been discovered; and, accordingly, students of Comparative Religion to-day can be divided into a number of homogeneous groups or Schools. It is to a survey of three of these Schools, and of the causes which have contributed to produce them, that the present Chapter will be devoted.[1]

The advent of Schools, and when legitimate.— The separation of scholars into opposing Schools is plainly not an initial act. Far from its occurring at the beginning of the study of Religion, it denotes the attainment of a certain measure of maturity, and the ultimate outcome of a process which has involved careful meditation and comparison. At least, in every instance where such separation is legitimate, these indispensable antecedents towards a genuine expansion of thought must have been allowed free play. Hence it is only after students of Comparative Religion, already well informed as to the History of Religion, have become qualified to make occasional excursions into the Philosophy of Religion, that they can justify the taking of that step by which they deliberately withdraw from their confrères and form a distinct group by themselves.

[1] In Chapter VI., the chief exponents of Comparative Religion have already, it is true, been divided in "Schools"; but, as there explained, the method of classification employed was intended to serve a purely temporary purpose, and was adopted merely as a matter of convenience. In the present Chapter the representatives of Comparative Religion will be arranged in groups, not on the basis of their accidental national relationship, but on the ground of their fundamental philosophical agreement.

TWO OF THESE SCHOOLS APPEAR EARLY, AND ARE TO-DAY CLEARLY DEFINED. — The principle which must ultimately govern the relationship of all students of Comparative Religion is found in the theory which they feel themselves compelled to hold as to the essential nature of Religion. And, in particular, whence comes it? What is its real origin? The answer which is given to these questions must predetermine the explanation which will afterwards be offered touching the facts of our religious consciousness. And, according to the views which scholars have adopted as to the genesis and growth of Religion, they have gradually become separated into two outstanding groups, viz. (1) those who believe that man obtained the idea of God through the medium of an express and objective REVELATION, and (2) those who believe that man obtained this idea as the outcome of a purely natural process,—or, in a single word, as the result of EVOLUTION. We find ourselves here at the head-waters, so to speak, of two great streams of opinion; taking their rise in the same lofty and distant heights, they proceed ultimately to flow in exactly opposite directions. Or,—if we would eliminate from our figure that suggestion of "remoteness" which a water-shed necessarily implies, and would bring the thought of our Religion into closer relationship with our normal daily life, —let these two streams be supposed to start together, not at the top of a mountain and on opposite sides of it, but at its foot; then they may be thought of as originating in a great lake whose waters become cleft in twain by an irreducible granite cliff. It has come about, therefore, that, speaking broadly, there is the Revelation School, and there is the Evolution School, into which all students of Comparative Religion may legitimately be divided.

A THIRD SCHOOL, AN OFFSHOOT OF THE OTHER TWO.— It might seem natural to proceed at once to enumerate the several lesser streams of opinion which, in the case both of the Revelation and of the Evolution theories, have diverged, now to the right hand and now to the left; and

then to go on to insert, in their proper chronological order, the names and principal publications of successive prominent leaders and authors. But, upon experiment, this undertaking proves to be by no means easy; and, besides, one has not advanced very far before it becomes manifest that A THIRD SCHOOL OF OPINION has already emerged, and that its representatives must sharply be distinguished from those among whom they labour.[1] One can follow without difficulty the stream which indicates the adherents of the Revelation theory; for it flows in a comparatively straight channel, it is not very broad, and it is not liable to be mistaken for either of the others. One can easily follow, also, the stream which indicates the adherents of the Evolution theory,—though not, indeed, with equal certainty; for its waters, full and plainly expanding where visible, flow oftentimes through secret subterranean courses. Furthermore, finding its way through the territory which lies intermediate between these primary rivers, there is discernible yet another; and the inquirer will do well if he give this less conspicuous but steadily widening channel his close and sustained attention. It is the existence of this third stream —flowing in a separate course which it has cut for itself, and admittedly augmented by the waters of the other two —that renders the classification of certain leaders of religious thought to-day a matter of genuine difficulty. It would seem, therefore, that, instead of there being only two great Schools of definite and divergent opinion among the students of Comparative Religion, account must frankly be taken of at least one other. We may venture to call those who make up this third group of scholars the representatives of THE COMPOSITE THEORY.

I. THE REVELATION THEORY.—In proceeding to deal, first, with the views of those who hold the Revelation theory, it is highly desirable that the contention which these teachers defend should at once be clearly defined.

[1] Touching the advent of yet another important School, cp. pages 274–275.

A Definition of Revelation, as here employed.—The step just suggested is imperative, seeing that few words have been used with greater variety of content than the one which is now being considered. And the consequences of such looseness of speech have been suitably characterised by a modern writer when he says: "The stretching of definite terms, which have acquired a specific meaning, is always an unsatisfactory proceeding, [besides being] fraught with great danger. The result is that the term becomes vague and indefinite, and eventually loses all force. It is far better, and more honest, to maintain such a term as "Revelation" in its original sense, viz., as covering a specific supernatural phenomenon; and then to determine in how far, if at all, we may accept it."[1] Revelation therefore, as here employed, is a word that denotes a Divine act, or acts, of strictly historic character. The resultant impression produced upon man stands inseparably connected with some objective occurrence; it cannot be accounted for by any series of purely subjective processes. Accordingly, "Revelation" indicates an illumination of the mind which originates independently of man, and which cannot be referred to any human source. It is in its genesis *ab extra*, its author being God; it is in its substance transcendent, making known to man facts which lie wholly beyond his wit to conceive; and it is in its concomitants miraculous, being accompanied and confirmed by evidences of a supernatural character.

The Origin of the Revelation Theory.—Nothing can be more thoroughly unscientific, and more fatal to real progress in any study, than the adoption at the outset of some *a priori* theory, and then the interpretation of every accessible fact in harmony with that theory. Indeed, such procedure is exactly the reverse of the logical order; for it is the facts which ought to suggest the theory, instead of the theory being allowed—and, much less, being invited—

[1] Morris Jastrow, Jun., *The Study of Religion*, p. 176. New York, 1901.

to place an *ex parte* construction upon the facts. But before Comparative Religion began to be studied, the very reprehensible procedure which is here being condemned—a faulty method of reasoning with which the "Higher Critics" of to-day are so frequently charged!—had been everywhere adopted by the Church; for the Revelation theory, from primitive Christian times, had been universally taught. There was no debate as to the merits or demerits of the theory, for all parties were practically agreed. The Church spoke with authority, and the people yielded dutiful assent. Hence for an indefinite period—in sermons, in devotional literature, and even in systematic theological treatises—this undisputed view remained current; it was occasionally defended by an elaborate display of argument, but it was nowhere deliberately challenged. It is true that, later on, the Revelation theory was seriously called in question by Deism,—"a general movement in the way of intellectual inquiry and investigation regarding Religion, with the tendency to derive all positive Religions from one 'natural' Religion."[1] David Hume carried his protest further, not stopping until he had reached the extreme of scepticism. Unlike the earlier Deists—who admitted that Revelation was necessary in order to supplement what Nature had taught, and who held that Reason was always competent to decide whether such alleged "disclosures" were true—Hume abandoned the theory of Revelation altogether, and tried to show how purely natural causes completely accounted for man's religious beliefs and practices.[2] But this rash innovator, and those who more or less fully agreed with him, were promptly labelled "heretics"; and the stream of orthodox opinion flowed on as before. Men were still trained to believe that God, out of the riches of His mercy, has been pleased to make Himself

[1] Bernhard Pünjer, *Geschichte der christlichen Religionsphilosophie seit der Reformation.* 2 vols. Braunschweig, 1880–83. [Vol. i. only has been translated, "History of the Christian Philosophy of Religion since the Reformation," p. 291. Edinburgh, 1887. Consult pp. 284–388.]

[2] *The Natural History of Religion.* Edinburgh, 1757.

known merely to a select portion of the race; and that the written revelation, which He had had miraculously prepared for the guidance of those who should ultimately come to know Him, was to be found exclusively in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments.[1] Now it was the acceptance of this view, and the carrying of it over into the domain of a scientific inquiry, which led to the formation of the first of those three Schools which confront the observer to-day.[2]

DOES THIS THEORY REALLY ACCOUNT FOR THE ORIGIN OF RELIGION? — This query raises at once the prior question: What is Religion? For this term, not less than "Revelation" itself, is employed in a great variety of senses. Sometimes it is used to denote that body of doctrine which constitutes the Christian faith; but as well might the Mohammedan pre-empt the word, and limit it exclusively to the Islamic faith. In order to understand completely what Religion is and involves, one must acquaint himself as fully as possible with the *facts* of its origin,—an inquiry which would lead us far into the domain of the History of Religion. As such facts, however, are only in a limited measure accessible to science, the aid of the Philosophy of Religion must also be pressed into service,[3]—which again would lead us far beyond our province, but in an opposite direction. Accordingly, to the term "Religion," as used in this connection, we allot its widest and only legitimate meaning under such circumstances. It signifies *the conception of a superior authority, whose potency man feels himself constrained to acknowledge and invoke.* And certainly it needs but a brief study of Comparative Religion to demonstrate that no objective revelation is required in order to awaken most eager religious inquiry within man's breast. Whole races, to whom plainly no objective revelation

[1] Cp. Appendix. Note XVII., page 530.
[2] See Appendix. Note XVI., pages 525 f.
[3] See Fairbairn, *Studies in the Philosophy of Religion and History*, chap. i.

of the sort indicated has ever been vouchsafed,[1] are proved to have been diligent and unwearied seekers after God. Indeed, it is now conceded with practical unanimity, that man everywhere, no matter at what point in the stage of civilisation we may find him, yields obedience to some form of religious belief and worship.[2]

CONFIDENCE IN THE VALIDITY OF THIS THEORY DISTURBED.—Fully a hundred years before the inauguration of Comparative Religion as a Science—as early, indeed, as the first quarter of the eighteenth century—the distinction recently drawn between Natural Religion and Revealed Religion began to be generally admitted. Hume's appeal, however much disliked and resented, could not be wholly ignored by thoughtful and conscientious men; and so it gradually came to be recognised that the older view of revelation would require to be considerably modified. But it was only after the advent of Comparative Religion, and largely as the result of that advent, that a much more radical change came over public opinion,—a change which, by the way, revealed itself soonest and most markedly in the action of those who gave themselves disinterestedly to the pursuit of that study. These discussions awakened little interest, it is true, among the great majority of contemporary theologians; for they regarded the question as closed, and were hardly aware that it was now for the first time being seriously considered. Nevertheless scholars other than theologians soon became convinced that, if the theophanies of the Old Testament and the Incarnation of the New Testament were to be brought forward by Christianity as instances of express revelations from heaven,

[1] Else, assuredly, some kind of belief in it would still have been preserved. It is inconceivable that a Divine revelation could have been made to a race so primitive in its ideas and general status that all memory of such an event could have been effaced. Cp. page 246.

[2] "Wherever there are traces of human life, there are traces of Religion" (Max Müller, *Introduction to the Science of Religion*, p. 65). "We nowhere find either a great human race, or even a division (however unimportant) of that race, professing Atheism" (Quatrefages, *The Human Species*, p. 483). Cp. pages 335 f.

other great Faiths of the world were just as much entitled to bring forward alleged corresponding instances, and to advance in their name equally high-sounding claims. As time went on, confidence in the validity of the Revelation theory became more and more disturbed. Students of research pointed out that if Judaism furnishes us with an account of the Creation, in which we find a description of events which occurred while man was as yet non-existent, other Faiths also do the same thing,—but in narratives which antedate the Jewish version, and whose very forms suggest that the older stories were well known and had even been utilised by subsequent Hebrew writers.[1] If certain exclusive rights are demanded by Christians on behalf of Christianity, the very same rights are demanded with equal sincerity on behalf of national cults which were hoary with age before Christianity was born. If some special prerogative has long been claimed in the interests of the Christian Scriptures, the same claim is found to have been made, and with equal urgency, in the interest of other Sacred Books. If inspiration has been held to be essential to the composition of the Christian's Bible, it has long been regarded as having been equally essential in the composition of other Bibles likewise. In a word, it was slowly discovered that the old meaning of the term "Religion" would have to be immensely widened. For, instead of there being but one genuine Religion, it was found that there were in reality many Religions; and that truth and error, though in vastly varying proportions, were discernibly intermingled in all of them.[2]

THE VERDICT ULTIMATELY RENDERED.—The Revelation theory accordingly, though for a long time in vogue, was destined to enjoy but a temporary authority. Too hastily accepted, it was found upon trial to be incapable of yielding an explanation of the facts of man's religious consciousness; and it is now confessedly abandoned by practically every representative of the science of Comparative Religion.

[1] Cp. pages 78–79. [2] Cp. Appendix. Note XVI., pages 525 f.

As hypothesis even, it seems to many to-day to be mechanical and arbitrary. It was never framed as the result of a searching and scientific inquiry. It was, instead, adopted ready-made; but no sooner was it put under the strain of really exacting tests than it was found to raise difficulties considerably greater than those which it had long been supposed to surmount and settle.[1]

Effect of this Verdict upon the Literature of the Subject.—One result of the introduction of Comparative Religion into the circle of modern studies has been a perceptible diminution in the number of recently published books which defend the Revelation theory;[2] and when such volumes have appeared, they have been compelled to be content with a constituency of readers belonging to a comparatively limited circle. In the libraries of scholars, where such books were once fairly numerous, they are gradually being promoted to the topmost row of shelves,—either (1) because they are for the most part old books, published before Comparative Religion had risen to the status of a Science, or else (2) because not a few of them affect to ignore that Science. Hence, while one can still purchase a considerable quantity of literature which undertakes to expound and support the Revelation theory, such discussions to-day are usually found either to expand illegitimately the meaning of the word "Revelation," or else to busy themselves largely with questions which are entirely subordinate to the central issue at stake. Perhaps one may cite, as an illustration in point, the volume in which Dr. John Smith[3] takes Professor George Adam Smith severely to task because of the latter's "surrender" of the Revelation theory. That theory, in its original form, Professor Smith most certainly has surrendered; but that there exists in the Old Testament "an authentic revelation

[1] For the testimony of some representative scholars who have been led to reject the Revelation theory, see Appendix. Note XVII., pages 530 f.

[2] Cp. what is said concerning "The Necessity of Religion" on page 336.

[3] *The Integrity of Scripture.* Edinburgh, 1902.

of the one true God"[1] is, in Dr. G. A. Smith's own words, "a fundamental fact,"[1] and is a thesis, therefore, which he has always most strenuously defended. It can hardly be regarded as a misfortune that this class of book is disappearing, and that few remain to-day who are likely to seek to revive it.

SOME REPRESENTATIVES OF THIS SCHOOL. — Of the volumes which belong directly to the literature of Comparative Religion, and which lay special stress upon the necessity of a primitive Divine revelation, a fairly representative example may be found in a work published by the late JAMES CLEMENT MOFFAT.[2] This book professes to give an account of the general situation out of which the Science of Religion was at the time gradually emerging; and it deserves all commendation because of its prompt appearance, and the exhaustive and conscientious labour which it reveals.[3] Unfortunately, since the author worked at a period when the archæological finds of the last few years had not even been dreamed of, many of his conclusions were destined to be outgrown; but, as the result of long and patient researches among the documentary records of the Religions with which scholars were then acquainted, Dr. Moffat was led to frame his ultimate judgment in the following terms: "The interesting fact, educed by the comparison of them, is the sameness of the original creed of all mankind,—is the most gratifying assurance that our race, for many years in the early time, as a whole, worshipped the true God of revelation in the way of His appointment, and held the fundamental doctrines of sin and redemption."[4] And again: "Heathenism seems to be the

[1] Cp. page 242. See George Adam Smith, *Modern Criticism and the Preaching of the Old Testament*, Lecture IV., pp. 111 and 127. London, 1901.

[2] Formerly Professor of Church History in the Theological Seminary, Princeton, N.J.

[3] *A Comparative History of Religions.* 2 vols. Philadelphia, 1871–73. Cp. Preface, p. vi.

[4] *Ibid.*, vol. i. p. 247.

degeneracy, in various ways and degrees, of one primitive religion."[1] That is to say, there was, at the beginning of the race, only one Faith; and that Faith God Himself communicated to man.

Another representative of this School, though less typical than the writer just named, was the late SAMUEL HENRY KELLOGG.[2] The volumes in which he has set forth his views on this question were likewise two in number; but, in this instance, they were independent publications.[3] Writing about a quarter of a century later than Professor Moffat, Dr. Kellogg's conclusions reveal the influence wrought in his opinions by the widening outlook of his times. He distinctly recognises a subjective element in Religion, and admits that the doctrine of an objective revelation of God to man would not by itself explain all the facts of the case. Nevertheless, substantially, his position is not different from that of Professor Moffat. "Monotheism," he affirms, "was the original faith of man: all other forms of religion and philosophy only exhibit various lines of declension from the purity of the primitive faith."[4] There can be no question as to the School to which Dr. Kellogg belongs. He was avowedly a cordial supporter of the Revelation theory.

SUMMARY.—It appears, then, that the first group of teachers is no longer large, and that it is not now increasing in number. On the contrary, it is perceptibly and rapidly diminishing. On the Continent of Europe, it has already disappeared: its stronghold to-day is found in a comparatively modern field of scholarship, viz., on the Continent of America. Even in its present home, however, it is winning few converts. In Great Britain, this School can still claim many and influential supporters; but in most cases the significance of the term "Revelation" has been so im-

[1] *A Comparative History of Religions*, vol. i. p. 250.

[2] Formerly Professor in the Western Theological Seminary, Allegheny, Pa.

[3] *The Genesis and Growth of Religion*, New York, 1892; and *A Handbook of Comparative Religion*, Philadelphia, 1899.

[4] *The Genesis and Growth of Religion*, p. 272.

mensely enlarged, that in truth it is no longer the old citadel which is being defended, but a series of stronger and much more formidable earth-works which on every side surround it. In any case, it is now generally recognised that a rejection of the Revelation theory, at least in its original form, does not necessarily imply scepticism,—although Hume, and not a few others, have long borne the odium which is inseparable from that persistent accusation.

II. The Evolution Theory.—When Dr. Moffat and Dr. Kellogg passed away, they left behind them no teachers of equal prominence who espoused and sought to perpetuate the conclusions for which they had contended. But already a new theory had made its appearance in various quarters, and was winning for itself many and ardent disciples; nor can it surprise anyone that, owing to an increasing dissatisfaction with the earlier hypothesis, this alternative view was greeted with a very general welcome. Thus we are now led to consider the attitude of an important group of teachers, who hold that belief in a single Supreme Being is the result of a gradual Evolution. They maintain that this belief is quite independent of an objective revelation, seeing that it can be accounted for by purely natural causes; and they go on to affirm that the particular form which, under varying conditions, that belief is found to assume is due simply to the standard of culture, and to the accidental environment, of those who happen to possess it.

A Definition of Evolution.—As in the case of the terms "Revelation" and "Religion," so the term "Evolution" is made to bear many different significations, in accordance with the particular view that may have been adopted by the individual users of it. Hence some initial agreement as to its meaning must be reached and adhered to.

The name Evolution was originally employed to designate that doctrine which accounts for every sort of phenomenon by regarding it as the outcome of a process,—the product of an advance which proceeds from what is simple to what

is complex. Moreover, this process, it was held, was absolutely self-regulated, neither deriving nor requiring any impulse from without. Whether it was self-originating or not had, in so far as science was concerned, to remain an open question; but at any rate it showed itself to be entirely competent to maintain its existing momentum without extraneous assistance.

As the outcome of observing corresponding processes and results within the domain of Comparative Religion, many students of that Science have been led to put forward the Evolution theory, and to maintain that by means of it they can supply a complete explanation of the various religious beliefs and practices which have prevailed among men. They declare that a revelation of the existence of God was unnecessary, seeing that man everywhere has shown himself capable of attaining to that idea without a revelation. In particular, they hold that if Christ had never come into the world, if Moses had never been born, if Abraham had continued to dwell in "Ur of the Chaldees"[1] all his days, the effect upon mankind would certainly not have been to ensure for them a condition of blank irreligion, or a state of mind utterly lacking in desire to seek and discover God: men would have been deprived merely of those benefits which have come to them through the instrumentality of these three great spiritual leaders. Take, by way of concrete example, the case of Jesus of Nazareth—paramount in influence, as He has now become, in many quarters of the world. It is contended in this connection by defenders of the Evolution theory, that if Christ had never preached the distinctive tenets of His Gospel, the world to-day would merely lack those elements of information and inspiration which are peculiar to Christianity, and the influences which these vital factors have exerted so conspicuously during fully nineteen centuries. Christ's death on Calvary introduced, indeed, an additional factor into the problem,—for Christians are quite warranted in

[1] Genesis xi. 31.

maintaining that their Master did infinitely more than enlighten men by His coming into the world; but the question which this consideration raises is one that falls to be dealt with, not so much by the expounder of Evolution as by the occupant of some Chair of Christian Theology. What the typical Evolutionist affirms and reaffirms is that, if Moses and Jesus had never appeared, man would have enjoyed much less light, less certainty, less comfort touching the things of the unseen world; but he would assuredly not have dwelt in utter or permanent darkness. Possibly the disclosures which Moses and Jesus made, had they never been communicated by the lips that uttered them, might have come to man through some other personal channel; but whether this boon had been granted or withheld, the race was bound to progress in knowledge and mental virility as the centuries moved onward. For Religion has been demonstrated to be a uniform factor in human experience.[1] No race that is known, even the most utterly degraded, exists without it. In essence, it is absolutely universal; in form, it is as infinitely varied as are the circumstances which have conditioned or now actually govern it. And were it not for this capacity and response *in man*, there had never been any manifestation of Religion in man's life, — even though God could be shown to have revealed Himself in person at the Creation, or the Messiah had appeared a dozen times among the Jews, or Jesus had continued to this hour to proclaim His wondrous Gospel.

DIFFERENCES AMONG EVOLUTIONISTS. — It has often been remarked that exponents of the Revelation theory differ considerably among themselves touching the manner in which their explanatory scheme ought finally to be framed; and it is not otherwise, in point of fact, with the exponents of the Evolution theory. Representatives of that School, while bound to one another by the bonds of a fundamental agreement, entertain the most widely separated opinions in regard to matters of detail. In

[1] Cp. pages 94, 219, etc.

truth, their study of the facts of Religion, as these have gradually been accumulated by students of the Comparative Sciences, has led different groups of them to adopt very divergent conclusions. Hence the effort to classify these teachers, and to assign to each his proper logical place, has proved extremely difficult.

A SUGGESTED CLASSIFICATION. — It will be conceded that, as a convenient classification, Evolutionists in Comparative Religion may be subdivided into (1) those who hold that man's conceptions of God are the outcome of various forms of *superstition*, and (2) those who hold that man's conceptions of God are due to a process of *reasoning*. This proposal, however, which seeks to group all Evolutionists around either one or other of two selected centres, cannot, on closer examination, be commended. The distinction raised is suggestive, and it may usefully be preserved in mind; but inasmuch as every form of superstition-Religion is based, in part at least, upon reasoning, the attempted differentiation is plainly invalid, and must therefore be set aside.

THE CLASSIFICATION ADOPTED.—Evolutionists in Religion may perhaps most satisfactorily be divided into four prominent groups — in accordance with their attempt to explain the beginnings of man's belief in God by the theory either of (1) *Fetishism*, (2) *Spiritism*, (3) *Animism*, or (4) *Naturism*. It lies, of course, quite beyond the scope of the present treatise to weigh with exactness the merits of these four hypotheses, in support of each of which a strong array of arguments has from time to time been marshalled; yet, in the interests of greater convenience and completeness, a brief statement touching each of these theories will be found to have been inserted among the other Appendices.[1]

[1] See Appendix. Note XVIII., pages 532 f. More advanced students should consult the leading authorities in the History of Religions, in the Philosophy of Religion, and in Anthropology. Alfred Russell Wallace, who shares with Darwin the honour of having formulated and proclaimed the doctrine of Evolution, has written a work entitled *Darwinism* (London,

THE REVELATION SCHOOL AND THE EVOLUTION SCHOOL CONTRASTED.—Before proceeding to explain the rise of a third School of opinion among students of Comparative Religion, it may be useful to contrast the positions occupied by the two groups of scholars that have thus far engaged our attention. It will have been observed that (1) the one School claims to find the origin of man's idea of God in a direct Divine disclosure, whereas the other thinks that man attained to that idea gradually, and in steadily enlarging measure, as the result of the action of purely natural processes. (2) The Revelation theory claims that only in one way was it possible for mankind to become acquainted with the Divine scheme, viz., through some objective and authoritative record; whereas the Evolution theory maintains that in primitive times such a record, even had it been prepared, could only very imperfectly have served its purpose. (3) The Revelation theory puts Monotheism at the commencement of man's history, and believes that there has been an invariable drift towards Polytheism; whereas the Evolution theory (no matter what may chance to be its special type) regards man as pressing steadily onward from Polytheism to Monotheism. "We cannot deny the original Polytheism,"[1] says Professor Albert Réville. "The monotheistic tendency exists among *all* peoples, after they have reached a certain level of culture,"[2] says Professor Jastrow. (4) The Revelation theory holds that the further back we go in human history, the fountains of high morality are found to be purer, and the whole conception of life seems to be more unsophisticated and

1889), which should by no means be overlooked. See also Charles Darwin, *The Origin of Species*. London, 1859. [Revised ed., 1861.] August Weismann, *Vorträge zur Descendenz Theorie*. 2 vols. Jena, 1902. [Translated, "The Evolution Theory," London, 1905.] It is enough, however, if the present situation, and the general trend of the discussion, be merely outlined in the meantime; in a subsequent volume, the foundations upon which such views are made to rest will be carefully and critically examined.

[1] See his *Prolegomena of the History of Religions* (*Prolégomènes de l'historie des religions*. Paris, 1881), p. 61. London, 1884.

[2] *The Study of Religion*, p. 76.

sincere; whereas the supporter of the Evolution theory, on the contrary, believes that these rare qualities in man become rich and full and inspiring only after the lapse of many centuries. And finally, (5) the representatives of the Revelation School, when concentrating attention upon the present situation, hold that "whatsoever things are lovely, and . . . of good report,"[1] in Religions other than their own, are *survivals* merely of a primitive disclosure from heaven, and that from the glories of that golden age there has been a most lamentable falling away: whereas the Evolutionist detects on every hand so many indications of a remarkable and *persistent advance*, that he believes he is fully warranted in maintaining that the present is better than the past, that the best and highest developments are still to come, and that the truly golden age of Religion must be looked for in the future.

It is evident, therefore, that these two main streams of opinion, the further each advances in its own proper channel, rapidly flow away from each other. Each is totally distinct from the other, and both can be clearly defined. They have practically nothing in common. They start from diametrically opposite watersheds, and (up to a certain point at least) they lead in diametrically opposite directions. But, as we shall see in a moment, they by and by change their courses.[2] Hence—coming from opposite points, and moving now steadily *towards* each other—they are certain, sooner or later, to meet; and their unity of belief centres in the conviction that, apart from the operation of some extraneous influence, all men tend to become Polytheists. Whether, therefore, the Revelation theory or the Evolution theory be adopted, there seems to be a period in the history of the race—as the result of a deterioration according to the one view, or of an advance according to the other—when man comes to the conclusion that there are *many* Gods whom he ought to worship. And quite

[1] Phil. iv. 8.

[2] Cp. page 232.

possibly Polytheism would have been the dominant Faith of the world to-day, had it not been for a highly important factor in man's being,—one to which presently we must turn in our survey, that we may concentrate upon it our close and sustained attention. In the meantime, something must be said concerning the actual merits and demerits of the Evolution theory, when offered as the solution of the problem: What is the essence of Religion?

THE EVOLUTION THEORY DEFECTIVE. — The strenuous defence of this hypothesis has undoubtedly been serviceable in bringing many important facts into view.[1] It has made it clear, for example, that man secures high attainment in Religion (just as he secures similar attainment in culture, or in wealth, or in any other line of legitimate ambition) by the expenditure of labour and effort. He advances by gradual stages from less to greater. His progress may be compared to a slow and exacting growth. Evolutionists have also drawn express attention to the fact that Religion is one of those things in connection with which, among all who deal with it seriously, innovation and invention are promptly and instinctively resented: hence any abrupt attempt to alter its course, or to modify its character in any radical way, is practically foredoomed to failure.[2] A sudden revelation from heaven, therefore, except in the case of a very primitive people, would accomplish relatively little; and in their case, even, it could not effect very much. It has been shown, yet further, that we are working on "a problem that cannot be solved by *a priori* methods: it is only as we move onward from step to step in the analysis of details . . . that we can hope to gain full insight into the relations"[3] of God to man.

But when the Evolution theory itself is put to the test,

[1] See Grant Allen, *The Evolution of the Idea of God.* London, 1897. Also George John Romanes, *A Candid Examination of Theism.* London, 1878. [Published anonymously.]

[2] Cp. pages 75 and 241.

[3] Words used in another connection by Professor W. Robertson Smith. See *The Religion of the Semites*, p. 25.

it signally fails.[1] It is quite incapable of explaining why any stronger tendency to be religious should be experienced by a human being than by the lower animals that surround him—*e.g.*, by the horses that draw his carriage, or the dogs that crouch at his feet. An eminent philosopher has declared, indeed, that if, as Schleiermacher taught, the sentiment of dependence is the fundamental element in Religion, a dog may experience Religion, and give indubitable expression to its impulses; hence that animal's growing veneration for a humane and considerate master! But the pertinent question remains: Why does man in all primitive stages of culture, in the twentieth century quite as much as in the first century, find himself led to think of *God*, when he chances to find (say) a crooked stick, or a curiously speckled pebble? Why, in truth, do we find in man—and in *every* man!—a disposition to seek God *at all?*

Perhaps some Evolutionist dares to offer the curt rejoinder: "But God is unknowable, for man is so constituted that he cannot possibly acquaint himself with the Infinite: how are you going to meet this difficulty?" When, however, we are asked whether we can *demonstrate* the capacity of the human mind to apprehend God, the sufficient answer is (as President Schurman bluntly puts it) that we cannot prove the capacity of the mind to know anything whatever; and that it is only by *actual trials* . . . that mankind has found out what knowledge it is capable of compassing."[2] But the study of Comparative Religion has shown that all men have at least *some* acquaintance with the Unseen and the Infinite. The idea of God, therefore, is not only a possible—but (however imperfectly grasped) an actual—possession of the race. Moreover, inasmuch as it can be proved that Religion is for man a psychological necessity,[3]

[1] See Sir William Dawson, *Modern Ideas of Evolution, as related to Revelation and Science.* Also his *The Story of the Earth and Man.* London, 1872. All may not feel prepared to go so far as this author, but his books represent a class of publications which were very numerous twenty-five years ago.

[2] *Belief in God*, p. 27.

[3] Cp. pages 233, 291, etc.

it has been rendered certain that man everywhere and always, in a manner either more or less fitting, *must* make response to the persuasions and mandates of the voice that speaks within him.

SUMMARY.—The Evolution School of interpreters, standing really for the defence of a method rather than for the construction of a comprehensive and competent theory,[1] can be regarded merely as marking a transition in an ascending scale of opinion. It has rightly laid emphasis upon the fact that Religion, not less than Culture, is a living and expanding organism: "its final form has much in common with the forms which preceded it, yet it possesses that which transcends the others and makes them its inferiors."[2] It indicates a decided advance, both in knowledge and insight, upon the earlier School; but as an hypothesis, if it be seriously viewed in that light, it stands in need of being supplemented and expanded.[3] The late Charles Darwin and the late John Fiske[4]—to mention but two brilliant and representative leaders of this School—gradually arrived at the conviction that there was "an Infinite Supreme Intelligence" behind the forces of Nature, and that the existence and activity of that Being must frankly be allowed for in the framing of any scheme of the Universe.[5] Hence the rise of a third School, far from being viewed as an intrusion within a fully pre-empted territory, was eagerly anticipated and very cordially welcomed.

III. THE COMPOSITE THEORY.—Within the last half century, the two great streams of Revelation and Evolution, Supernaturalism and Naturalism, proceeding originally in opposite directions, completely altered their courses. Accord-

[1] "Evolution is not a force, but a process; not a cause, but a law." (Mr. John Morley, *On Compromise*. London, 1874.)

[2] Cp. John Arnott Macculloch, *Comparative Theology*, p. 12. London, 1902.

[3] Cp. pages 94, and 247–249.

[4] See his *The Idea of God as affected by Modern Knowledge*. New York, 1885.

[5] Cp. Appendix. Note IV., page 489.

ingly they began to flow, not further and further apart, but ever *nearer* to each other,—until, at last, they actually met; and their waters, now for the time checked in their advance, freely intermingled in a broad and broadening basin. It was of course impossible that this pause could be more than temporary, seeing that these pent-up and rapidly increasing forces must find for themselves some outlet; and so it came about that they eventually contributed to form a new and independent current. And there can be no doubt as to the direction in which *it* is steadily flowing. It is unmistakably a continuation of the Evolution stream; for it is from that quarter, in particular, that the volume of the new movement is being constantly and strongly augmented. Now it is to an examination of this third channel of opinion—one which represents the dominant mode of thought among students of Comparative Religion to-day, and which may very appropriately be labelled the Composite theory—that the remainder of this Chapter will be devoted.

A Natural Transition.—It would be interesting to trace carefully, step by step, the various stages through which human inquiry had to pass before it reached the expression of its convictions in the theory which is now rapidly gaining acceptance in influential quarters. As might have been anticipated, the blending together of the two earlier views in a more comprehensive thesis was due to a conscious advance from both sides, and the drawing together of scholars within the domain of a broader and more inclusive knowledge. But it would take too long, and would lead us far away from the central aim of this treatise, if one were to attempt to specify the numerous particulars to which attention would need to be drawn. However, a brief survey of the chief factors which contributed (more or less directly) towards bringing about the result which is now so happily being achieved, may prove useful; it will be embodied, accordingly, in one of the Appendices.[1]

[1] See Appendix. Note XIX., pages 537 f.

THE RISE OF A NEW SCHOOL OF THOUGHT. — It was under circumstances which are therein outlined that a third tendency in modern thought has gradually made itself felt. The Composite School represents, indeed, a mediating movement; but it is eclectic, not in the interests of peace merely, but in the paramount interests of truth. Under its influence the Revelation theory, no longer identifying itself with the view that an express illumination is essential to account for the *origin* of man's conception of God, and yet maintaining that the Jewish and Christian ideals of the Supreme Being have been gained only as the result of a special Divine disclosure, is accepted as the affirmation of a mysterious but perfectly tenable belief; while the theory of Evolution, no longer held to be sufficient to explain the operation of *all* the hidden forces that animate the Universe, is accepted as the affirmation of a broad fundamental truth, and a truth which literally every science substantiates. The view of Professor Max Müller accordingly,[1] suggestive and fruitful though it was, has had to be corrected and amplified. Instead of maintaining that man is endowed with a special "faculty" in virtue of which he is compelled to seek after the Divine—an hypothesis which has repeatedly been challenged as being a sheer invention,[2]—the representatives of the Composite theory merely lay emphasis upon the fact that every man exhibits in himself the persistent operation of an impulse that turns his thoughts towards God.[3] Professor Menzies describes this uniform mental activity as "a psychological necessity."[4] It would appear to be due to an ineradicable element that has been implanted in man's very constitution. Moreover, this universal propensity—in part intellectual, in part emotional, in part volitional—

[1] Cp. Appendix. Note XIX., pages 538 f.

[2] By Herbert Spencer, in particular. See also Edward Caird, *The Evolution of Religion.* 2 vols. Glasgow, 1893. [3rd ed., 1899.]

[3] Cp. pages 239–240, 289, and 335. Also Appendix. Note XIX., page 537.

[4] Allan Menzies, *History of Religion.* London, 1895. [N. ed., 1901, p. 24.]

would seem to be akin to, if not indeed indistinguishable from, the soul itself. Through it God truly reveals Himself to His creatures, and through it He apparently makes Himself known to each individual unit of mankind.[1]

THE COMPOSITE THEORY AS TO THE ENLARGEMENT OF MAN'S RELIGIOUS KNOWLEDGE.—Admitting the existence of this common impulse or propensity in man, belief in which has been greatly strengthened by the proofs which Comparative Religion has been able to supply, a starting-point has been found at which the religious development of the race may be affirmed to have begun. For man is now seen to have secured at birth a very important psychological endowment, one that gradually enlarges with his growth, and that is governed in its orderly expansion and action by natural and uniform laws.

1. *Nature Worship.*—It is easy to understand, therefore, how, at the outset, any object in Nature—no matter how trivial in itself, no matter how unworthy a Fetish—may, as the result of the activity of this religious tendency in man,[2] become strongly associated in his mind with the thought of a Superior Power.

2. *The invaluable corrective supplied by Reason.*—It is quite impossible, of course, to indicate the countless successive stages by which the superstitious beliefs of the Savage become gradually transformed, as, under the influence of an advancing civilisation, he rises slowly in the scale of thought and being. Suffice it to say that, besides an inherent disposition to make quest for the Divine—a disposition everywhere revealing its existence and development among uncivilised and semi-civilised peoples, and often awakening surprise by its proneness to an unlimited credulity—

[1] This third School of thought, whether considered in itself or in the light of the interest it has naturally awakened among contemporary students of Religion, is of sufficient importance to justify a somewhat fuller treatment than has been accorded to either of its predecessors. In the statement which follows, its scheme of interpretation is perhaps for the first time definitely formulated.

[2] Cp. pages 239–240.

Comparative Religion makes it plain that another tendency (equally persistent, but which draws in an opposite direction) manifests itself likewise, quite early, in the history of every known race.[1] Accordingly there have been innumerable cases of religious retrogression as well as of religious progress: a people of advanced ideals in one generation may be followed by a posterity whose ideals have visibly become lowered.[2] Take as an illustration man's belief in the oneness of God. The Evolutionist holds firmly that, as man increases in knowledge and is privileged to enjoy the advantages of a higher civilisation, he tends to become more and more monotheistic in his thinking. The agent chiefly contributory to this result is man's Reason,—an agent which, the older the world becomes, is acquiring a steadily increased authority in the settlement of all questions of supreme moment. Certainly it is gaining an ever wider and wider recognition as an umpire in the settlement of perplexing religious questions. In the present instance, at any rate, if allowed a hearing, Reason can very easily demonstrate that there cannot be more than *one* Infinite Being; for such a Being must perforce be possessed of attributes, each perfect after its kind, which exclude the possibility of there being Another equal in endowment and power. The Nature-worshipper, of course, troubles himself with none of these things. Metaphysical subtilties lie wholly beyond his ken.

[1] It is not our purpose here to direct attention to man's inveterate propensity to please self rather than God, a characteristic bent which, if this Manual were a treatise on Theology, would demand at this point full and careful exposition. In the present volume, it is enough if stress be laid upon the fact that Evolution is very seriously embarrassed whenever it grapples with the problem of Sin. This wilfulness on man's part, his repeated refusals to obey the law of right, cannot be accounted for by the doctrine of "survivals" merely: his action is personal, and owes its origin chiefly to the man himself. The consciousness of Sin seems to be practically contemporaneous with the thought of God and of Self. It will be shown, later on, that one of the particulars in which Christianity marks an advance upon every other Religion is found in its recognition of the universal existence of Sin, and in the provision which it makes for applying an adequate remedy. Cp. Romans vii. 14–23.

[2] Cp. Mr. Andrew Lang's view, referred to on page 265.

Nevertheless, under even the elementary teachings of Reason, he is found slowly to outgrow and abandon many of his earlier religious practices. Ages elapse. The members of the tribe or clan rise to a higher intellectual level. They begin to direct their devotions, more and more, to the invisible deity who stands behind the visible symbolism. They come, perhaps, to believe that He is the only Ruler of the Universe. But mark what follows: there exists absolutely no guarantee that these gratifying attainments will be permanent. On the contrary, all signs point to an opposite conclusion. Retrogression, sooner or later, is certain to follow. Whatever the explanation that may be offered, a disposition to practise idolatry, to worship at wayside altars, to exalt the creature instead of the Creator, becomes dominant. Reason speaks anew, but this time its warning goes unheeded. Even the Hebrew has been seen to turn away from Jehovah, and to worship "many Gods." All races, indeed, have exhibited and yielded to this propensity during the earlier years of their development. But Reason persists. It begins its task afresh. Nor is it ever dismayed; for it is confident that, however often it may be thwarted, it is bound to win in the end.

In a word, it is the testimony of history that the less civilised peoples, being only to a limited degree amenable to Reason, are always in danger of drifting onward into Polytheism; while other peoples, of higher attainment in the order of intelligence, forsake Polytheism in turn, and deliberately make their way in the direction of Monotheism. And this latter tendency, which has revealed itself over and over again in the history of mankind,[1] is manifestly gaining in each succeeding century a securer grip upon the conscience of the race. Thus, in accordance with a perfectly natural development, under the guidance of laws which operate in a perfectly natural order, it appears that man tends to lay an ever-increasing emphasis upon the Divine unity, and that the goal of all intelligent human belief

[1] See Professor Jastrow's testimony, already quoted on page 227.

concerning God has been the steadily deepening conviction that there can be but *one* ultimate ruler of the universe.[1]

3. *The Advent of conspicuous Religious Reformers.*—Account must also be taken of the invaluable assistance which this natural Monotheistic tendency has received, from time to time, at the hands of outstanding moral Reformers. Thus, at the least two thousand years before Christ, we find ABRAHAM arising among the Polytheists of Chaldea, and inaugurating a great historic movement in the interests of Monotheism. Among the Polytheists of Egypt, some centuries later, we find MOSES taking the lead in a similar enterprise. When JESUS OF GALILEE appeared, after another lengthy interval, He most strongly endorsed and personally promoted these efforts; and His successors have persistently maintained and proclaimed the same doctrine during all the centuries since. Nor do we need to confine our citation of instances to the writings of the Old and New Testaments. Among Aryan peoples, quite as much as among the various Semitic peoples, the same tendencies (although often strongly repressed) were at work, and revealed themselves in the attainment of similar beneficial consequences. BUDDHA founded a system which, as regards one of its fundamental principles, was a revolt against the Polytheism of India. ZOROASTER likewise led a revolt against the Polytheism of Persia. SOCRATES and PLATO, while not indeed going so far as the other Reformers just named, united in very sternly denouncing Homer, because, in his immortal Epic, he was responsible for propagating unworthy and puerile notions concerning religion among the Polytheists of Greece. Or, to select a comparatively recent instance: in the seventh century of the Christian era, we find MOHAMMED proclaiming the necessity of abandoning once for all belief in the doctrine of many Gods. The testimony from history is uniform in asserting that a drift towards Polytheism is a tendency of the race, during the

[1] Cp. page 246.

initial stages of its development; but the same testimony is equally uniform in declaring that, in addition to the increasing protest of reason, one of the greatest helps towards checking and (temporarily at least) eradicating that tendency has been the rise of a leader of sufficient calibre and pronounced individual capacity to challenge and smite it.

It may seem that, if the foregoing exposition of the Composite theory is an adequate presentation of the facts of the case, the Evolution School has in effect absorbed the Revelation School; for, up to this point at least, the former scheme of interpretation has neither sought nor accepted any contribution from the latter. It is well that this impression should make itself deeply felt, in order that its significance may not be lost. It enables one better to understand why the defenders of the Evolution theory are so consistently loyal to it: they are persuaded that they are engaged in vindicating an hypothesis which is supported by the great bulk of the facts of history. As an eminent philosophical writer has put it: "The faults arising from the misinterpretation of a principle are not to be charged to the principle itself; and whatever erroneous inferences may have been drawn by this or that Evolutionist, the evolutionary method remains intact."[1] And that method, as time advances, is coming to be more fully understood. It is now commonly recognised that "Evolution is not organism, but the reason that organises."[2] Evolution in Religion is not now held to have produced Religion; it is rather regarded as having merely given to Religion—a factor which was already in existence—its form and impulse and direction. "The discovery that the success of Evolution as a theory does not hurt people's religious faith, has cooled the zeal with which it was at one time welcomed or resisted. The theory must now bear criticism, and must 'struggle for

[1] President Schurman, *Belief in God*, p. 74.

[2] Principal Fairbairn, *Studies in the Philosophy of Religion and History*, p. 38. Cp. page 248.

existence' on its own merits."[1] Nevertheless, while the Evolution School has demonstrated the human origin of much that used to be ascribed to direct Divine agency, it leaves much still to be explained. A considerable number of facts, and facts which are of the very greatest moment, it confesses itself to be at present unable to interpret.

4. *A recognition of the existence and activity of certain historical factors, concerning the origin and character of which Evolution fails to give any satisfactory account.*—Of the factors in question, each of which the Composite theory frankly accepts and seriously seeks to explain, only three illustrative examples need be given.

(*a*) *A factor which continually asserts itself within the breast of every human being.*—As the Biologist must still refer the origin of life to a power which wholly transcends his comprehension, so must the Evolutionist stand to-day perplexed by the existence within every man of something which Hegel called "the religious consciousness," which Max Müller called "the faculty of faith,"[2] and which St. Paul long ago described as "the law written in man's heart."[3] From Schleiermacher to Eduard von Hartmann, in a country, too, where strictly scientific methods are most rigidly—and, sometimes at least, even ruthlessly—applied,

[1] Professor Macloskie, Article in *The Presbyterian*. Philadelphia, August 13, 1902.

[2] Cp. pages 233, 287, 289, 293, 339, etc. It is not, of course, claimed that the Composite theory originated in Oxford, or even that its nuclei were obtained from that quarter. Various contributions towards such a view of the Universe, offered by HERDER, etc., have already been referred to. (See Appendix. Note XIX., page 537.) At the beginning of last century, SCHLEIERMACHER—and other writers as well, who succeeded him but who preceded Max Müller—laid stress, and continually additional stress, upon those subjective qualities in man which constrain him to be religious both in thought and action. But MAX MÜLLER bestowed on this subjective element a name: he gave it entity when he christened it a "faculty." Among more recent defenders of the same view may be named the late GEORGE JOHN ROMANES. The late Professor HENRY BOYNTON SMITH held that every man "has an intuition of the Unseen." (See his *Christian Theology*.)

[3] Romans ii. 15.

almost every distinguished thinker has openly conceded the dominance of this mysterious instinct; and yet no one, speaking exclusively as a scientific investigator, has been able satisfactorily to explain its origin! Accordingly, while we await with unconcealed interest the answer which Science may yet venture to frame, it is pertinent to recall that teaching of the Christian Scriptures which affirms that "God left not Himself without witness"[1] among any people; but that, on the contrary, through all the ages—sometimes through the appeal of selected law-givers and leaders, but unceasingly through the still small voice within—He has been calling upon men everywhere to repent. Every man, it is declared, "has the witness in himself";[2] and accordingly he has always been able to tell, without extraneous assistance, whether he was yielding his life in obedient sacrifice to the imperative law of Right. As St. Paul strikingly puts it, in a memorable chapter of his Epistle to the Romans, already referred to: "Their conscience also bearing witness, and their thoughts one with another accusing or else excusing them."[3] Is there not at least a hint of direct *Divine* intervention in that singular equipment of man, in virtue of which he has ever exhibited both the capacity and the desire to know and reverence God?

(*b*) *The marvellous Success of those religious Reformers whose work still endures.*—Yet again, as to the Agents through whose intervention a reform in the interest of Monotheism has from time to time been wrought: can their appearance, their character, the time and place and circumstances of their protest, be sufficiently explained by saying, "All these things were perfectly natural"? Evolutionists themselves have often answered these questions with a manifestly doubtful affirmative; while not a few, equally representative, have replied with a confident negative. If the great Reformation of the sixteenth century—in its

[1] Acts xiv. 17. [2] 1 John v. 10.
[3] Romans ii. 15. Cp. Romans vii. 14–23.

rapid successes, its persistent progress, and its permanent results—may with much show of reason be held to indicate the watchfulness and guidance of a supreme and overruling Providence, evidence to the same effect is inseparably bound up with the appearance of Abraham and Moses and Jesus Christ. Thus far, no opinion has been expressed as to whether these three leaders—and many others besides, each in his own degree—may not have been making response to some far deeper impulse than any which comes from an exclusively human source, when each felt himself constrained to take that step which has placed him, for all time, in the van of a great reformatory movement. Hitherto all reference to such a possibility has purposely been omitted; for science makes its appeal to those facts only which history can be compelled to unfold to it. But some facts history only partially reveals; and it is natural —nay, it is necessary—that the investigator should make due allowance for the intrusion and operation of certain invisible forces with which admittedly he is daily compelled to deal.

Hence, although at first sight it might seem to be otherwise, it is not correct to say that no recognition is accorded to the Revelation theory by representatives of the Composite School. The teachers who constitute this latter group, taken as a whole, most certainly refuse to endorse the view that innumerable special disclosures of Divine truth have been made to man *directly* and *in bulk*,—if one may so put it: they believe these revelations came to him for the most part through selected human channels, and that they were imparted only in such expressly limited amounts as seemed to be absolutely demanded at the time.[1] To the older conception of reverence for the Scriptures, whether the Sacred Books of Christianity or those of some other Religion,—viz., that these writings should be read with an unquestioning docility, that every word should be accepted as the statement of literal fact, and that the more

[1] Cp. pages 75, 229, etc.

extraordinary the record of alleged miracles could be made to appear, the more was the narrative containing it thereby endorsed and authenticated,[1]—the representatives of this School distinctly lend no countenance. Recoil and reaction from such a view become, sooner or later, simply inevitable. The modern protest of reverent inquiry, though successfully ignored for a time, has at last vindicated its right to speak; and the Composite School maintains that God and His Word, wherever found, are more honoured by those who to-day bow their heads in a strictly "reasonable" worship, than by those whose reverence is too dim-sighted to be discerning and intelligent. At the same time, the framers of this theory recognise that the achievements of Abraham and Moses, while these men occupy each his place in a truly human succession, cannot be accounted for adequately by the operation of purely human agencies; for both of these teachers, but particularly Moses, gave to the world disclosures concerning the essential attributes of God which *Israel alone among the nations* is found to have possessed, and which knowledge, moreover, manifestly exceeded the capacity of the thinking of that day to invent, or even to conceive.[2] In like manner, it is recognised that Evolution, operating solely by itself, utterly fails to account for the person and work and abiding influence of Jesus Christ. It

[1] Cp. Appendix. Note XVI., page 528.

[2] Cp. George Adam Smith's views, as referred to on page 221. Professor Smith maintains that, while there was no need for God to reveal to early Israel the fact of His existence, there *was* need that He should reveal to them His ethical character; that the Old Testament writers, supported by the testimony of Christ, assert definitely that this revelation was given; that it was a revelation both "sure and clear"; and that it was effected through the "personal action of God Himself." (See *Modern Criticism and the Preaching of the Old Testament*, pp. 111, 113–115, and 142. London, 1901.) See, in addition, W. Robertson Smith, *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church*. Edinburgh, 1881. [N. ed., London, 1892.] Professor Beet is convinced that, in a special revelation, we find "the only explanation of the conspicuous superiority of Israel, in the knowledge of God, to all the nations of antiquity" (*The British Weekly*. London, March 28, 1901). Professor Margoliouth argues, from "the barrenness of the Jewish intellect," that "their sacred writings must have been obtained by a direct revelation."

was indeed as *a man* that He taught His disciples;[1] but Comparative Religion itself attests, altogether independently of the New Testament, that "never man spake like this man."[2] His life and His Gospel were at once a revelation and demonstration of the depths of the love of the Supreme One; and of such unfathomed depths, the world had never before thought or heard or even dreamed. Jesus remains to this hour the unsolved enigma of an amazed Humanity; for it is clear that, while truly man, He was also something more than man. In an absolutely unique sense, He was manifestly used by God to reveal to the race the significance of the Divine purposes. Nay, what is more, this same Jesus repeatedly endorsed the alleged Divine authority of the Old Testament Scriptures. He not only taught others to revere this ancient Book, but He daily conformed His own life to its teachings. Moreover, in the ages since Christ's day, it has been made manifest that it is not culture alone that has elevated man, but the higher types of *religious* culture. The civilisation of Europe to-day is what it is, because it has incorporated the lofty spiritual ideals upon which it is based. As often as it has been true that men "did not like to retain God in their knowledge, God has given them over to a reprobate mind, to do those things which are not convenient";[3] and, in each such case, Religion has been found very quickly to deteriorate. But later on, under the renewed impulse of an enlightened leadership, the lost ground has once more been reoccupied, the lost momentum has been recovered and increased, and the upward movement of the race has gone on as before.

(c) *The extraordinarily early appearance of Monotheistic teaching among various peoples.*—It is well known that the oldest portions of the Sacred Books of Egypt, of Persia, and of India, are the most monotheistic. This remark has its special significance for those who revere the Hebrew Scriptures; for students who are most strongly convinced that the opening chapter of Genesis is directly based upon the

[1] Cp. page 92. [2] John vii. 46. [3] Romans i. 28.

Babylonian Story of Creation,[1] claim at the same time that that early narrative was deliberately revised in the interests of Monotheism. Let the case of Professor Gunkel serve as a single illustration. The strongly expressed beliefs of this teacher, as regards the manifest dependence of much of the Book of Genesis upon early Eastern traditions, are everywhere known.[2] Yet, as the result of careful investigation, he also believes that those traditions invariably underwent great changes wherever they were adopted by the Hebrew chroniclers; and these changes were always in the direction of a higher and *more spiritual* meaning. Hence he finds himself bound to declare that "everything that is religiously valuable, in this early [Bible] history, we owe to Israel."[3]

It is only necessary, therefore, to advance a very little beyond the position already occupied by representatives of the Composite School—viz., to go so far as to incorporate tentatively, in the theory now under consideration, the doctrine of a very early revelation made directly by God to man—in order to bring that theory into practical harmony with the older theology. For if, in addition to that mentor which is seen to have been implanted within man's very constitution, God has deemed it necessary to make many indirect disclosures of His will through the channel of ordinary (or extraordinary) human lips and lives, may He not also—at the beginning of man's existence, and at sundry times during the intervening centuries, and in divers manners as man has been able to receive and understand and utilise them[4]—have made some direct disclosures of His presence and of the fulness of His purposes of grace? In this way, the view of those who believe that Monotheism preceded the later uniform tendency towards Polytheism is no longer peremptorily excluded, but awaits that day

[1] Cp. pages 78–79.

[2] See his Commentary on Genesis in the *Hand-Kommentar zum Alten Testament*. Göttingen, 1900.

[3] *Christliche Welt*. Tübingen, February 1903.

[4] John xvi. 12; 1 Corinthians iii. 2; Hebrews v. 14, etc.

when, through the accession of steadily increasing light, this widely accepted conclusion shall have been either confirmed or else compulsorily abandoned.

Towards this view an increasing number of the adherents of the Composite theory are undoubtedly moving. It seems, moreover, to be a logical conclusion. While an express Divine revelation was certainly not needed in order to implant in man's mind the thought of a Supreme Being, such revelations were apparently essential to the securing for that thought that it should be kept clear, should be kept pure, and that it should ultimately reach its possible and intended expansion. In other words, some direct disclosure of Himself seems to have been necessary, if the idea of God—which every man possesses—was to receive its due confirmation, correction, and completion. But if so much be granted,—if man really stands *in need of* such assistance,—then emphatically the first men (those who were the Fathers of the race, and who perforce lacked the help of the teaching of all the ages that were to follow them) needed that assistance most. To them, therefore, it is in a very high degree probable that that assistance was given. An argument to the same effect may be drawn from the widespread *desire* of man to receive an express revelation,—a desire which is as universal and persistent as the idea of God itself, and which, moreover, is actually met by the postulate of every prominent Religion, in that it claims to have complied with this demand. Professor Mead appeals to this consideration when he says: "If the innate tendency to believe in a God is to be accepted as one reason at least for the truth of Theism, then equally the natural desire to receive a special communication from God may be taken as furnishing a presumption at least that one has been made."[1] Moreover, as regards this desire, which is absolutely inevitable among earnest souls, *whence comes it?* And is it not probable that He who is its Author, the

[1] Charles Marsh Mead, *Supernatural Revelation*, p. 63. New York, 1890. Cp. reference to Dr. Illingworth's views, as given on page 287.

ultimate Author of every irreducible natural and spiritual law, will hasten to make fitting response when it so ardently frames its plea?

Suppose Monotheism should turn out to have been, after all, part of a primitive Divine revelation![1] Even so, the theory of Evolution, in so far as that theory has been adopted by the Composite School, is only the more fully strengthened. If Evolution, in the physical world, reveals itself in a process which advances from the simple to the complex, ought not that law to reveal itself equally in the world of Religions? That one definite form of faith and worship should ultimately differentiate itself into scores of distinguishable and even heterogeneous beliefs and cults, is simply what might have been expected. The way in which this tendency might, later on, be checked and completely transformed, has already been sufficiently adverted to.[2] The complexity reveals itself *then*, not in an increasing numerical multiplication, but in the increasing comprehensiveness of an ultimate unity. It should be added, however, that over-against these considerations one must give weight to the thought that, unless man were unfit to receive a revelation of Monotheism, he would not so easily have lost it; whereas, if he *were* unfit, such a revelation would hardly have been granted to him.[3] And although it is true that, during all the interval between the origin of man and the Passion of the Son of Man, special messengers frequently appeared who strenuously proclaimed anew the doctrine of the Divine unity, how is it that, since the beginning of the Christian era, there have been various Faiths which have shown themselves quite able to maintain their pronounced alliance with Monotheism, though plainly in the absence of external and abnormal support? The Evolutionist, of course, is ready with an answer. Whether that answer be accepted

[1] For this view, Dr. Kellogg, among others, contends. See *The Genesis and Growth of Religion*, especially pp. 250 and 272–275. Cp. pages 221–222.

[2] See pages 237–238.

[3] Cp. first footnote, page 218.

or rejected, one fact at least is indisputable. The adherents of these later Religions may have offered to the Highest a very imperfect worship, or they may have neglected in some instances to offer Him any worship whatever; but they have never questioned, and it can quite safely be predicted that they never will question, the fact of His unique supremacy.[1]

SUMMARY.—No one who views dispassionately the results which Comparative Religion has put within our reach, and which it has even compelled us to take serious account of, will deny that the Composite School marks an advance upon the views held either by the Revelation School or by the Evolution School.

The Composite theory undertakes to explain certain elements in the situation which, in both of the earlier hypotheses, are passed over in silence. While admittedly it has discarded belief in much that the original theory deemed essential, it emphasises the presence in man of a capacity for receiving and utilising a Divine revelation,—a capacity which renders such a concession to his immaturity not only possible, but in many respects highly desirable and therefore probable. Human philosophies, though wrought out carefully by the wisest of men, often differ very widely in the conclusions which they respectively proclaim: hence some teaching that comes "with authority"[2] —touching the character and measure of the Divine love, the universality of sin and how it can be atoned for, the hope of a future life, etc., etc.—seems to be urgently called

[1] Students are recommended to consult, in this connection, the following authorities:—George Park Fisher, *The Grounds of Theistic and Christian Belief*. New York, 1883. [N. ed., 1902.] Also, Dr. Fisher's *Nature and Method of Revelation*. New York, 1890. Charles Marsh Mead, *Supernatural Revelation*. New York, 1890. James Martineau, *A Study of Religion: Its Sources and Contents*. 2 vols. Oxford, 1888. Robert Flint, *Theism*. Edinburgh, 1877. [10th ed., 1902.] Aubrey Lackington Moore on "The Christian Doctrine of God," in *Lux Mundi*, London, 1890. Franklin Johnson, *The Christian's Relation to Evolution*. Chicago, 1904.

[2] Cp. James Iverach, *Evolution and Christianity*. London, 1894. [3rd ed., 1900.] Especially pp. 223–32.

for. Indeed, the more one meditates upon the extremity of man's need, the more does such a revelation appear to be in some respects simply indispensable.

On the other hand, the Composite theory recognises that without Evolution we cannot possibly explain—as, even with Evolution, we cannot explain completely—the facts of man's religious consciousness. We now perceive, and must admit, that man is a part of Nature. He no longer stands separated from it, a being aloof and unique, as we once mistakenly supposed. He is susceptible, therefore, to its influences, and is governed by its laws. It is quite true that natural processes utterly fail to account for those spiritual forces which are constituent factors in humanity, and that "a spiritual interpretation of nature rather than a natural interpretation of man"[1] is what the situation supremely demands. Evolution, therefore, while it certainly renders Revelation less essential to man *in certain particulars* than theologians frequently suppose, finds Revelation to be essential still. Far from its rudely superseding Revelation, Evolution may most helpfully be supplemented by it. Left to itself, Evolution may involve progress downwards as well as upwards, and even backwards as well as forwards; it needs, therefore, to be *directed* if it would achieve its highest possible goal. Nevertheless it can be affirmed, after every necessary deduction has been made, that Evolution has proved to be one of the most effective means of undermining both early Deism and modern Agnosticism, while it has very considerably modified the interpretation of Scripture and Providence in the interest alike of Christian faith and scientific accuracy.[2]

It would thus appear—as even so early a writer as Augustine dimly foreshadowed[3]—that the advance of Religion among men is, in truth, "a process of continuous evolution

[1] Henry Jones, *The Hibbert Journal*, vol. i. pp. 248 f. London, 1902–03.

[2] Cp. pages 238–239.

[3] See his *De Civitate Dei*. Books IX. and X.

taking place under divine guidance."[1] Or, to cite one of the most recent testimonies: "I proceed upon this postulate, that man knows God through his reason; that God has superadded to the light of nature the revelation of Himself in the Bible, and that this enlarged and corrected knowledge is embodied in the Church. . . . With those who, in our day, would make our theology more distinctively Christian by making it appear that our only knowledge of God comes to us through Christ, I have no sympathy. It is a disservice to revealed religion to disparage natural theology, in the hope of thereby exalting Christ. Natural theology is the basis of revealed theology. Christian theologians cannot afford to ignore the work of the psychologists and metaphysicians in this field."[2] Nor can they afford to ignore the discoveries of the archæologists, the Assyriologists, and other equally ardent scientific investigators; for all alike, though in greatly varying measure, are helping to disclose *the simply innumerable ways* in which the Divine will has gradually been made known to man.

General Recapitulation.—This Chapter has dealt with the three distinctive Schools into which the representatives of Comparative Religion to-day may broadly be divided, viz.—(1) those who hold the Revelation theory, (2) those who hold the Evolution theory, and (3) those who hold a Composite theory in which elements belonging to both of the earlier views have admittedly been incorporated. The facts of the case seem to warrant belief in a theistic Evolu-

[1] John Henry Bridges, in his Introduction to Bacon's *Opus Majus*, vol. i. p. xc. Oxford, 1897–1900.

[2] President Patton (Inaugural Address, Princeton Theological Seminary), *The Princeton Theological Review*. Philadelphia, January 1904. Cp. pages 530–532. See Principal Fairbairn, *Studies in the Philosophy of Religion and History*, pp. 62–63. Sir Oliver Lodge, Article on "The Reconciliation between Science and Faith," *The Hibbert Journal*, vol. i. pp. 209 f. London, 1903. Greville Macdonald, *The Religious Sense in its Scientific Aspect*. London, 1903. Francis Robert Beattie, *Christianity and Modern Evolution*. Richmond, Va., 1903. *Ideals of Science and Faith*. (Approaches towards Reconciliation. Ten Essays by different writers.) London, 1904.

tion,—a process for the origin of which its Divine author is responsible, and in the natural unfolding of which He still contrives to take part.

1. *The incompetency of Comparative Religion to frame any conclusion that will cover all the facts of the case.*—It is quite evident that, as regards some of its details, the Composite theory transcends the province of Science, and therefore lies outside the scope of the present treatise. It finds itself faced by facts which are only partially known to it, but of which it is compelled to take deliberate account. It proceeds accordingly to construct an hypothesis which seems to fit in with the various necessities of the case. Inasmuch, however, as the element of conjecture has perforce to be admitted into the premises, Comparative Religion is precluded both from framing a final judgment of its own and from uttering an authoritative pronouncement concerning such verdicts as may chance to be reached by others. The Composite theory is clearly superior to the theories which have been put forward either by the Revelation School or by the Evolution School; but, at best, it is only a theory after all. It is evident, therefore, that to attempt to deal with it in any final way would be to transcend the sphere of Comparative Religion; for the consideration of the three hypotheses which have been mentioned in this Chapter belongs by right to the domain of the Philosophy of Religion.

At the same time, it has been necessary to advert to these theories here, and to outline them somewhat carefully, seeing that, by a sort of retroactive influence, they have sufficed to separate their respective supporters into three definite Schools of inquiry. The origin of Religion is of course an historical occurrence; and if the requisite historical data were available, the Historian could settle this perplexity promptly and once for all. But "where we cannot investigate, we must be content to speculate."[1] It should be remembered, however, that the unexplained factors in

[1] Principal Fairbairn, *The Philosophy of the Christian Religion*, p. 204.

man's religious history, although they lie admittedly beyond the boundaries of pure Science, may not always baffle the quest of human research. It is highly desirable, therefore, that, by means of various tentative efforts, Comparative Religion should continue to lend help towards securing, both for itself and for others, an ever closer acquaintance with these bonds of intimate and enduring relationship which unite mankind to God.

2. *An Estimate of the relative strength of these three Schools to-day.* It is not difficult to interpret with confidence the signs of the times,—signs which any candid observer can detect for himself, as he sweeps the horizon of modern religious tendency. *The first group*—made up of those who hold that, in the last analysis, Religion is due to an objective revelation from heaven—is already comparatively a small one; and it is perceptibly growing smaller. *The second group*—made up of those who hold that Religion is due, ultimately, to the interaction of purely natural forces—embraces almost all the great leaders of the past generation whose names stand associated with this study; but this School is no longer the chief centre of attraction, and it has notably failed in its appeal to the younger scholars who are entering this field to-day. *The third group*—which explains Religion as being due in part to a superhuman source, and in part to the operation of purely natural forces—is not equal in point of numbers to its immediate predecessor, but it is steadily growing in size.

Or, to put the matter differently: *the Revelation theory* may be compared to a stream that is small and diminishing in volume. *The Evolution theory* is like a stream which, after flowing for a time in full and impetuous course, is now preceptibly losing its momentum. *The Composite theory*, on the contrary, resembles a stream that is gaining rapidly alike in volume and velocity. According to present appearances, therefore, it is the Composite School which bids fair to hold the future.

3. *Man's belief to-day in the doctrine of the Unity of God.* —It may be useful to restate here the differences by which, in this particular, the three Schools in question stand separated. *The first group* holds that man obtained the conception of Monotheism by means of an express Divine revelation at the time of his creation; that this fundamental conception could not then have become his in any other way; that the idea of the Divine unity tended to become fainter and fainter as the years went by; that it has always had to be revived by means of renewed revelations; and that it is maintained in men's minds to-day only through the unceasing activity of the Holy Ghost. *The second group* holds that man attained to the conception of the unity of God without extraneous help; that, in proportion as he has advanced in culture, the idea has become confirmed and purified; and that he has left behind him his earlier Polytheism, and has approximated more and more closely to the supreme goal of Monotheism, simply because he has outgrown those cruder conditions amid which his development began. *The third group* holds that man set out on his career with a definitely religious nature; that he has always craved for fuller knowledge of a superior unseen Power, in relation to whom he has felt himself impelled to occupy a position of conscious and continuous dependence; that he has always, by force of natural circumstances, gravitated in the direction of Polytheism, but that Polytheism has never really satisfied him; and that whenever competent leaders have arisen—summoning him to put away his idols, and the grosser forms of religious belief and practice—their call has instantly been endorsed by those numerous and effectual persuasions which speak with the voice of authority within his own breast. Material objects, vague traditions and customs, the subtle influences of heredity, and innumerable sources of impulse that are traceable to purely temporal beginnings, have often proved instrumental in leading men to turn their thoughts towards God; but, back of these visible or intangible agencies, there

has stood the ONE SUPREME BEING, who—ever watchful, and ceaselessly active in the interest of all His creatures—has not refrained from utilising even the most commonplace means for securing the fuller accomplishment of His beneficent and perfect will.

CHAPTER VIII

ITS AUXILIARY SCIENCES

Part I

Syllabus.—General Remarks—Sciences that are subsidiary to Comparative Religion: pp. 255–257. I. Anthropology. A Definition of Anthropology—Its most prominent British Representatives—Animism *versus* Anthropomorphism—An Estimate of its Contributory Value: pp. 257–273. II. Archæology. The recent Rapid Advance of this Study—Some of its Conspicuous Leaders, both British and Foreign—Its importance as an Aid to Comparative Religion: pp. 273–282. III. Psychology. "The New Psychology" described—The Genesis of this new Discipline—Representative Authorities in this field—Its worth as an Auxiliary Study—Some Fruits of this method of Inquiry: pp. 282–293.

Literature.—Selected from a long list of Authorities, the following works will probably best repay careful perusal and study:—Waitz (Theodor), *Anthropologie der Naturvölker.* 6 vols. Leipzig, 1859–72. [2nd ed., 7 vols., 1877.] Bastian (Adolf), *Der Mensch in der Geschichte.* 3 vols. Leipzig, 1860. Tylor (Edward Burnett), *Primitive Culture.* 2 vols. London, 1871. [4th ed., 1904.] Jevons (Frank Byron), *An Introduction to the History of Religion.* London, 1896. [2nd ed., 1902.] Maspero (Gaston), *L'Archéologie Egyptienne.* Paris, 1887. [Translated, London, 1887; 5th ed., revised and enlarged, 1902.] Delitzsch (Friedrich), *Babel und Bibel.* Berlin, 1902–03. [Translated, London, 1903.] Hommel (Fritz), *Die altorientalischen Denkmäler und das Alte Testament.* Berlin, 1902. Petrie (W. M. Flinders), *Ten Years' Digging in Egypt, 1881–1891.* London, 1892. [2nd ed., 1893.] Hilprecht (Herman Volrath), *Explorations in Bible Lands during the Nineteenth Century.* Philadelphia, 1903. Wundt (Wilhelm), *Grundzüge der physiologischen Psychologie.* 2 vols. Leipzig, 1874. [5th and completely rewritten ed. (1903), translated, 3 vols., London, 1904– . (*In progress.*)] James (William), *The Varieties of Religious Experience.* New York, 1902. Myers (Frederic W. H.), *Human Personality and its Survival of Bodily Death.* London, 1903. Coe (George Albert), *The Religion of a Mature Mind.* Chicago, 1902.

GENERAL REMARKS.—At the conclusion of the Note which deals with "The Literature of Comparative Religion," it is stated that "scores of books, which belong strictly to other branches of inquiry, are constantly making to Comparative Religion indirect contributions which are of exceeding value."[1] It is to this fact, and to a somewhat detailed exposition of it, that attention is now to be directed. In the present Chapter, and in the one which immediately follows it, reference will be made to the character of the spoils which have been brought back from quarters into which, until recently, students of Religion very seldom penetrated. The wisdom of the example which has been set of late has, however, even already been discerned; and now, in many of these new fields, the theologian and the scientist are working cordially together. Moreover, advancing side by side, in ardent and venturesome spirit, these vigorous and co-operating forces have rapidly laid under tribute whole territories which hitherto have remained practically unexplored. It is because of this fact that Comparative Religion, within the last few years, has assumed an entirely changed complexion, and has allied itself with studies which are now cordially recognised as being its invaluable auxiliaries. In order really to understand Religion, it is essential that the student should gain acquaintance with a multitude of facts which lie, strictly speaking, outside of it,—beyond the range either of its History or of its Philosophy. And probably one cannot find a better example of the operation of that law of growth which is peculiarly characteristic of this new Science, and to which special reference has already been made,[2] than in a survey of its splendid onward movement—step by step, but with ever widening sweep—in obedience to the demands of a natural and inevitable development.

SCIENCES THAT ARE SUBSIDIARY TO COMPARATIVE RELIGION.—"All the Sciences are connected; they lend

[1] See Appendix. Note I., page 485.
[2] See Appendix. Note XIII., pages 516 f.

each other material aid, as parts of one great whole: each does its own work, yet not for itself alone, but for the other parts also. . . . None can attain its proper result separately, since all are parts of one and the same complete wisdom."[1] "The circle of the Sciences concerned with the interpretation of nature and man is immense; and it is all the fuller of knowledge and of meaning that no single science stands alone, but that each depends immediately or remotely upon all the rest."[2] "A Science is not a system, a well-arranged storehouse of things that are known, but an aggregate of researches,—all tending to the same purpose; all, though independent, yet mutually connected; and each in particular connected with similar researches in other domains, which thus serve as auxiliary Sciences.[3] These three statements, culled from widely separated sources, are pre-eminently true; and they find their application nowhere more markedly than in the widening study of the Science of Religion. With one department of that study we are here specially concerned; and we shall proceed at once to examine and estimate the value of the chief subsidiary Sciences which of late have contributed so much towards promoting the advancement of Comparative Religion.[4] The most helpful of these auxiliaries are six in number, viz.:—(1) Anthropology, (2) Archæology, (3) Psychology, (4) Mythology, (5) Ethnology, and (6) Sociology.

Each of these Sciences constitutes, of course, an independent branch of learning, and may be studied quite irrespective of its bearing upon Comparative Religion. Yet all six of them may also, as we shall soon see, be converted into tributaries which materially advance the aims of

[1] Roger Bacon, *Opus Tertium*, chap. iv.

[2] Principal Fairbairn, *The Philosophy of the Christian Religion*, p. 194. London, 1902.

[3] Professor Tiele, *The World's Parliament of Religions*, vol. i. p. 588. Chicago, 1893.

[4] Comparative Religion entertains for all comparative sciences a friendly regard, not merely because of the aid which so many of them continually lend it, but because to one of them it owes its very existence. See page 116.

Comparative Religion; and it is under that aspect of them that they are entitled to a place, and are now to receive some measure of examination and exposition, in the present and following Chapters. For two reasons, a fuller treatment will be given to Anthropology than to any of the others, viz.:—(*a*) Because it is the auxiliary which thus far has afforded Comparative Religion the largest amount of help, and (*b*) because it is in truth the generic Science, of which each of the other five (ultimately considered) is merely a circumscribed part.

I. ANTHROPOLOGY.—It is important to state at once that the term Anthropology, as employed in the present connection, is restricted to its modern scientific use.

For a long series of years this name was applied almost exclusively to a well-known department of Theology. No survey of doctrine, in the study of a theological system, was held to be complete unless it embraced a study of the doctrine of Man,—his relation to God, and his relation to a future life. But the Anthropology of which this Chapter speaks need have no connection whatsoever with Theology. It may be studied, and very valuable results may be secured, by those who are complete strangers to Theology. At the same time, the best returns for honest labour are likely to be reaped by those who have enjoyed the advantage of a theological training. Sooner or later, in the course of the investigation, the element of Religion is invariably encountered; and it is no more than its due that it should be accorded respectful and competent treatment. It is entitled to receive an examination that shall be at once informed and fair. Incidents might be cited which would demonstrate that this new discipline has sometimes been cultivated by those who have plainly been actuated by an antipathy to Theology. The consequences have been unfortunate for all the interests concerned; for, quite as much among scientists as among theologians, whenever bias is allowed to warp one's judgments and conclusions, the results

reached tend to become so vitiated that, at least in many cases, they are rendered utterly worthless.

A DEFINITION OF ANTHROPOLOGY.—By Anthropology, as the term is here used, we mean "the comparative study of the Arts of different races, in different degrees of culture,"[1]—with the purpose of tracing all the various stages of development (not in a general way only, but in definite successive steps), as this development reveals itself in the history of different peoples. It is a Science which might legitimately adopt as its motto the familiar dictum—*Nihil humanum a nobis alienum putamus.*

This definition may be simplified perhaps, and illustrated, if one reproduce here the formal programme of the Anthropological Society of London. That notable Association[2] summarised its purposes as follows: "To study Man in all his leading aspects—physical, mental, and historical; to investigate the laws of his origin and progress; and to ascertain his place in nature, and his relation to the inferior forms of life." It will be observed that the term "Religion" is nowhere mentioned in this statement. Perhaps it was the intention of the founders of the Society to leave that domain of inquiry to specially trained theologians; for although it is indeed affirmed that man is to be studied "in *all* his leading aspects," this phrase is immediately restricted by the words, "physical, mental, and historical." Be that as it may, it is plain that any exhaustive investigation into the mental and historical advance of Man must soon open a door into that field where Theology dwells and reigns. And inasmuch as it has been found that there is "a universal primitive stage of civilisation which is marked by the presence of *religious* practices and ideas,"[3] Anthropologists are now turning their attention to the deliberate study of that stage—with the result that Anthropology

[1] Cassell's *Encyclopædic Dictionary, in loco.*

[2] Amalgamated in 1870 with the Ethnological Society, thus forming the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.

[3] James Mark Baldwin, *Dictionary of Philosophy and Psychology*, vol. i. p. 123. 3 vols. New York, 1901-05.

to-day has become one of the busiest and most valued of the auxiliaries upon which Comparative Religion relies.

ITS MOST PROMINENT BRITISH REPRESENTATIVES. — In presenting some account of the results which have been accomplished in this extensive field of study, only a brief sketch can be attempted. A few thoroughly representative workers will be selected, and sufficient reference will be made to their writings to enable students to estimate the product and promise of such investigations as have thus far been conducted.

1. EDWARD BURNETT TYLOR[1] (1832–). — The first name that comes to one's lips in this connection is unquestionably that of Professor Tylor. To him perhaps belongs the credit of being the founder of this particular branch of inquiry; for although he was appointed to his present Chair only in 1895, he had previously been Reader in the same subject since 1883, and it was fifteen years still earlier when his researches began to be published and to attract attention among thoughtful men everywhere.

It will be recalled that Dr. Tylor has already been singled out as the chief representative of the School of Animistic Evolutionists, and that his arguments and conclusions have met with a somewhat adverse criticism.[2] It may seem strange, therefore, for the moment, that he should now be included among those who deserve special praise for helping to inaugurate a new departure in Comparative Religion,—and all the more strange, seeing that his contributions to Anthropology began to be made so early as thirty years ago.

It must be explained, however, that Anthropology, as now widely associated with Professor Tylor's name, is new —not in the sense that the study itself is new, but because it is only of late that this study has come to be recognised as an exceedingly valuable auxiliary in the promotion of investigations in Religion. When the late Professor Max

[1] Professor of Anthropology, Oxford University.

[2] See Appendix. Note XVIII., page 535.

Müller was delivering his lectures on the Science of Religion at the Royal Institution, London, another Oxford Professor was pursuing important independent researches in a kindred department of inquiry. It was not foreseen at the time that the two scholars were simply opening up different seams of the same intricate deposit; indeed, to the very last, Professor Max Müller exhibited but scant sympathy for Anthropology,—of whose alleged discoveries he always spoke slightingly, and sometimes with an indiscriminate severity.[1] It was one of the serious oversights of that truly distinguished teacher, that he failed to comprehend, and therefore to utilise, the helps which Anthropology might have afforded him; while at the same time, in spite of repeated proofs to the contrary, he kept on declaring that there was "no solid foundation for the study of the religion of savages except the study of their languages."[2]

Of late, however, and within comparatively recent years, Professor Tylor has been accorded that generous recognition among scholars, on the Continent of Europe and in America as well as in Great Britain, to which he is undoubtedly entitled. Although he has been pursuing his investigations for more than a generation—largely, indeed, because of that fact—he has now come to occupy a position of conspicuous and far-reaching influence. His stores of information have been diligently increased. His outlook has gradually widened, and his grasp upon underlying principles has become firmer and more confident with advancing years. Besides, he has succeeded in winning over to the adoption of his opinions a very considerable body of disciples,—men who promise to carry forward, and with ever increased vigour and enthusiasm, the work which their master has begun. Accordingly, Professor Tylor represents a force which to-day has distinctly to be reckoned with. In so far as Comparative Religion is concerned, it owes him unstinted thanks for the diligence, the patience, and the

[1] See Appendix. Note XIX., page 539. Also page 299.

[2] *Introduction to the Science of Religion*, p. 56.

skill with which—though identified personally with the interests of another department — he has accumulated materials of great value for the promotion of a difficult kindred study. In October 1902, he drafted a "Memorandum on the Present State and Future Needs of Anthropology in Oxford,"[1]—a document which reveals very clearly his conception of the importance of this study, and of the character of the demands which it is making upon modern scholarship. He regrets that Oxford has not done more to encourage workers in this field,—"particularly as the practical applications of anthropological studies are becoming appreciated widely and rapidly. India, for example, has now a well-organised Ethnographical Department; and analogous developments are taking place in Canada, in Australia, in South Africa, in the Malay States, and in other British Dependencies which include large and varied native populations." He then goes on to remark: "Among the more immediate needs of a course, such as is outlined above, would certainly be the provision of regular teaching (1) in Physical Anthropology and Racial Ethnography; (2) in the Comparative Study of Social and Religious Institutions; (3) in Prehistoric Archæology; and (4) in the development of Art and Industry." He recommends, further, "in the interests of the existing School of Theology, the institution of a Readership in Comparative Religion,"—besides a Readership in Japanese Language, History, and Culture; a Readership in European Ethnology and Antiquities; etc. And then he adds: "In conclusion, it may be observed that the needs of Anthropology, both as to teaching and as to research, have a peculiar element of urgency,—inasmuch as the material for study, unlike that of the older and better established studies, is vanishing very rapidly now. To organise a School of Anthropology, to train observers, to send out expeditions, will, a generation hence, be too late; and every other country with responsibilities in the matter, except Great Britain (which has the

[1] See *Statements of the Needs of the University*, pp. 70–74. Oxford, 1902.

amplest field at its disposal), has already become alive to this fact and acted accordingly." It will be seen, therefore, that, at more than seventy years of age, Professor Tylor is as ardent and optimistic as if he were but forty or fifty. And each decade of his later life he has marked by the issue of an important publication,—in 1861, by giving to the world his *Anahuac: Mexico and the Mexicans, Ancient and Modern*; in 1871, his epoch-marking *Primitive Culture*;[1] and in 1881, his *Anthropology: An Introduction to the Study of Man and Civilisation*. Even in 1891 this honourable record was only technically broken, for in that year Dr. Tylor completed the delivery of his *Gifford Lectures* at the University of Aberdeen;[2] but, unfortunately, this exposition has not been separately published. It has appeared, however, with contents considerably enlarged and enriched, in a work entitled *The Growth and Spread of Culture*.[3]

The theory by which Professor Tylor seeks to account for the origin of Religion has already been sufficiently outlined.[4] This investigator maintains that any material object *whatsoever*, provided it be supposed to be animated by a soul or spirit corresponding to the soul which is believed to reside in Man, may give rise to an instance of Animistic worship. And, advancing from this starting-point, the worshipper gradually rises to higher and more worthy conceptions. His progress is generally slow, and at times it may be totally arrested; yet, viewed as a whole, it is permanently persistent. Dr. Tylor has worked out this theory with great ingenuity and with the utmost care, and it must be admitted that he has reduced a huge mass of material to a wonderful degree of order. Possibly, however, the very excess of elaboration which characterises the

[1] Its present full title reads, *Primitive Culture: Researches into the Development of Mythology, Philosophy, Religion, Language, Art, and Custom.* London, 1904.

[2] Cp. Appendix. Note XXXIX., page 571.

[3] See also his *Researches into the Early History of Mankind and the Development of Civilisation.* London, 1865. [2nd ed., 1870.]

[4] See Appendix. Note XVIII., page 535.

development of this theory is the feature of it which first arouses suspicion. The scheme is too complex to admit of our believing that it is exactly true to nature. The Savage who, by the aid of a system so complicated, could lift himself up into communion with God, would certainly be a prodigy in comparison with the majority of his class. Moreover, the opinion of the late Professor Tiele, and that also of Professor Jastrow, have already been quoted, to the effect that Animism (strictly speaking) is not a Religion at all, but rather an attitude of mind which may ultimately result in Religion.[1] Professor Chantepie de la Saussaye bears similar witness, contending that Animism by itself—he believes that, as a matter of fact, it never exists by itself—would have to be regarded as a species of Philosophy, and could never truthfully be called a Religion.[2] Professor Max Müller disliked even the very name of Animism.[3] Mr. Andrew Lang, to whom special reference will be made in a moment, has pronounced very strongly against it; indeed, he may probably be regarded as its most uncompromising opponent. In a word, the value of Animism, as an adequate solution of the problem of the origin of Religion, is to-day almost uniformly discounted by authoritative writers. Nevertheless, the hypothesis, if no longer held in the reverence which was commonly accorded to it in its earlier years, is still widely accepted as being at least partially true,—more widely accepted, indeed, so far as it goes, than any other contemporary theory. All will cheerfully admit, moreover, that Professor Tylor has succeeded in throwing a great deal of light upon Man's early endeavours to discover the unseen Ruler of the universe, and upon the way in which the human mind, when working upon perplexing questions of this character, is accustomed to address itself to its task.

[1] See Appendix. Note XVIII., page 535.

[2] *Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte.* 2 vols. Freiburg, 1887–89. [2nd ed., 1897, p. 13.]

[3] *Natural Religion*, p. 160. London, 1889.

2. ANDREW LANG[1] (1844–).—The next outstanding name among modern British Anthropologists is that of Mr. Andrew Lang. He is a thinker and worker of a type entirely different from that which Professor Tylor represents; and hence, although both are ardent promoters of the same science, they stand separated from each other in several important particulars. Perhaps the fact that one is a Scotsman, while the other is just as unmistakably an Englishman, has much to do with the characteristically different way in which each approaches and proceeds to deal with the subject now under consideration.[2]

The explanation which Mr. Lang gives of the origin of Religion is one which, as he quite frankly declares, is entirely different from the doctrine which is held by the defenders of Animism.[3] In opposition to that hypothesis, he thinks that man's first step towards a belief in God was *not* a supposition that nature was "animated," and that accordingly all visible things probably possessed a "soul" such as man himself possesses. Such conceptions, Mr. Lang contends, in harmony with the views of other foremost interpreters of Religion,[4] represent a stage of human development which lies considerably in advance of that which primitive man must have exhibited. He is even yet more resolute in his opposition to the Spiritism of Herbert Spencer, proving conclusively that the worship offered to the spirits of ancestors can never adequately account for the beginning of those types of Religion which are universal to-day. As for Fetishism, it represents, in Mr. Lang's opinion, a very early stage in religious development. While it is admittedly his own view that man had gradually to reason his way up to a belief in a Supreme Being, he contends that the procedure followed must have been vastly more simple than that which Professor Tylor seems to imagine.

[1] Author and Critic.

[2] See Appendix. Note XX., page 541.

[3] See his *Magic and Religion*. London, 1901. He applies to the theory in question, in this book, a series of strong and often very caustic epithets.

[4] See page 263.

The successive steps by which humanity was slowly led from Nature up to God took, Mr. Lang thinks, the following direction. He holds that the same type of mind, working on the same problems, would be likely to reach similar results the whole world over. Professor Albert Réville has demonstrated that in essence, though differing vastly in form, the Religions of savage peoples are everywhere the same. Mr. Lang supposes, therefore, that, first of all, man possessed himself of the idea, gathered from experience, that he had ability to *make* certain things,—rough tools, boats, weapons, and so on. Then he soon obtained, after the same manner, the idea that there were many things—some of which he saw daily around him, and others of which he longed for but could not obtain—which it lay beyond his capacity to fashion; and thus he came by degrees to harbour the idea of a Being more powerful than himself, who could make *all* things. In this way he gradually framed (vaguely and indefinitely, it is true, yet quite consciously) the thought of a great Unseen One,—a Being who was just a man like himself, save that he was endowed with superhuman power. God therefore, at this stage, was simply "a magnified man." And gradually—*very* gradually, it is supposed—this idea expanded, and became more comprehensive. Attributes other than those of power became successively incorporated in man's enlarging idea of his Maker, seeing that man's religious conceptions were becoming more and more developed. The lapse of time was marked also, Mr. Lang thinks—and this peculiarity of the present hypothesis is one of its most distinctive features—by many serious *deteriorations* in man's religious convictions. The evolution was not invariably upward.[1] The modification of man's idea of God was not always a

[1] Hence the earliest races were not necessarily the *lowest* types of Savages. Considerable lapse of time may have been required in order to enable man to sound the lower depths of human depravity. "It is amongst the lowest savages that the highest conceptions of Deity—apart from the Jewish and Christian—are found. Barbarian, semi-civilised, and even civilised Deities show a sure decline." (*The Making of Religion.*) Cp. page 235.

change for the better; on the contrary, it was very frequently a change for the worse. Hence Mr. Lang interprets Animism to mean that there has been a relapse from what is higher to what is distinctly lower; he thinks that this widespread belief in spirits, the practical universality of which he admits, is one among many instances of unhappy "degeneration." Lest, however, some adherent of the Revelation School should fancy that Mr. Lang was tiring of his friends the Evolutionists, and was likely to join himself to the opposite School, our author takes pains to remove any such groundless supposition. The race, he says, has not fallen away from any "Supernatural revelation made to the earliest men,"[1] but only from that much more modest altitude to which every man may raise himself. For this author agrees with the English and French Deists in holding that Religion, while not miraculously "revealed," was often purest at its source, and that (in instances without number) it has shown a tendency to deteriorate as its history advances. This tendency can be checked and overcome only by its encountering the resistance of superior forces.

It will be observed that it is a theory of *Anthropomorphism* which Mr. Lang adopts when he seeks to account for the origin of Religion. According to this view, God was first conceived of in terms of Man,—the primitive worshipper thinking of the Deity as one differing from himself only in the matter of degree. Both were thought of as possessing the human form; indeed, all the qualities, real and imaginary, which were supposed to have their seat in human nature were mentally transferred to the Being man reverenced,—all those qualities, however, being thought of as having reached a standard of perfection which completely transcends man's highest possible attainment. The necessary outcome of such a theory has been aptly described by Principal Fairbairn as follows: "The feelings, relations,

[1] *Myth, Ritual, and Religion.* 2 vols. London, 1887. [N. ed., 1899. Vol. i. p. xiii.]

and acts attributed to God, the influences brought to bear upon Him in prayer and sacrifice, are the results or expressions of an anthropomorphic conception. Thus, as worship becomes more elaborate and important, the gods become more man-like. Sacrifice persuades them, as gifts persuade men. The soma-juice, or the wine of the libation, exhilarates gods as well as men. They are pleased with those who worship them, displeased with those who do not."[1]

It is in no wise singular that a modern teacher should have been found ready to defend the theory which Mr. Lang propounds. Anthropomorphism, after all, is but the revival (in a modified form) of a very early hypothesis. It is a view that has always been prevalent, and even conspicuously prevalent, among non-civilised peoples. Ancient Israel encountered it continually, became distinctly influenced by it, and never managed completely to outgrow it. We find it existent among the Stoics, and we know it was a markedly widespread conception during the first and second centuries. Even some eminent Christian teachers were tainted by it,—Tertullian showing leanings in that direction, though Augustine takes considerable pains to explain this fact away. Down even to our own times, in various degrees of refinement, this tendency persists and frequently asserts itself. But whether Mr. Lang has been able to establish his contention, and has succeeded in demonstrating that all Religion has had its origin in this practically uniform propensity, is an entirely different matter. Professor Iverach thinks that, in so far as showing that an earlier Theism was gradually supplanted by a later Animism, Mr. Lang "seems to have made out his case and supported his thesis."[2] But there is an atmosphere of artificiality about his theorising — or at least about large portions of it—which is the very opposite of convincing.

[1] *Studies in the Philosophy of Religion and History*, p. 52. London 1876.

[2] *The Critical Review*, p. 394. London, 1898.

At the same time, Mr. Lang's arguments are entitled to a careful and dispassionate consideration. The volumes in which his views are unfolded reveal often the sudden flash and glint of genius; and, what is even more important, they disclose the habits and results of much patient and fruitful inquiry. Some one has remarked that criticism can scarcely allow itself to "touch the charming jewels of style with which Mr. Lang has embellished his tales,"—and certainly his books possess a lucidity and vivacity which will always ensure them a welcome; but, in addition to their freshness and phantasy, their playful humour and their often quite contagious ardour, they are instances of serious and purposeful writing. Moreover, this author can use the weapon of satire with rare and telling force; and this fact suggests one of the quarters in which his strength chiefly lies. Mr. Lang finds his mission, not so much in planning and constructing a substantial and permanent fabric, as in exposing the weak places in structures which others are busily uprearing. When attempting this task, he reveals rare insight; more pregnant and trenchant comment could not well be imagined. And this service—although it is not calculated to be personally satisfying to a keen and ambitious thinker, and although it leaves behind it often in the mind of others the pain of a rankling wound—deserves undoubtedly the recognition and gratitude of all whom it has enlightened and quickened.[1]

3. JAMES GEORGE FRAZER[2] (1854–).—The mention of Dr. Frazer's name leads us from Oxford to Cambridge, where this most diligent investigator has been a Fellow of Trinity College since 1879. Here we have the case of

[1] See his *Custom and Myth*, 1884; *Myth, Ritual, and Religion*, 1887; *The Making of Religion*, 1898; *Magic and Religion*, 1901; etc. It may be added that Professor Tylor and Mr. Lang have been referred to somewhat fully in the foregoing pages, inasmuch as these leaders represent respectively the two great "Schools" of modern Anthropology. It is to the published opinions of these two writers that students in this field must continually have recourse.

[2] Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge University.

one who, though born in Scotland, has long been domiciled in England; of one who, though a Barrister by profession, is an Anthropologist by preference; of one who, though nurtured amid conservative theological surroundings, possesses to-day an outlook on Religion which is unmistakably broad and tolerant. Already he has made some very valuable contributions to a subject which he has long studied with conspicuous ardour,[1] and it is not too much to say that he has gained for himself a position of distinguished prominence and authority. Indeed, Professor Margoliouth of Oxford declares that, "of works dealing with Comparative Religion, the first place—for learning, acuteness, and suggestiveness—is probably to be assigned to J. G. Frazer's *Golden Bough*.[2] It will interest many when they learn that this competent and painstaking investigator is now busily preparing for the press an extensive work—the prospectus embraces, indeed, a series of volumes—which will be devoted to the exposition of primitive Custom and Religion. It is to this obscure and difficult field, the study of religious rites as these are practised among non-civilised peoples, that Dr. Frazer has for the most part deliberately limited his inquiries; and it is a great satisfaction to be assured that the results, thus far collected, will soon be placed at the disposal of all who desire to possess them.

The patient industry of Dr. Frazer means for Comparative Religion indirectly, and for Anthropology in particular, a very important addition to the forces of modern scholarship. As he remarks in the preface to his *Golden Bough*: "The comparative study of the beliefs and institutions of mankind

[1] See his *Totemism*. Edinburgh, 1887. Also, *The Golden Bough: A Study in Magic and Religion*. 2 vols. London, 1890. [2nd ed., revised and enlarged, 3 vols. London, 1900.] In the 1st ed. the subtitle of this latter work ran: "A Study in Comparative Religion"; but Dr. Frazer now draws a sharp distinction between Magic and Religion, and desires to emphasise this differentiation at the very outset. He thinks that Magic is merely the vestibule or prelude of Religion. Mr. Lang holds an exactly opposite opinion; see page 300, in footnote.

[2] *Religions of Bible Lands*. Preface, p. 1. London, 1902.

is fitted to be much more than a manner of satisfying an enlightened curiosity, and of furnishing materials for the researches of the learned. Well handled, it may become a powerful instrument to expedite progress,—if it lays bare certain weak spots in the foundations on which modern society is built, if it shows that much which we are wont to regard as solid rests on the sands of superstition rather than on the rock of nature." It is under the impulse of this conception that Dr. Frazer has carried on his work from its very commencement; his books are clear and strong, definite in purpose and grasp, and constitute a perfect thesaurus of "finds" of the most varied and interesting character. At the same time, while so conspicuous in its ability and so convincingly the product of immense toil, Dr. Frazer's work leaves often on one's mind the impression that it is lacking in the positive and constructive element. Moreover, while it is wise to place an interrogation mark after some of the results towards which this writer feels he is inevitably led, —and Dr. Frazer frankly concedes the wisdom of one's acting after this manner,—he himself, in all good faith, no doubt, acts quite otherwise! Thus at times, when reasoning from suppositional premises, his tone grows unexpectedly confident; and, by and by, his hypothetical conclusions are referred to as though they had been satisfactorily established. There are unquestionably occasions when this author interjects affirmations which ought rather to be offered as plausible surmises; and hence he leaves himself open to the very serious charge that his method is too subjective, and not sufficiently scientific. Mr. Andrew Lang, in his *Magic and Religion*, not only deals very candidly with Professor Tylor because of his alleged unwarrantable assumptions, but he proceeds to criticise *The Golden Bough* with very scathing severity.[1] Perhaps it is not too much to say that the mass of facts which Dr. Frazer has so diligently and ingeniously accumulated require to be carefully re-sifted,

[1] See also Mr. Lang's Article to the same effect in the *Fortnightly Review*, April 1901.

and that several of the conclusions which he has announced will have to be re-weighed and possibly re-stated.

4. Frank Byron Jevons[1] (1858–).—Oxford and Cambridge, however, are not the only English centres from which publications of an Anthropological character are occasionally appearing. A few years ago, Dr. Jevons gave to the public an important volume, in the preface to which we read: "In this book the history of early religion is investigated on the principles and methods of Anthropology. . . . It is hoped it will prove interesting to students of Folk-lore and Anthropology, and to the wider circle of general readers. As far as I am aware, there is no other book which covers exactly the same ground as this does, or which attempts to summarise the results of recent Anthropology, to estimate their bearing upon religious problems, and to weave the whole into a connected history of early religion."[2] The undertaking has been well and suggestively executed: but the outstanding feature of the book, and one that is a significant sign of the times, is that this historical treatise is entirely dominated by the Anthropological ideal. Dr. Jevons has thrown a great deal of light upon the practice and significance of primitive sacred rites, and for this high service he has won the cordial thanks of every genuine student of Comparative Religion.[3]

An Estimate of the contributory Worth of Anthropology. — Touching the assistance which Comparative Religion has of late received from the Science of Anthropology, as much has now been said as the limits of the present Manual will permit. Some seem inclined to underestimate the amount of help which has actually been supplied. Principal Fairbairn declares that, when Anthropology has spoken its last word, it leaves "unexplained the mystery of thought within the savage that

[1] Classical Tutor, Durham University, and Principal of Bishop Hatfield's Hall.

[2] *An Introduction to the History of Religion.*

[3] For additional British and Foreign Authorities on Anthropology, with a list of standard Periodicals, see Appendix. Note, XXI., page 542.

compelled him to make and follow the custom, to think and create the myth!"[1] And again: "To find a multitude of 'survivals' is a thing as easy as it is insignificant; but what is much more difficult to explain, and much worthier of explanation, is how so many religious beliefs and customs have died while religion has survived, their death tending rather to its rejuvenescence than its decay."[2]

All this is quite true; nevertheless, alike by means of its discoveries and its suggestions, Anthropology has rendered Comparative Religion many most valuable services. In arriving at any adequate estimate of its true worth as an aid, it must be borne in mind that Anthropology is still rudimentary and immature in many respects. By its own confession, it is only slowly and with difficulty feeling its way. Yet certainly the energy and success of its more serious workers are worthy of unstinted praise. Incidentally, it has supplied the strongest confirmatory evidence of the truth of the Evolution theory. And it has not only demonstrated that man everywhere has advanced by gradually progressive stages from the earliest Stone Age to the beginning of twentieth-century civilisation, but it has shown that the antiquity of man reaches much further back than that primitive limit which has commonly been regarded as its commencement. It has been made plain, indeed, that man must have passed through thousands of years of development *before* we arrive at what is known as the historic period. Then, as regards the historic period itself, Anthropology has led to a veritable reconstruction of history. And when one recalls how many expeditions have been fitted out (at the cost of private benefactors, or of Universities, or of Learned Societies), and of how all sorts

[1] *The Philosophy of the Christian Religion*, p. 195.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 213. For other similar quotations from this volume, exposing the undeniable risk of allowing excessive weight to conclusions which are frequently merely speculative and subjective, see pp. 214–215. At the same time, Principal Fairbairn recognises quite frankly that modern knowledge owes a considerable debt to Anthropology. Cp. *ibid.*, pp. 192–193, etc.

of anthropological lore have been collected from the ends of the earth; when one thinks of what a mass of photographs, phonographic records, idols, and other objects which have been regarded with veneration, now stock the shelves of great International Museums,—it cannot be overlooked that much of this multifarious accumulation is the raw material with which Comparative Religion so usefully occupies itself. Moreover, it is just the kind of material which, if it be despised and neglected while it is still accessible, will soon be lost for ever. In a word, if any one would acquaint himself specifically with the amount and quality of the assistance which this Science is now rendering within the domain of Comparative Religion, he has only to glance at the increasing volume of literature which this species of investigation is producing, and also at the more fragmentary literary products which are rightly being given a place in the pages of the various official *Journals* of national Anthropological Societies.

II. Archæology.—The next department of research to which brief allusion must here be made is that of modern Archæology. It follows logically in the wake of Anthropology, which might otherwise be designated Prehistoric Archæology.

The recent rapid Advance of this Study.—In a previous Note, reference has been made to the help which this vigorous and progressive Science has furnished towards elucidating the origins of Judaism.[1] Multitudes have read and been fascinated by the story of the discoveries made by Jean François Champollion (1791–1832), Sir Henry Rawlinson (1810–1895), and Sir Henry Layard (1817–1894). But, of late, the pick and spade of the excavator have been more busily occupied than ever before. Additional "finds" of the very first importance have been made in Egypt, in Persia, in Mesopotamia, and in Palestine. In Italy also, in Greece, in the Islands of the Mediterranean,

[1] See Appendix. Note V., page 491.

in Central Africa, and indeed in every quarter of the globe, the buried treasures of antiquity have in immense quantities been rescued from the oblivion of unnumbered centuries. As a consequence, existing Museums are steadily being enriched by the addition of priceless collections; and entirely new Museums—distinctive and novel in character, *e.g.*, Anthropological, exclusively Religious, Semitic, etc., etc. —are springing into existence with remarkable rapidity.[1] If the Universities have shown conspicuous foresight in their recent endeavours to promote the interests of Anthropology, they have exhibited even more enterprise, and more willingness to make large sacrifices, in order to meet the growing claims of Archæology.[2] Nay, yet more; local Schools for the study of antiquities of some special order have recently been founded by the Governments of Great Britain, France, Germany, America, etc.; and groups of select scholars, possessed of conspicuous talent for work of this sort, are now permanently stationed at these various centres of research. If one will but glance through the publications of the British School at Athens,[3] or of the French School at Rome, and see how much light has been thrown upon the masterpieces of ancient Architecture, Script, Pottery, Law, Religion, etc., he will better understand the strength of the claim, now frequently put forward, that the three "Schools" of Comparative Religion mentioned in Chapter VII.[4] should without delay be supplemented by another. All the three groups there enumerated, it is contended, ought now to be embraced under the name of "The Theoretical (or Philosophical) School"; and a new

[1] Cp. pages 396 f.

[2] The University of California, through its recent Expedition to Egypt, has obtained a large collection of very early papyri (*c.* 150 B.C.), the texts of which it is now editing and preparing for the press.

[3] *E.g.*, its *Annual*, Vol. vii., Session 1900–1901. London, 1902. See also the splendidly illustrated volumes prepared by the Trustees of the Egypt Exploration Fund, of the Palestine Exploration Fund, etc., not to speak of the numerous valuable publications of COLONEL CONDER, MAJOR-GENERAL SIR CHARLES WILSON, and many others. Cp. page 395.

[4] Cp. pages 212–214.

company of investigators should be formed who, occupying themselves *exclusively* with such materials as might be supplied to them by the excavator's tools, should assume the name of "The Historical and Critical School." The antithesis thus sharply drawn reflects quite needlessly, and even unjustly, upon the various bodies of inquirers who have hitherto endeavoured to promote genuine progress in this field; nevertheless, one of the results of modern Archæology stands revealed in a more than ever rigid determination to hold one's conclusions for a considerable time in suspense, and to announce them with confidence only after they have been shown to rest upon admitted and verifiable facts.

Some conspicuous Leaders among Archæologists.—The present survey must confine itself, of course, to scholars whose researches have had some direct influence upon inquiries which belong to the field of Comparative Religion; but even within the limits of this restriction the work of a very considerable number of investigators will at once suggest itself. Out of this group only a few representatives will be selected.

1. Friedrich Delitzsch [1] (1850–).—The first name we shall mention—a name that has of late been much in evidence, in view of the controversy that arose over certain Lectures which the Professor delivered in Berlin in the presence of the German Emperor [2]—is that of Friedrich Delitzsch. The trend of his teaching has already been referred to; [3] but, during the spring of 1903, immediately following upon his second formal Address,[4] his general position began to be called in question. The subsequent letter of the Emperor to Admiral Hollmann, President of the Oriental Society, served only to add fuel to the flame; for, while it disavowed all sympathy with Professor Delitzsch's more radical conclusions, it showed a measure of readiness to accept current

[1] Professor of Oriental Philology and Assyriology, University of Berlin.

[2] See his *Babel und Bibel* ("Babylon and the Bible"). Three Lectures, of which, however, the third and concluding one has not been translated.

[3] See footnote, page 78.

[4] Delivered in the Singakademie, Berlin, January 13, 1903.

critical views which the Church at least did not regard with favour.[1] The attitude which this foremost Assyriologist takes up, with regard to the results which Archæology has recently revealed touching the history of the composition of the Old Testament, is that "entire cycles of Biblical stories have been brought to light in the Babylonian texts, and in much purer and more primitive form than they exist in the Bible itself." And, as Professor Cornill of Breslau quite fairly remarks: "The impression that the Lecture is apt to make on non-professional readers is that the Bible and its religion are, to a certain extent, a mere offshoot of Babylonian heathendom."[2]

2. Fritz Hommel[3] (1854–).—A fellow-countryman of Professor Delitzsch, but representative of an entirely different school of opinion, Professor Hommel claims that the discoveries of Archæology are manifestly distorted when they are made to support radical theological views. His arguments have hitherto been directed, for the most part, against Professor Wellhausen's well-known teachings concerning the Old Testament; but he has of late turned his batteries from Göttingen towards Berlin. He has all along held that sufficient account has not been taken of those external proofs, touching the origins of Judaism, which Archæology has shown itself capable of furnishing; and that the method of the Critical School has been much too subjective and speculative.[4] It must have been with something of a sense of triumph, therefore, that Dr. Delitzsch produced, on behalf of his recently expressed opinions, a series of arguments drawn from the very source which he and his friends had previously been charged with neglecting; but it is now generally agreed that the Berlin Pro-

[1] This document is of such unique interest, whether viewed in relation to its source or its contents, that it deserves to be put on permanent record. Accordingly, it has been reproduced in the Appendix. See Note VIII., page 496.

[2] Cp. *Theologische Literaturzeitung.* Leipzig, July 5, 1902.

[3] Professor of Semitic Languages, University of Munich.

[4] See his *Die altorientalischen Denkmäler und das Alte Testament.*

fessor has embodied in his conclusions a good deal more than his premises suffice to warrant.

3. RUDOLF KITTEL[1] (1853–).—One other German name ought perhaps to be added to this list, though it is somewhat difficult to make a selection where authorities are so numerous. Professor Kittel likewise rests his theological teaching avowedly upon the results of Archæological research; and he has no hesitation in declining to endorse the opinion to which Professor Delitzsch has given such wide currency and such markedly emphatic utterance. He thinks that nothing has recently been brought to light which conflicts with the older view commonly entertained concerning the Old Testament. He accordingly continues to believe and teach that that volume is a record which, though greatly influenced by local conditions as regards its contents and character, must be held to have been prepared under the express supervision of a Divine authority.[2]

4. GASTON CAMILLE CHARLES MASPERO[3] (1846–).—Among the more distinguished of living French savants, Professor Maspero stands conspicuous as an Egyptologist. He has made many visits, and visits of considerable length, to that land of ancient lore where he has rendered splendid service as official Director of Excavations. His pen has enriched the literature and enlarged the information of many countries; for, as is most natural, his numerous books have been very widely translated.[4]

5. ARTHUR JOHN EVANS[5] (1851–).—Dr. Evans has

[1] Professor of Old Testament Literature, University of Leipsic.

[2] See his Lecture on *Die babylonischen Ausgrabungen und die biblische Urgeschichte*. Leipzig, 1902. [Translated, "The Babylonian Excavations and Early Bible History." London, 1903.] Probably Professor Delitzsch's most resolute opponent is PROFESSOR EDUARD KÖNIG, who has replied in a publication entitled *Bibel und Babel*. This pamphlet (Berlin, 1902) has already passed through several editions. Translated, London, 1905.

[3] Professor of Egyptian Philology and Archæology, Collège de France.

[4] See his *L'Archéologie Egyptienne*. See also his *Histoire ancienne des peuples de l'Orient classique*. 3 vols. Paris, 1894–99. [Translated, London, 1894–1900.]

[5] Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford University.

for many years been conducting Archæological researches in different parts of Europe and Asia. Since 1893 his memorable excavations in Crete have brought us into an undreamed of acquaintance with the Minoan civilisation of a very early date. It has been shown that King Minos was no myth, but an historical personage of the very first importance; that Daedalus also really lived, and that, when he built a palace for his master, he discharged his task so well, that—even in ruins, after a lapse of thirty-five centuries—it is to-day one of the wonders of the world; that Crete was once a dominating power in the Mediterranean; that it was from this centre that the ancient civilisation of Asia passed over into Europe; and that, so far from it being true that the Greeks must necessarily have derived their knowledge of the alphabet from the Phœnicians (say about 800 B.C.), they might have obtained similar instruction from the Cretans fully 1000 years earlier. When time sufficient shall have elapsed to permit of all these results being collated and assimilated with other multiplying discoveries, and when the numerous undeciphered clay tablets which Dr. Evans has secured shall have been read and carefully studied, the eager anticipations with which many British and Foreign scholars are now watching these investigations bid fair to be abundantly fulfilled.[1] Students of Comparative Religion will be profoundly interested in a volume which Dr. Evans published a few years ago.[2] Incidentally, the many items of agreement between the worship of the Mycenæans and the Hebrews are here indicated; but, at the same time, the comparison is never unduly pressed.

6. William Matthew Flinders Petrie[3] (1853–). —For over twenty years[4] Dr. Petrie was Director of Excavations in Egypt, of which country he has written

[1] Meanwhile, see Dr. Evans' contributions to the *Annual* of the British School at Athens. Vols. vii.–ix. London, 1902–04.

[2] *The Mycenæan Tree and Pillar Cult, and its Mediterranean Relations.* London, 1901.

[3] Professor of Egyptology, University College, London University.

[4] 1880–1901.

the opening volumes of an admirable *History*.[1] His publications form, indeed, a small library by themselves; of those that relate to religious relics which Archæology has disclosed in Egypt, two only will be named.[2] It is impossible to over-estimate the impulse which, alike as an Explorer and as a University Professor, Dr. Petrie has imparted to this important branch of study.

7. HERMAN VOLRATH HILPRECHT[3] (1859–).—Of living American Archæologists—perhaps of living Archæologists, without reference to nationality—few occupy a more representative position to-day than Professor Hilprecht. Allusion has already been made to his extensive labours and discoveries in Babylonia;[4] and he has very recently conducted a fifth expedition to the same fruitful field. A sixth expedition, planned on a very extensive scale, is to start during 1905. For a considerable period, the mere examination and classification of the material which has been secured will demand the utmost patience and skill; but it is Dr. Hilprecht's intention, as soon as this introductory stage in the work shall have been accomplished, to devote the remainder of his life to a careful comparison of the testimonies which his Tablets and Inscriptions contain. The results thus secured cannot fail to be of the very highest importance to the interests of Comparative Religion. In connection with the recent theological announcements made by Professor Delitzsch in Berlin, Professor Hilprecht was invited in 1903, during a passing visit to that city, to give some account of his own investigations in the East, and a summary of his personal conclusions touching the questions which were chiefly under review. A very distinguished

[1] *A History of Egypt.* 6 vols. London, 1894–1905.

[2] *Ten Years' Digging in Egypt, 1881–1891.* London, 1892; and *Religion and Conscience in Ancient Egypt.* London, 1898. See also his *Abydos*, 3 vols. (Egypt Exploration Fund), London, 1902–04, and his *Methods and Aims in Archæology.* London, 1904.

[3] Professor of Assyrian and Comparative Semitic Philology, University of Pennsylvania.

[4] See Appendix. Note V., page 493.

audience, in which the highest Court circles were largely represented, listened attentively to his discussion of the issues which Professor Delitzsch's *Lectures* had naturally served to raise; and once again serious doubt was cast upon the reliability of Dr. Delitzsch's opinions. It should be added that Professor Hilprecht, who is the author of a large number of technical publications, recently issued a popular yet accurate summary of the more important Archæological researches of the last hundred years.[1] For completeness and interest, it has no present rival.[2]

THE IMPORTANCE OF ARCHÆOLOGY AS AN AID TO COMPARATIVE RELIGION. — Regarded as an auxiliary, no department of research is more esteemed by students of Comparative Religion—for none is more constant in the assistance which it supplies—than that Science which devotes itself to a study of the remains of former civilisations. The mounds of Ancient Palestine, the genealogical lists inscribed upon the walls of deserted temples in Egypt, the numberless tablets that have been dug up in the valley of the Euphrates and elsewhere, have been forced to part with their long-hidden secrets; and the dead past has once again lived, and seemed to move and speak in our very presence. Deeper and deeper the spade has made its way, and the mass and débris of buried cities and palaces has slowly been removed, —until at length, drawn from their long-forgotten graves, the relics of a hoary antiquity have stood disclosed to our view. The Tell-el-Amarna tablets, discovered in Egypt in 1887, prove that, "centuries before Joshua, Canaan was the home, not of a savage and heathen people, but of a race whose culture was many degrees higher than that of the conquering Hebrews; . . . whilst the discovery of scarabs of Thotmes III., Amenophis III. and IV., and of Rameses II., afford confirmation of the Egyptian records as to the rule of Egypt over Syria during the Eighteenth and Nineteenth

[1] *Explorations in Bible Lands during the Nineteenth Century.*

[2] For additional British and Foreign Authorities on Archæology, see Appendix. Note XXII., page 544.

Dynasties."[1] But Archæology enables us to penetrate to even remoter ages. It guides us with unerring step back to the days of Abraham, and even to a period that long antedates that Patriarch. In spite of the most obstinate opposition, due partly to natural obstacles and partly to official inertia, many an ancient rubbish heap—often, to all seeming, the only extant remains of some primitive and puissant people—has at length been cleared away; but all the while its shells and bits of pottery, its arrowheads and tiny but significant trinkets, have been pregnant with meaning to the man who has been able to interpret their story. At a recent Annual Meeting of the Egypt Exploration Fund,[2] Professor Petrie remarked that "an exact continuity has been determined between the end of the prehistoric age of unwritten record and the beginning of the 7000 years of written record of Egyptian history. This is entirely the result of Archæology: not a word, or a sign, of writing helped this discovery; and a scholar who only understood the written record would have seen nothing in the site but a meaningless cartload of flints and broken potsherds,—as meaningless to him as a papyrus roll is to-day to an Arab digger."

Yet this aid for students of Comparative Religion, drawn from so fruitful a source, is the outcome of inquiries which as yet are merely in their initial stages. The discoveries of Archæology in modern times are considerably greater, even within the limits of a single decade, than were formerly secured within a complete century. Moreover, as we have seen, they frequently throw light directly upon fundamental problems in Religion. As a consequence, much of the history of the East has had to be re-written. Our conceptions of the Faith—as of the literature, laws, domestic customs, etc.—of these early peoples have been radically modified. Besides, instead of being compelled to rest content with mere conjectures, we now know the historical

[1] Article in *The Daily Chronicle*. London, December 1902.
[2] Held in London, 1902.

environment of ancient Babylonia quite as familiarly as that of ancient Greece, and the life of the early Hebrews quite as familiarly as that of Israel during the period of the Kings. Whether the information thus secured may result in confirming old views or in disturbing and overthrowing them, we want to bring our ultimate beliefs into conformity with the facts. In the meanwhile, opinion is visibly passing through a transition. Professor Delitzsch maintains that Hebrew Monotheism is traceable to influences that took their rise in Babylon. Professor Hilprecht, on the other hand, quite as strenuously affirms that, while "the attempt has recently been made to demonstrate that the purely monotheistic religion of Israel was derived from Babylonia, I must—on the basis of my researches, covering a period of fifteen years—declare that this is an absolute impossibility. The faith of the Israelites could never have had its origin in the Babylonian mountain of the gods, which is full of death and the savour of death." Every one can see how important are the issues which are involved in this controversy. But neither the counsels of alarm, nor the hypotheses of compromise, nor the partial surrenders of reluctant conservatism can satisfactorily meet the demands of the situation. This question, and others like it, can be settled only by the disclosures of a sound and profound scholarship; and it is pre-eminently to Archæologists that the world is now looking for the material grounds upon which to rest its mature and decisive judgment.

III. Psychology. — An additional department of research, and one which of late has begun to exercise a powerful influence in moulding the conclusions of scholars concerning man's spiritual consciousness, is found in the study of Psychology. This special branch of investigation has frequently been designated "The New Psychology." For, as there is a new Anthropology, viz., one that is only indirectly theological,[1] there is likewise a new

[1] See page 257.

Psychology, viz., one that inevitably becomes theological. The descriptive term "new," however, is unfortunate; for it can serve only as a temporary label, and it is too colourless to secure for itself either a prompt or general acceptance.

"THE NEW PSYCHOLOGY" DESCRIBED. — In passing from Anthropology and Archæology into Psychology, we pass out of the objective into the subjective domain; but this statement is true only when it is limited by an important qualification. In the manner of its procedure, the New Psychology is—in part at least—of the objective order likewise. For this study seeks, by means of constant observation and experiment, to ascertain what are the traits and peculiarities that are distinctive of the human mind when working freely under normal conditions; and, in particular, by the employment of analysis and comparison, to lay bare the origin and development of its religious consciousness. It is to be specially noted that, for this purpose, children as well as adults are made the subject of careful and persistent examination. As a result, and "for the first time in history, knowledge of the processes of the child-mind, and of the periods of its growth, have been rendered definite and systematic; and there has dawned upon us the truth that a human being is a developing (and not merely an enlarging) organism."[1] It has long been conceded that, "in view of the part played by the emotions even in the highest forms of *intellectual* activity, Psychology is an indispensable factor in the study of all phases of religion, and of all periods of its history."[2] Moreover, many to-day are quite prepared to admit that Religion, ultimately considered, is really a question of Psychology,—although the special form which each individual expression

[1] This conclusion was frequently voiced at the important Convention for Moral and Religious Education which was held at Chicago, February 10 to 12, 1903. See George A. Coe, *Education in Religion and Morals*. Chicago, 1904.

[2] Morris Jastrow, Jun. *The Study of Religion*, p. 278. New York, 1901.

of Religion assumes must be determined by local conditions.[1] But the endeavour to connect the fountain of a man's religious emotions, not indeed with the streams of religious activity which encompass him, but with the circumstances of his *physiological* environment,—the endeavour to link together the facts of Physiology with those of Psychology, and to disclose the secret material causes of acts which have hitherto been regarded as possessing a purely voluntary character,—has furnished the basis of an important modern discipline. As there is undoubtedly a psychological foundation for Ethics, may there not also be discoverable a physiological support for many of man's ethical judgments? Be that as it may, the study of Physiological Psychology has advanced steadily in the esteem of thoughtful men in every land; and its chief representatives are busying themselves no longer exclusively with "psychic phenomena" in the old narrower sense, but are deliberately addressing themselves to the solution of questions which are admittedly ethical and religious.[2]

The Genesis of this new Discipline.—This species of inquiry, as already intimated, is of relatively recent date. Nevertheless it can be traced to a somewhat remote origin. Its growth, moreover, has been marked by a series of distinctly defined stages. It is not possible to go into details; but the periods into which its history may conveniently be subdivided have been indicated, and briefly characterised, in the Appendices.[3]

Representative Authorities in this Field.—It is not easy to make a selection, at once brief and adequate, of those leaders who ought to be included within the present survey; for this field of inquiry, though so recently opened up and so definitely limited in its scope, has

[1] "The Psychological Origin of Religion" is one of the topics statedly expounded by Professor Tyler, Cornell University, in his Lectures on the History of Religions.

[2] Touching objections which have confronted this new line of inquiry, see Appendix. Note XXIII., page 545.

[3] See Appendix. Note XXIV., pages 547 f.

been subdivided and occupied by a considerable variety of workers.

1. EDUARD VON HARTMANN[1] (1842–).—A name of outstanding prominence in connection with this study is that of Eduard von Hartmann, who has rendered it signal service. "His analysis of the way in which religious consciousness awakens, and gradually grows, is a contribution to the Psychology of Religion which it is safe to declare has a permanent value."[2] He has demonstrated that Religion is a "psychological phenomenon."[3] It is to be recognised, at the same time, that this thinker never quite frees himself from the traditions of the older Psychology. Hence his investigations belong only in part to the present inquiry. As an exponent, however, of the Psychology of Religion, as that subject was commonly understood in the eighteenth century (viz., as the *subjective side* of man's religious conceptions), he has no superior.

2. FREDERIC W. H. MYERS[4] (1854–1901).—A courageous thinker, and gifted with the power of expressing his thoughts in a graceful and effective way, the late Mr. Myers attempted to supply a scientific account of "the Evolution of human personality." Accordingly he advanced an hypothesis—founded chiefly on material accumulated for the Society for Psychical Research—which has led one who has carefully examined it to declare that Mr. Myers may yet rank among "the boldest and most brilliant pioneers of the psychology of the future."[5] At any rate, in the estimate of this critic, Mr. Myers' recent book[6] represents "the most daring excursion into psychology produced in the present generation, a work which it requires no unusual acumen to predict will take high rank in the

[1] Philosopher and Author. [2] Jastrow, *The Study of Religion*, p. 95.

[3] See his *Die Religion des Geistes* ("The Religion of the Soul"), p. 3. Berlin, 1882. Cp. Tiele; see page 291.

[4] Poet and Author.

[5] Reviewer's Article in *The Times*. London, February 20, 1903. Cp. Appendix. Note XXIV., page 550.

[6] *Human Personality, and its Survival of Bodily Death.*

library of Psychological Science. Moreover, it will compel attention to a field of investigation which the official world of knowledge has hitherto refused to include within its boundaries." No attempt to summarise the contents of this volume is permissible here; but the author maintains that "human personality, as it has developed from lowly ancestors, has become differentiated into two phases; one of them mainly adapted to material or planetary, the other to spiritual or cosmic, operation." These phases or factors he labels respectively (*a*) the ordinary consciousness of self, and (*b*) the subliminal consciousness,—that dwelling-place of the real self or Soul, which is destined to survive the death and dissolution of the body. The book, which represents some thirty years of inquiry, is certainly a remarkable one, and will abundantly repay perusal and careful study. It embodies the product of the first serious attempt that has been made by one who, employing deliberately the scientific method, has sought courageously to grapple with and master some of the most perplexing questions which can engage and captivate the mind.[1]

3. JOHN RICHARDSON ILLINGWORTH[2] (1848–).—This thoughtful and accomplished theological writer has had occasion, not infrequently, to conduct his readers into the domain with which we are now dealing.[3] In the latest of the three publications mentioned in the footnote, Dr. Illingworth lays special stress upon the aid which Psychology is capable of rendering in the interpretation of Religion; and he predicts that, when this truth comes to be better understood, the employment of Psychology in this way will receive an immense impetus. Dr. Illingworth

[1] Consult also another posthumous volume by this author, *Fragments of Prose and Poetry*. London, 1904. Very interesting side-lights are here thrown upon this writer's mental and religious development, in its successive steps and stages.

[2] Rector of Longworth, Berkshire.

[3] See his *Personality, Human and Divine*. London, 1894. *Divine Immanence*. London, 1898. See especially his *Reason and Revelation*. London, 1902.

proceeds to emphasise very strongly, yet not unduly, some of the affirmations and confirmations of the New Psychology, —as, *e.g.*, that "every sane consciousness" seeks, and *must* seek, for God;[1] and then he goes on to argue that, as a universal impulse to seek for any object is a presumptive proof of the actual existence of that object, so the universal impulse to seek for God—the normal experience of man in every quarter of the globe—must invariably be given due prominence among other legitimate proofs of the Divine existence.[2]

4. William Paterson Paterson[3] (1860–).—The judicially marshalled arguments with which Dr. Illingworth's most recent book abounds have received a very notable endorsement from the lips of one of the foremost leaders to-day in the Church of Scotland. In his *Inaugural Address*, delivered at the time of his assuming the duties of a new Chair, Dr. Paterson says: "By his Gifford Lectures on 'The Varieties of Religious Experience,' Professor James has roused the Church to a sense of its culpable neglect of a province which it should have explored to the last nook and cranny; and it may be hoped that the scientific spirit will be sufficiently developed in those engaged in evangelistic work, as well as in the representatives of the Churches which rather believe in the gradually formative influences of Christian education, to induce them to co-operate in collecting and sifting the relevant material. Theology will thus be able to give a fuller and more veracious account of the manner of the appropriation of the salvation of God by them that believe; while it will be better able to test (and, as we expect, substantiate) the Church's belief that there is a life of God in the soul of man which is more than Nature's endowment of moral aspiration and energy."[4] Dr. Paterson's recommendation is well worthy of being heeded and promptly adopted.

[1] Cp. page 239. [2] Cp. page 245.

[3] Professor of Divinity, Edinburgh University.

[4] *The Position and the Prospects of Theology*, p. 35. Edinburgh, 1903.

5. WILLIAM JAMES[1] (1842–).—The *Gifford Lectures*, delivered in Edinburgh by Professor James, mark an important stage in the development of this study.[2] By some they have too hastily been characterised as the intrusion of Science into the sphere of experimental religion,[3] but by thoughtful readers they have been welcomed as a distinct contribution towards the solution of a most perplexing problem.

6. JAMES MARK BALDWIN[4] (1861–).—Valuable assistance in connection with this new inquiry has been furnished also by Professor Baldwin. In a very able work,[5] he "traces the growth of the soul . . . up to the point of the genesis of the religious sentiment,—which he traces to the operation of (*a*) a feeling of dependence, and (*b*) a feeling of mystery." It is in these words that Professor Caldecott has succinctly stated the gist of a book with which students in this field will do well to make themselves familiar.[6]

7. GEORGE ALBERT COE[7] (1862–).—In two volumes which this incisive writer has recently published,[8] there is manifested a resolve to penetrate beneath mere dogma, and the various external criteria of Religion, to that psychical kernel which underlies and inspires all the manifestations of faith. Man everywhere seeks a personal experience of communion with God; and this quest he must persist in, because he is by nature religious. The writer proceeds to show that the thought of God is a necessity of

[1] Professor of Philosophy, Harvard University.

[2] *The Varieties of Religious Experience.*

[3] Cf. pages 292–293.

[4] Professor of Psychology, Princeton University.

[5] *Social and Ethical Interpretations in Mental Development: A Study in Social Psychology.* New York, 1898. [2nd ed., 1899.]

[6] Alfred Caldecott, *The Philosophy of Religion in England and America*, p. 428. London, 1901.

[7] Professor of Moral and Intellectual Philosophy, Northwestern University, Illinois.

[8] *The Spiritual Life: Studies in the Science of Religion.* Chicago, 1900. Also, *The Religion of a Mature Mind.* Chicago, 1902.

human thought,[1]—that it is not interjected from without,[2] but (already implanted within men) gradually unfolds with their physical growth. What is essential, therefore, is that this instinctive and expanding desire in man should be deliberately developed, until it comes to dominate and control his whole life. These two books employ a method, and take up a point of view, which are eminently illustrative of the growing strength of the modern spirit.

8. Edwin Diller Starbuck[3] (1866–). — Another pioneer, and also a very competent worker in this field, is Professor Starbuck. Of his recent volume,[4] *The Psychological Review* speaks in very high praise, declaring that it contains "the foundation of a new body of knowledge, —which will find its place in Psychological Science, and bear practical fruit in religious education and in theology. . . . It exhibits a patient gathering and careful consideration of the subjective facts of religious life." The sub-title of the work throws fuller light upon its method and aim. It is a book which, like the corresponding volumes by Professor James and Professor Coe, deals deliberately with the rationale of "religious conversion"; and "it endeavours to determine, by means of an elaborate series of statistics, the conditions of age, of temperament, and of surroundings favourable to that change taking place."[5] It is certainly a discussion of the subject which deserves most cordial commendation.[6]

The New Psychology regarded as an Auxiliary Study.—It is not surprising that the enthusiasm of an investigator, who finds abundance of material lying all around him in a vast but partially explored field, should

[1] Cp. pages 233, 239 f., etc.

[2] Cp. pages 75, 229, 241, etc.

[3] Assistant Professor of Education, Leland Stanford Jun. University, California.

[4] *The Psychology of Religion: An Empirical Study of the Growth of Religious Consciousness.* New York, 1899.

[5] Jastrow, *The Study of Religion*, p. 276.

[6] For additional British and Foreign Authorities on Psychology, see Appendix. Note XXV., page 550.

sometimes lead him to over-estimate the prospective value of the inquiries which occupy and absorb him. Professor Jastrow, for example, while very outspoken in his appreciation of the services which the New Psychology has rendered even already, puts on record his judgment that "the hopes of those who look to psychological researches for a final explanation of the causes of religious phenomena are destined to disappointment."[1] These researches have indeed accomplished much, but they have not conducted us to the real heart of the difficulty. The earlier Psychology of Religion—as interpreted by Hegel, von Hartmann, and others—was manifestly defective. Both in aim and results it was one-sided and superficial. Physiological Psychology, though vastly its superior, has proved inadequate also. It is noteworthy that Professor Wundt and his collaborators exhibit no longer that confidence in the capabilities of Physiology with which at the outset they inspired their disciples. They commend and employ this newly devised method still, but they now frankly admit that they cannot satisfactorily account for psychological results by means of purely psysiological causes. Hence we find an increasing disposition among these leaders to supplement the experimental psychology of the Laboratory by reviving some of the older and well-tested methods of the psychology of the Schools. It is beyond question that, by adopting this course, larger and more valuable results will soon accrue from the continued pursuit of an important physiological discipline.

And what of the New Psychology, strictly so called? It must be admitted that—though it has thrown much light on the physical and psychical processes which accompany the development of the religious feeling, and has thus proved itself to be an important adjunct to the study of Comparative Religion—it has never attained the goal to which it has long and confidently pointed. At the same time, this fact must not be hastily misinterpreted. The

[1] *The Study of Religion*, p. viii.

New Psychology, as a science, is only at its dawn; and it has been stated already that every science must needs grow slowly.[1] It is not claimed that the New Psychology thus far, as an aid to Comparative Religion, has effected any surprising revolution; nevertheless, it is claimed that it has secured several results of very real moment.

Some Fruits of this New Line of Inquiry.—It will be conceded by all (1) that these new studies have greatly enriched and expanded the old Psychology; they have indeed added to it an entirely new domain, a virgin field, within which it may now very hopefully occupy itself. (2) They have made it clear that it is simply folly to attempt to write a Philosophy of Religion without first acquainting oneself with those mental tendencies and processes with which the New Psychology deals. (3) Under the direction of the Specialists who are now at work, much entirely new material may confidently be looked for from this quarter.[2] Even already, much has been achieved. It is no exaggeration to affirm, with Professor Paterson, that the Materialism and Agnosticism of the nineteenth century have been completely undermined, and that the dominant philosophy of to-day is one that "finds in spirit the ultimate reality. . . . The world of thinking men [is becoming] increasingly convinced that mind is the key to existence, and that the processes of the universe are a revelation of thought and a pursuit of rational ends."[3] (4) These discoveries will help to break down the suspicion with which Specialists of this type are to-day very frequently confronted. Religion being essentially a "psychological phenomenon,"[4] —"a psychological necessity,"[5] as Professor Menzies puts

[1] Cp. page 14. See Appendix. Note XIII., pages 518–519.

[2] Take, *e.g.*, the publications of the "Society for Psychical Research." Cp. Appendix. Note III., page 488.

[3] Cp. *The Position and the Prospects of Theology*, pp. 21–22. Edinburgh, 1903.

[4] Tiele, *Outlines of the History of Religion*. London, 6th ed., 1896, p. x. Cp. reference to Eduard von Hartmann, given on page 285.

[5] *History of Religion*. London, 1895. [2nd ed., 1901, p. 24.] Cp. pages 230, 233, 287, 288, 319, 337, 532, etc.

it,—it is plain that it can be understood only by those who utilise the methods by which Psychology is investigated; and the day cannot now be far distant when Theology will begin to make deliberate use of an agency which it has hitherto viewed with undisguised distrust, and concerning whose conclusions it has either remained hesitant and silent or has uttered its disapproval in terms of needless heat.[1] In a review of Professor James' *Gifford Lectures,* one critic has penned this sentence: "The first impulse is to protest against such an explanation of a deep mystery of our faith, and to reject all such psychological theories." But why? If Theologians have been seeking to account for certain phenomena by connecting them with causes which have not actually produced them, they of all men should be the most grateful when they are made aware of their mistake. If, on the other hand, it is the Psychologists who are really in error, it would be an act of charity as well as of competent scholarship to convince them of that fact. (5) The New Psychology has served an excellent purpose in its exposure of the occasional extravagancies of other kindred sciences. Take Anthropology, for example; every one recalls how within that domain, and by more than one Psychologist, Mr. Andrew Lang in particular has very frankly been taken to task. (6) The New Psychology lends confirmation to our belief in the solidarity of the race. This new study may not go so far as to affirm, with Professor Max Müller, the existence of a "faculty of faith"; but verily it has laid bare certain aspirations of the mind, certain stirrings amid the affections, and certain determinations of the will, which do strive towards things unseen, which are everywhere existent in man, and which never die within his breast. In their physical framework all men possess a certain likeness one to another, notwithstanding their innumerable visible differences; and it is not otherwise, as Psychology demonstrates, when we proceed to

[1] Read the Essay on "A Psychological Approach" in *Ideals of Science and Faith.* London, 1904.

estimate men on the basis of their kindred religious sentiments. In man's very constitution there are found to be implanted factors which compel him, in all ages and in all lands, to seek for the Divine.[1] There can be no doubt that these persistent impulses affect the Religion of man, affect it very directly, and affect it continually. It is accordingly the function of the New Psychology to determine in how far these factors suffice to account for a man's Religion, and in how far they in turn are to be accounted for by it. It is its function meanwhile to proclaim that, while there are deeper depths of mystery in our own being than we have ever dreamed of, many of these enigmas can unquestionably be solved, and that we should welcome all auxiliary aid that serves to illumine the complicated action of those laws which govern our mental and spiritual development. It is manifest that the study of the New Psychology, regarded as a new and highly important method of investigating the profounder problems of Religion, must and ought to go on.

[1] Cp. page 239.

CHAPTER IX

ITS AUXILIARY SCIENCES

Part II

Syllabus.—IV. Mythology. Theories as to its probable Origin—The Philological and the Anthropological Hypotheses—The relation of Mythology to Religion—Its Contribution to Comparative Religion: pp. 295–305. V. Ethnology. Ethnology proper, in its office as an Auxiliary—Folklore—Various Conceptions entertained concerning Folklore—The Inauguration of this Study—Some of its competent Representatives—The Value of Folklore, regarded as subsidiary to Comparative Religion: pp. 305–314. VI. Sociology. Is there a Science of Sociology?—Some of its accredited Expounders—Its Ability to lend assistance to Comparative Religion: pp. 314–321. General Summary of Chapters VIII. and IX.: pp. 321–325.

Literature.—The following works, in particular, are recommended: Max Müller (Friedrich), *Contributions to the Science of Mythology.* 2 vols. London, 1897. Lang (Andrew), *Modern Mythology: A Reply to Professor Max Müller.* London, 1897. Schelling (F. W. J. von), *Philosophie der Mythologie.* Stuttgart, 1856. Nicolson (William), *Myth and Religion.* Helsingfors, 1892. Grimm (Jakob L. K.), *Kinder- und Hausmärchen.* 3 vols. Berlin, 1812–22. [Translated, 2 vols., London, 1884.] Achelis (Thomas), *Die Entwickelung der modernen Ethnologie.* Berlin, 1889. Gaidoz (Henri) and Sébillot (Paul), *La France Merveilleuse.* Paris, 1884. Reclus (Elie), *Les Primitifs: Études d'ethnologie comparée.* Paris, 1885. [Translated, London, 1901.] Keane (Augustus Henry), *Ethnology.* Cambridge, 1896. [3rd ed., 1901.] Cox (George W.), *Introduction to the Science of Comparative Mythology and Folklore.* London, 1881. Gomme (George Laurence), *Handbook of Folklore.* London, 1890. Brinton (Daniel Garrison), *The Religions of Primitive Peoples.* New York, 1897. Spencer (Herbert), *Principles of Sociology.* 3 vols. London, 1876–96. [Reissue, 1904.] Lang (Andrew), *Social Origins.* London, 1903. Westermarck (Edward Alexander), *The History of Human*

Marriage. London, 1891. [3rd ed., 1901.] STUCKENBERG (John H. W.), *Sociology: The Science of Human Society.* 2 vols. New York, 1903.

IV. MYTHOLOGY.—A fourth active auxiliary, and one which of late has proved to be an important factor in promoting the development of Comparative Religion, is the Science of Comparative Mythology. The utility of this study, although it is still very differently appraised, is now uniformly admitted by investigators of Religion. Two inquiries, however, at once demand attention, viz., What is the real Origin of Mythology? and, What is the Relation of Mythology to Religion?

(1.) THEORIES AS TO THE ORIGIN OF MYTHOLOGY.—The beginning of Myths, and the subsequent elaboration of these stories into systems of Mythology, present a problem which is beset with many and serious difficulties. It has long exercised the patience and ingenuity of some of the most acute students alike of Religion, History, and Philosophy; but, thus far, the results secured have not been satisfactory.[1]

Is one warranted in maintaining that Myths date from the earliest primitive age (when men were so credulous that they were capable of believing almost anything), and that these fanciful tales were afterwards deliberately embellished and refined and recast when an advancing civilisation came to assert and exercise its sway? Such a view has found, at any rate, not a few influential defenders. Whatever the actual origin of the Myth, it certainly goes back to exceedingly early times; for, previous to the appearance of the Vedas, the Book of Genesis, the Iliad, and the most ancient writings to which we now have access, it seems to have flourished luxuriantly. Doubtless it existed even among savage races quite as early as Animism revealed itself, and

[1] More than a century ago, there appeared Jacob Bryant's elaborate Essay, entitled *A New System of Ancient Mythology, wherein an attempt is made to divest Tradition of Fable, and to reduce the Truth to its original Purity.* 3 vols. London, 1775. [3rd ed., 6 vols., 1807.]

long before any such product as literature could have been dreamed of; and yet it can hardly have appeared during the earliest stages of savagery, seeing that it reveals a measure of development, and therein presupposes an antecedent period. Indeed, the more one examines the subject, and the more carefully one traces the historic process which has linked a cluster of mythological creations with literally every race of which we know anything, the more one feels that the answer to this riddle remains still to be discovered. However, not disheartened by the failure of numerous predecessors, eager and competent investigators have of late taken up the question anew, and with evident determination to solve it. Possibly it may not be necessary to wait very long until much, at least, of the perplexity which at present obscures this inquiry shall have been effectually dissipated.

A. The Philological Theory. — There are two outstanding theories as to the way in which Myths and Mythologies originated. The earlier of these hypotheses is the one that was formerly advocated with great persistency by students of Philology. This theory is named first, not because it is the more satisfactory of the two, but because it was heard of first in the order of time. It is now practically abandoned by all the leading authorities; but for a considerable period, though it was challenged and combated from the outset, it held the field with unfaltering courage. Historically, therefore, it is important, and the discussion which it created did much to prepare the way for its more adequate successor.

1. Friedrich Max Müller (1823–1900).—The name which is most closely identified with this earlier theory is that of the late Professor Max Müller. As already stated, the distinction has been claimed for Oxford that it not only provided the Founder of Anthropology in the person of Professor Tylor,[1] but that it also supplied the Founder of Comparative Mythology in the person of another of its

[1] See page 259.

University Professors.[1] In any case, none will deny that to Professor Max Müller, as to very few others, this important study is profoundly indebted.[2]

In seeking to appraise the assistance which, in this connection, Professor Max Müller has lent to Comparative Religion, it is interesting to recall the modest account of it which he himself gives us in his "Philosophy of Mythology." He writes: "My own work in comparative mythology has consisted chiefly in laying down some of the general principles of that science, and in the etymological interpretation of some of the ancient names of gods, goddesses, and heroes."[3] Had the Professor rigidly restricted himself to this narrower programme, he would have been spared some of the very severe criticisms which were afterwards directed against him. But the touchstone which he had employed so persistently when dealing with the problems of Language and Thought—and of Religion as well—he resolved to apply in this department also. Hence his one question, when searching for the roots of Mythology, was invariably, *What does Philology teach us?* and with the answer (or substitute for an answer) which that Science supplied, he appeared to be perfectly content. He was in this way led to the conclusion that "Mythology, in the highest sense, is the power exercised by Language on Thought, in every possible sphere of mental activity."[4] That is to say, having sought for no other results than those which philological investigations can furnish, he allowed himself to believe that such investigations could of themselves supply him with a complete solution of the problem.[5]

2. Robert Brown, Jun. (? –). In addition

[1] See page 173.

[2] See Appendix. Note XXVI., page 551.

[3] See his *Introduction to the Science of Religion*. London, 1873. [N. ed., 1882, p. 396.] See also his very interesting *Essay on Comparative Mythology*, 1856; *Chips from a German Workshop*, 4 vols., 1867–75, of which vol. iv. is devoted to "Essays on Mythology and Folklore"; and *Contributions to the Science of Mythology*, 2 vols., London, 1897.

[4] *Introduction to the Science of Religion*, p. 355.

[5] See Appendix. Note XXVII., pages 552 f.

to Max Müller, another author ought perhaps to be mentioned in connection with the defence of the philological method of explaining the origin of Mythology. It was the Oxford Professor's contention that the phenomenon in question was always most markedly pronounced among Aryan peoples, and certainly he traced very clearly and comprehensively the influence of Aryan types upon the Mythologies of Greece, Italy, Germany, etc. Mr. Robert Brown, however, is persuaded that a stream of tendency, coming from a totally different quarter, has been strangely overlooked; and so he has been led to publish a work which has secured a considerable circulation.[1]

Attention is not drawn to this volume on the ground exclusively of its merits; indeed, in certain respects it is a book which is not entitled to the award of an unqualified encomium. It certainly offends the canons of good taste, if not also the canons of sound scholarship. As a criticism of contemporary workers in this field, it is at times so fierce and indiscriminate in its onslaught, that it succeeds only in blunting the edge of its own savage blows. In particular, the writer's sarcastic references to Mr. Andrew Lang—of whose contributions to Comparative Mythology something will be said in a moment—recoil with serious force upon his own head. Nevertheless, though this volume is marred by some unfortunate defects, its thesis is suggestive, and is sustained by acute and cogent arguments. The many hints which Mr. Brown has thrown out, in connection with the problem in hand, will not be overlooked by thorough and conscientious students.

B. THE ANTHROPOLOGICAL THEORY. — Standing apart altogether from the Philological School, there is the important Anthropological School of interpretation; and it maintains an entirely different theory as to the origin of Myths and Mythology. It will scarcely be denied that this later hypothesis marks a perceptible advance upon the older one. Quite a formidable list of workers in this field might, if

[1] *Semitic Influence in Hellenic Mythology.* London, 1898.

necessary, be cited; but, as in the case of the earlier view, only two names will be selected. As in the former instance, likewise, the representatives chosen, while members of the same general group, reveal in their conclusions the influence of two distinct tendencies.

3. Edward Burnett Tylor (1832–).—It was Professor Tylor who first suggested the anthropological solution. Living in the same city with the late Professor Max Müller, and being an instructor in the same University, it is not singular that his attention was attracted to a discussion in which radical differences of opinion had early found expression. And, as might perhaps have been anticipated, when Professor Tylor set himself to discover the key to this puzzle, *he* found it in that universal Animism to the exposition of which he had already begun to devote patient and fruitful researches. Professor Tylor, however, did not allow himself to be carried away by the *ex parte* suggestions of this theory. He preserved sufficient impartiality to discern that Animism by itself could never supply the secret spring of action for which he was diligently searching. The mere observance of the phenomena of nature, and the conviction that practically everything was animated by a hidden spirit-tenant, could never account for those elaborate creations which we must attempt to classify under the category of Myths. Hence he was led to maintain that, in addition to a largely unconscious product of stories which were traceable to an Animistic origin—many of them, whether ancient or newly created, gradually becoming associated with the names of distinguished teachers and popular military leaders—there grew up the practice of deliberately inventing these Myths, in order to transmit by this means important practical or ethical instruction. Hence Dr. Tylor's well-known dictum, "The Anthropomorphic view is the fundamental principle of Mythology,"—an opinion which Professor Max Müller, in obedience to convictions of quite another order, persistently and hotly disputed.[1]

[1] See his *Introduction to the Science of Religion*, p. 56. Cp. also page 260.

4. ANDREW LANG (1844–).—The other name that calls for mention here—for it is a name not less truly representative than the one just referred to—is that of Mr. Andrew Lang. As already intimated, he is uncompromisingly antagonistic to an earlier Oxford theory.[1] On the other hand, he finds himself substantially in agreement with Professor Tylor. He holds without wavering to the general doctrine of Anthropomorphism.[2] Nevertheless he works out his results in his own way. While he shows some solicitude to keep step with his senior confrère in advancing the interests in this study, he claims the right of walking abreast of him; he distinctly declines to walk behind him. As already shown, he rejects Professor Tylor's theory as to Animism.[3]

A sketch of Mr. Lang's general position, in so far as the present treatise can venture to deal with it, has been given with some fulness in a preceding Chapter.[4] His conclusions are summarised, and dealt with pretty severely, in Mr. Brown's *Semitic Influence in Hellenic Mythology*; but, as against Mr. Brown, it is easy to convince oneself that Mr. Lang's purpose at least is honest and serious. His aim is to supply students with a sane and scientific account of the way in which Myths actually began.[5] He discloses the mental and physical influences which, operating under perfectly natural conditions, contrived to produce this phenomenon. Already he has achieved a quite enviable success; and, at the cost of much pains, he seems resolved to avail himself of even the most trifling channels of

[1] See his *Modern Mythology: A Reply to Professor Max Müller*. Mr. Lang is equally opposed to the position which Dr. Frazer has expounded in the second edition of his *Golden Bough*. Instead of admitting that Magic is the necessary antecedent to Religion, Mr. Lang holds that both are found to exist quite complacently side by side, and that Religion is really the first of the two to make its appearence! Cp. *Magic and Religion* (London, 1901), in which he re-states some of the views he had expressed previously in *The Making of Religion* (London, 1898). Cp. page 269.

[2] Cp. page 266. [3] See page 263. [4] Cp. pages 264 f.

[5] See his *Myth, Ritual, and Religion*. 2 vols. London, 1887. [N. ed., 1899.] Also his Article on "Mythology" in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

information which promise to yield him any assistance in this connection. At the same time, the results thus far secured cannot be pronounced wholly satisfactory. Mr. Lang's personal versatility, his unwearied energy, and his abounding self-confidence have inevitably added to the number of those who eagerly accept his guidance; but the difficulties of the situation are being perceptibly increased by the unrestrained extravagance of some of his more ardent followers. Of the rise and effectiveness of Folklore Societies, for which Mr. Lang is in a large measure responsible, something will be said on a subsequent page;[1] but it may suffice meanwhile to remark that, in work of this sort, much more is required than a playful and exuberant enthusiasm.

SUMMARY.—The quest for the origin of Mythology has not yet proved successful. Probably the solution of the mystery lies in a composite explanation. Mythology has its birth, unquestionably, among uncivilised peoples. There it is a product of the imagination,—the conceptions of man, and oftentimes his vague religious conceits, voicing themselves in the poetry of primitive speech. Thus we get a complex mythology of the heavens, another mythology of the fields, another mythology of the animal world, and finally, a mythology that hangs its cunning drapery about the forms of representative men. As Principal Fairbairn finely says: "When mind is fresh and passion strong . . . the mythical fancy has its creative hour, and weaves for its hero a history which corresponds to its own mood rather than to his achievements."[2] The evolution, once begun, works itself out in the most varied and fantastic developments; and it manages to perpetuate itself, under more modern forms, long after its original significance has been outgrown and forgotten.

(2.) THE RELATION OF MYTHOLOGY TO RELIGION.—Enough, however, has been said touching one or two of

[1] See page 309.

[2] *The Philosophy of the Christian Religion*, p. 470.

the chief theories as to the origin of Mythology;[1] a few paragraphs must now be devoted to the inquiry, What is the relation of Mythology to Religion?

As will at once be perceived, this question inevitably leads one beyond the limits of Comparative Religion; for it belongs to students of the Philosophy of Religion to utter the final pronouncement. The opinions which are now to be cited must accordingly be drawn from the source just indicated. At the same time, some more or less definite conclusions touching this point are simply indispensable to students of Comparative Religion, if they would hope to conduct their inquiries in the field of Mythology perseveringly and fruitfully.

5. William Robertson Smith (1846–1894).—The late Professor Smith contended vehemently that it is a mistake to lay very strong emphasis upon the importance of Myths, as though they were invariably effective agents in determining the character of a Religion. It was always his opinion that, as a matter of fact, *the religious significance of these stories has been absurdly exaggerated.* "Strictly speaking," he says, "this mythology was no essential part of ancient religion; for it had no sacred sanction, and no binding force upon the worshippers. . . . Belief in a certain series of myths was neither obligatory as a part of true religion, nor was it supposed that by *believing* a man acquired religious merit and conciliated the favour of the gods. What *was* obligatory or meritorious was the exact performance of certain sacred acts prescribed by religious tradition. . . . It may be affirmed with confidence, that in almost every case the myth was derived from the ritual, and not the ritual from the myth."[2] In any event, the essential thing was the correct and regular performance of the sacred rite; but the story, which now explains the

[1] Cp. page 295.

[2] *The Religion of the Semites*, pp. 17–18. This emphatic statement of Professor Smith's view is directly called in question by Professor Jastrow, who believes that "it is the myth that . . . gives rise to a religious rite, and not the reverse." (*The Study of Religion*, p. 263.)

(alleged) origin of that rite, is generally much more modern than the rite itself. It grew up alongside of, and frequently wholly apart from, the Religion with which it now stands identified. Oftentimes it is incontestably unhistorical and purely fanciful. Moreover, in instance after instance, the story can be shown to have been deliberately invented, in order to serve some end which seemed to warrant resort to this expedient. No greater mistake, therefore, could well be made than to imagine that every Myth is imbued with some religious significance. As Professor Jevons puts it, "Mythology is primitive science, primitive philosophy, an important constituent of primitive history, the source of primitive poetry, but it is *not* primitive religion."[1]

6. CORNELIS PETRUS TIELE (1830–1902).—While it is true that the religious value of Myths has very often been grossly exaggerated, the late Professor Tiele properly emphasised the fact that *these furtive tales usually have a distinctly religious nucleus.* They are no essential part of Religion, and they have no ability of themselves to rise to the status of a Religion; nevertheless it is as they stand associated with Religion that they have their origin, and come to possess their special and distinctive character. It is in this aspect of them, exclusively, that they have a claim upon the attention and scrutiny of the student of Comparative Religion.[2]

7. ANDREW MARTIN FAIRBAIRN (1838–).—A third feature of the relation between Mythology and Religion, as very strikingly demonstrated by Principal Fairbairn, is that *these primitive narratives differ widely in character, in accordance with the standard of culture attained by those who respectively framed and believed them.* The progress of philosophy, and even the steady advance of the popular intelligence, are certain to undermine the old credulity, and

[1] *An Introduction to the History of Religion*, p. 266. London, 1896.

[2] In the clear assertion of this view Professor Tiele was anticipated by SCHELLING, who in his *Philosophie der Mythologie* wrote one of the ablest reviews of this whole question which we as yet possess.

to compel a modified interpretation (or else an utter abandonment) of these time-honoured fables. This process is familiar, not only to all serious students of Comparative Religion, but even to the most casual of tourists in the East. Principal Fairbairn cites, in particular, the case of India. "The miraculous history . . . never outlasts an early stage of culture. Mythologies which were once believed because of their supernatural machinery are now, on account of this same machinery, credited no more. They may help the inquirer to see the human mind petrified (as it were) at a particular moment in its development, but they can never be regarded as permanent products of the mature reason, or be taken for rational theologies or authentic histories."[1] For a condensed but admirable statement of the laws which regulate the formation and interpretation of mythical material, students are referred to a subsequent section of this profound and stimulating volume.[2]

THE CONTRIBUTION OF MYTHOLOGY TO COMPARATIVE RELIGION.—The assistance which Comparative Religion has derived thus far from the study of Comparative Mythology has not been very great. This result is the more disappointing, because, at the outset, large expectations concerning the cultivation of this field were entertained by responsible authorities. The relation, however, between Mythology and Religion is apparently less close than many had been led to anticipate. The myth-making tendency is strongest, and it exerts its most effective influence, when a race is passing through its formative stages. But with the advance of intelligence and the widened sway of reason, Mythology retreats into the background; were it not, indeed, that mythological conceptions frequently become linked with various ritual observances, or find their way eventually into the classic prose and poetry of a nation's literature, such fancies would wholly die out of the knowledge of the people to whom they owed their birth. Mythology can

[1] *The Philosophy of the Christian Religion*, p. 356.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 470–473.

exist quite apart from Religion; and even though, in particular instances, it may unquestionably have been associated with Religion at the outset, it is often to be found emptied of all genuine religious content.

At the same time, no student of Comparative Religion can afford to ignore Comparative Mythology. Nowhere will he penetrate back to the sources of a people's Faith without finding himself surrounded by a growth of luxuriant Mythology. As intimated already, this growth may be no part of the Religion in question; but very speedily it becomes interwoven with the history of that Religion, and only later on can the two be finally separated. Probably there is no Religion extant in which the separation of myth from fact has as yet been completely effected: it goes without saying, therefore, that every student of Religion must acquaint himself intimately with those symptoms which reveal the presence of Mythology, in order that due allowance may be made both for its existence and its inevitable influence.[1]

V. ETHNOLOGY.[2]—In view of the fulness of treatment already given to Anthropology,[3] it is not necessary to deal here at length with the subsidiary value of Ethnology, *i.e.* when viewed as a whole. We must refer, however, though briefly, to a specially limited section of that department of study, viz., FOLKLORE. For, in order to complete what has previously been said respecting Mythology, it is plainly essential that this supplementary statement should be added.

[1] For additional British and Foreign Authorities on Mythology, with a list of standard Periodicals, see Appendix. Note XXVIII., page 555.

[2] The term Ethnology has now in many quarters been superseded by the kindred term Ethnography. The latter word conveys, no doubt, a more precise and lucid meaning, suggesting a survey of man "geographically and descriptively, treating of the origin and subdivision of races, the causes and consequences of migration," etc. (*The Standard Dictionary, in loco*); but the older name is the more comprehensive of the two, it is more widely familiar, and its significance is sufficiently sharp and definite. Ethnography has aptly been termed "Descriptive Ethnology."

[3] See pages 257 f.

ETHNOLOGY PROPER: ITS WORTH AS AN AUXILIARY SCIENCE. — Much, indeed, might be said concerning the assistance which Ethnology itself has contributed towards promoting the advancement of Comparative Religion. Concentrating its attention upon such information as may be gained through a careful study of the origin and development of the various human races; making demonstration of the fact that all peoples, no matter how far separated from one another, started invariably with a most primitive type of culture; disclosing how, at that early stage, men everywhere availed themselves of the help of such rude implements and weapons as their defective skill sufficed to contrive and fashion,—it goes without saying that Ethnology is capable of rendering to students of Comparative Religion assistance of a material and very varied character.

At the same time, it must be confessed, the results actually secured have often proved to be all too meagre. The information which has been collected from different sources with considerable labour has frequently been accepted without sufficient authentication; and thus merely alleged facts, perhaps the isolated observations of some chance traveller, have unfortunately become embodied in scientific records. Moreover, even actual facts, verifiable and with all due care authenticated, have sometimes been so viewed and catalogued as to separate them entirely from the environment of the life of which they are the natural expression; and thus attention has been concentrated on the mere letter of some custom or religious rite, while the spirit and impulse of the act have been quite missed by the observer. By some, the study of Ethnology has unhappily been pursued into visionary and fanciful by-ways.[1] But the most prolific source of misleading or directly erroneous conclusions, when the influence of race upon man's religious

[1] See Richard T. Massy, *Analytic Ethnology; the Mixed Tribes in the British Isles examined.* Bath, 1855. [London, 1858.] Also John Pym Yeatman, *The Semitic Origin of the Nations of Western Europe, and, more especially, of the English, French, and Irish Branches of the Gaelic Race.* London, 1879.

conceptions is avowedly being estimated, is to be found in the fact that the significance of this element has been blindly exaggerated. All will recall Renan's mistaken but reiterated belief that the Semitic peoples were governed by a monotheistic instinct; yet no conclusion could more directly contradict the real facts of the case. Racial differences do unquestionably manifest themselves in various ways, in the varieties of religious sentiment which exist and flourish among different peoples; but Professor Jastrow is fully justified in "sounding a note of warning against the present tendency in ethnological science to give undue weight to the factor of race in producing mental traits that, on the surface, appear to distinguish one people from another. It is the merit of the late James Darmesteter to have pointed out, in one of his lucid and suggestive essays, that many of the so-called natural traits which may be observed among a people are due, not to the accident of race, but to a totally different factor, which he calls 'tradition.'[1] Common surroundings, common aims, common struggles develop common mental traits, and [develop them] more effectively than descent from the same ancestors."[2] Principal Fairbairn is even more emphatic, and declares that "there is no region where a healthy and fearless scepticism is more needed than in the literature that relates to Ethnography."[3] And again: "The ethnographic student of religion tends to emphasise [in particular, stories, rites, etc. Accordingly] the emphasis has fallen, now, on the philological or literary expression; and the mythology, the folklore, the divine names and attributes, have been investigated and compared. Then the emphasis has changed to institution or custom; and the totem, the sacrifice, the priest, the magician, have become the fields of research and speculation. But these by themselves are more significant of the stage of culture than of the nature or character of the

[1] *Selected Essays*, p. 155. London and Boston, 1895.
[2] *The Study of Religion*, p. 85.
[3] *The Philosophy of the Christian Religion*, p. 204.

religion. . . . The life and permanence of the religion . . . lie rather in the continued and refining activity of the thought, . . . which is ever refining the forms it has inherited, and seeking fitter vehicles for its richer and sublimer ideas."[1]

FOLKLORE.—As already intimated, however, it is not our purpose to discuss the general merits of Ethnology, viewed as a separate department of Science. We wish rather to direct attention to that special branch of it which is commonly denominated Folklore.

VARIOUS CONCEPTIONS ENTERTAINED CONCERNING FOLKLORE.—Grant Allen, in his "avant-courier of a reasoned system," expresses the opinion that "Folklore is the protoplasm of Mythology";[2] and the same view has been strongly and widely endorsed by several teachers of international fame. By others it has been held that Folklore and Mythology are to be regarded, for all practical purposes, as identical. Yet others teach that Folklore is traceable to a primitive Mythology, in which we find its real source. It is averred, in other quarters still, that "the investigations of Folklore are really laying the foundations of Comparative Psychology, . . . and that only gain can result from the solution of the problems of the one science in the light of the other."[3] Some content themselves with affirming that Mythology and Folklore have had a common origin, and that their marked and essential differences are due purely to the vicissitudes of their history. It is plain, therefore, that hazy notions may be entertained as to what Folklore actually is.[4] Its aim is sufficiently definite; not *all* early beliefs, but only such as persist in living on under altered forms and amid unfamiliar surroundings—and, in particular, those which now stand more or less closely associated with Religion—awaken the special interest of the

[1] *The Philosophy of the Christian Religion*, pp. 212–213.
[2] Cp. *The Evolution of the Idea of God*, pp. 435–438. London, 1897.
[3] Frank Granger, *The Worship of the Romans*, p. vii. London, 1895.
[4] Cp. page 45.

eager Folklorist. But how did this Folklore arise? And what advantages would be likely to accrue from our recognising it as a separate department of inquiry?

THE INAUGURATION OF FOLKLORE STUDIES.—It was the slow advance made in the study of Mythology that led investigators to push their researches back into that domain within which many believe that Mythology takes its rise. As early as 1879, a Folklore Society was founded in London for the purpose of securing "the collection, comparison, and identification of the survivals of archaic beliefs, customs, and traditions in modern ages." For Folklore stands related to the countless *disjecta membra* of Mythology—not to its great Systems, indeed, but to its ignored and forgotten fragments—very much as the Museum stands related to the objects of considerably varying worth which are honoured with a place within its walls: it preserves them for observation and comparison, when otherwise they would most likely have been hopelessly scattered and lost. The study of Folklore, accordingly, began much later than that of Mythology: in the very nature of the case, it could not have been otherwise.

It was fully time that in Great Britain, if the step indicated were to be taken at all, it should be initiated without further delay; for much of the information desired—whether existing as local superstitions, legends, animal stories, etc.—was rapidly passing away. Already, in 1869, the *Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie, und Urgeschichte* had been inaugurated in Germany. The example thus set was not long in being initiated by the United States,—where, in 1888, the *American Folklore Society* of Cambridge, Mass., was founded. Thus it has come to pass that to-day, in almost every intellectual centre in Europe and America, bands of busy searchers are working upon the margins of this problem with painstaking and unflagging energy.[1]

[1] Concerning the excessive growth in the literature of Folklore, see Appendix. Note XXIX., page 556.

SOME COMPETENT AND REPRESENTATIVE FOLKLORISTS.—Notwithstanding the criticism of this new movement, which it has seemed wise to include in the Appendix, enduring results have already been reaped in a field that promises to be abundantly fruitful in the not remote future. Exact and scientific inquiry, coupled with the exercise of a cool and sane judgment, may always be counted upon to exert an illuminative influence. The greatest workers in this domain are undoubtedly representative Germans,—men who, in point of accuracy, patience, and comprehensiveness, have well maintained the scholarly traditions of their country. Other nationalities, however, supply names which are deserving of almost equal honour. A very brief selection must suffice.

1. JAKOB L. K. GRIMM[1] (1785–1863).—Probably the most widely known collection of Folk Tales is that which was prepared a quarter of a century ago by the Grimm brothers, Jakob and Wilhelm.[2] There is also an excellent work by the same author, the product of his independent researches, with which every student in this department ought to make himself familiar.[3]

2. ELARD HUGO MEYER[4] (1837–).—This author has furnished his readers with a work which, while admirable in itself and more compact than that of Grimm, serves very effectively to supplement its predecessor.[5]

3. KARL J. SIMROCK[6] (1802–1876).—To this writer we owe a volume which must be accounted second only to the encyclopædic treatise of Jakob Grimm. Though perhaps not equal in scholarship to the work just named, the

[1] Philologist and Bibliographer.

[2] *Kinder- und Hausmärchen.* [Translated for the Bonn Library as *Household Tales*, with special introduction by Mr. Andrew Lang. 2 vols. London, 1884.]

[3] *Deutsche Mythologie.* Göttingen, 1835. [4th ed., 3 vols., 1875–78. Translated, and enlarged by posthumous additions, 4 vols., London, 1879–89.]

[4] Professor of Indo-Germanic Mythology, University of Freiburg, Baden.

[5] *Germanische Mythologie.* Hamburg, 1867. [N. ed., Berlin, 1891.]

[6] Formerly Professor of Early German Literature, University of Bonn.

material it contains has been judiciously condensed; hence, on the whole, few books are in a position to compete with it in the field which it so admirably covers.[1]

4. JOHN FRANCIS CAMPBELL[2] (1822–1885). — A British investigator, who has done for his own part of the United Kingdom what Grimm accomplished for the German Fatherland, has written a work of rare and permanent excellence.[3]

5. GEORGE WILLIAM COX (1827–1902). — This indefatigable student defended the view that all Mythology is traceable to "distorted celestial phenomena." He wrote much, and with considerable suggestiveness. Born in India, and a member of the clerical profession, his sympathies were constantly sustained by the hope that the wide possibilities of help derivable from this field would one day be abundantly realised.[4]

6. ANDREW LANG (1844–).—Although Mr. Lang is largely responsible for creating and fostering the chief Folklore Society in Great Britain, he is not now so friendly to the movement as he used to be. Just as he has had serious differences of opinion with some leading Anthropologists, he has of late frequently turned the batteries of his satire against Folklorists also; and the result has been anything but pleasant for his whilom friends. At the same time, his contributions to this study—for the most part brief and fragmentary—have been numerous and most useful; and they exhibit at once ingenuity and insight.[5]

7. GEORGE LAURENCE GOMME[6] (1853–). — By the pen of this tireless and skilful worker, who also was one of the founders of the London Folklore Society, we have been furnished with a valuable and compact survey of the whole

[1] *Handbuch der deutschen Mythologie.* Bonn, 1853. [6th ed., 1887.]

[2] An ardent Gaelic scholar.

[3] *Popular Tales of the West Highlands.* 4 vols. Edinburgh, 1860–62. [N. ed., 1893.]

[4] See his *Introduction to the Science of Comparative Mythology and Folklore.*

[5] See his *Custom and Myth.* London, 1884.

[6] Clerk to the London County Council.

field.[1] As editor at different periods of a number of technical magazines,[2] and as an active and enthusiastic member of Anthropological and kindred Societies, Mr. Gomme has for many years kept himself in touch with the sources whence much of the material especially needed by Folklorists is being constantly derived.

8. HENRI GAIDOZ[3] (1842–).—France is not behind other countries in supplying scholars with excellent and reliable publications in this connection. It is to M. Gaidoz, indeed, that we owe the earliest Journal which devoted itself deliberately to the promotion of the Science of Folk-lore.[4] But besides founding this Review, writing largely for the *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, and issuing numerous books from the press,[5] he projected a whole series of volumes bearing on this subject, and prepared the first of them with his own hand.[6] And the foregoing honourable statement needs to be yet further amplified. M. Gaidoz has frequently collaborated with other experts; and as associated with M. Sébillot, both being enthusiastic students of primitive traditions and customs, he has secured the production of a most valuable Handbook.[7] The same workers prepare also periodically, for selected current *Reviews*, very useful Bibliographies, which contain the results of an immense amount of painstaking labour.[8]

9. PAUL SÉBILLOT[9] (1846–).—Reference has just

[1] See his *Handbook of Folklore*. See also his *Ethnology in Folklore*. London, 1892.

[2] *The Antiquary*, *The Archæological Review*, *The Folklore Journal*, etc.

[3] Professor of Geography and Ethnology, École libre des sciences politiques, Paris.

[4] *La Melusine*, which is further described as a "Revue de mythologie, littérature populaire, traditions et usages."

[5] *E.g.*, *La religion gauloise*, Paris, 1879–81; *La mythologie gauloise*. Paris, 1886; etc.

[6] *Bibliotheca Mythica*. Vol. i., *La Rage et Saint Hubert*. Paris, 1887. [Unfortunately no second volume has yet appeared.]

[7] *La France Merveilleuse*.

[8] Cp. *Bibliographie des traditions et des littératures des Francs d'outre-mer*. Paris, 1886.

[9] Author and Artist.

been made to M. Sébillot's brilliant work in co-operation with M. Gaidoz, but his independent inquiries have placed him among the comparatively few eminent Folklorists of to-day. He also is the founder of a *Review*,[1] and a voluminous author.[2] His latest important undertaking covers an attempt to give a complete survey of the Folklore of France.[3] Successive volumes, containing a series of monographs by different hands, will deal authoritatively with such topics as *Le Ciel et la Terre*, *La Mer et les Eaux*, *La Faune et la Flore*, *Le Peuple et l'Histoire*, etc.

10. Daniel Garrison Brinton[4] (1837–1899).—A constant investigator, and a rapid and effective writer, Dr. Brinton has added many a valued contribution to Anglo-Saxon scientific literature. Among American scholars of distinction, his name will always be entitled to hold an honourable place. He was an Anthropologist by choice, and publicly claimed and made use of that title; but his latest inquiries were conducted within the domain of Comparative Psychology and Sociology. Had his life been prolonged, it seems likely that he would have lent a very decided impulse to the wider employment of those recent and revolutionary methods which, within these spheres, he had much to do with inaugurating and fostering.[5]

The Value of Folklore as an Auxiliary to Comparative Religion.—From what has been said,[6] it is clear that Folklore thus far has not lent Comparative Religion any very effective aid. But this condition of affairs need

[1] *Revue des traditions populaires.* Paris.

[2] See his *Contes populaires de la Haute-Bretagne*, 3 vols., Paris, 1880–82; *Traditions et superstitions de la Haute-Bretagne*, 2 vols., Paris, 1883; *Légendes, croyances et superstitions de la mer*, 2 vols., Paris, 1886–87.

[3] *Le Folk-Lore de France.* Paris, 1905. [*In progress.*]

[4] Formerly Professor of American Archæology and Linguistics, University of Pennsylvania.

[5] See his *Myths of the New World.* New York, 1868. [3rd ed., Philadelphia, 1896.] Also, *Races and Peoples: Lectures on the Science of Ethnography.* New York, 1890; and *The Basis of Social Relations: A Study in Ethnic Psychology.* New York, 1902.

[6] See also the Appendix. Note XXIX., page 556.

not be indefinitely continued, and the prospect is that a much closer and more fruitful relationship between these two fields of inquiry is already near at hand. Professor Jastrow sums up the outlook fairly well when he says: "Folklore will not help us materially in solving the problem as to either the origin or the nature of religion; but it is of value in enabling us to trace the course taken by a myth, to supply missing elements in the same, and to establish the connection that binds the present to the remote past."[1] A more comprehensive hope in all probability is fully warranted, if one judge by the results which Folklore has achieved wherever it has been studied under the direction of competent and patient investigators. Its real place however, as an auxiliary Science, awaits the demonstration of the future.[2]

VI. Sociology.—In proceeding to deal with the last subsidiary Science to which special reference can be made in this survey, a very brief summary of the situation will suffice,—(1) because Sociology is as yet only in its initial stages, and the measure of assistance rendered by it to Comparative Religion has accordingly been relatively limited; and (2) because the character of the assistance it promises soon to supply is in several respects very closely akin to that which has already been described under the heads of Anthropology, Psychology, etc.

Is there a Science of Sociology?—This is a question to which very many to-day return a prompt answer in the negative. Possibly this verdict, if one's decision be governed strictly by the facts, is the only one that can meanwhile be rendered. But such a verdict, unless immediately qualified, would manifestly ignore certain conspicuous truths which have lately come into view. The time may not yet have arrived when the social life of man can be referred to its

[1] *The Study of Religion*, p. 272.

[2] For additional British and Foreign Authorities on Ethnology, see Appendix. Note XXX., page 557.

ultimate principles, and when it can be said to be governed by a group of definite and verifiable laws; but the advance which has been made towards such a consummation, in particular during the last twenty years, holds out a distinct promise that such a goal will eventually be reached. It has usually been necessary for a new Science, as proved to be true in the experience of Comparative Religion itself, that it should be prepared to fight hard and long before it could obtain a secure and acknowledged footing; but Sociology, at all events, has certainly abundant ground to feel encouraged, whether to-day it looks back or confidently looks forward. "Whatever is repeated—in human affairs, as in physical affairs—can be studied by scientific methods. Statistical countings, comparisons, and classifications can be made, and in the course of time inductions of law and cause" may legitimately follow. So declares Professor Giddings in one of his latest books.[1] He holds that a study of the genesis of social institutions is not only possible and desirable, but essential; and happily this impression is steadily gaining strength on every hand. Mr. Andrew Lang, likewise, has recently published a volume which deals very thoughtfully with this problem.[2] But among practical lawmakers, not less than among Experts in Sociology, the situation is felt to be one which demands immediate and careful treatment. It was recently proposed, therefore, that there should be established, in connection with the Department of the Interior at Washington, a special "Laboratory for the study of the Criminal, Pauper, and Defective Classes." It is quite evident that all men do not set out on their career with equal advantages, and with equal prospects of ultimate success; and it has been thought well worth while to endeavour to ascertain the causes, and if possible the remedy, for those countless ills—due to illiteracy, poverty, moral delinquency, defective heredity, etc.

[1] *Inductive Sociology.* New York, 1902.

[2] *Social Origins* [by Andrew Lang] *and Primal Law* [by the late J. J. Atkinson]. London, 1903.

—which so manifestly check, and often preclude, anything like reasonable social progress. The first question is, What are the facts? Then, What do they disclose? Then, How are they to be met? In view of current feeling and action touching the study of Sociology, its advent as a Science is plainly only a question of time. Its foundations have already been laid in the study of Ethnology; and, as the crowning part of the superstructure thus far upreared, the keystone will no doubt be raised by and by to its appointed and commanding resting-place.[1]

SOME OF SOCIOLOGY'S RECOGNISED EXPOUNDERS.—Of course, it is only in so far as Sociology has shown itself tributary to Comparative Religion that it can be taken account of in the present treatise; but even within this more restricted area it presents to us names that must not be omitted. Several of these investigators have been referred to already, in connection with Anthropology, Ethnology, etc.; accordingly, such allusion as is made to them here will be exceedingly brief.

1. HERBERT SPENCER[2] (1820–1904).—It may appear strange to many that one who began life as a Civil Engineer should so soon have transferred his whole attention to philosophical studies; but the practical bent given to his thought in the opening years of his career never wholly spent itself. Hence the numerous evidences of a taste for sociological inquiries. Some, indeed, affirm that this writer was the very reverse of practical in his attitude towards the profounder sort of questions. Thus one critic writes: "It is not too much to say that, if Mr. Spencer had studied at first hand a single historical religion, we should never have had the theory which forms the basis of his Sociology. And what is true of him may be said of many another Ethnographer who has tried to turn his descriptive science into a philosophy."[3] It is undoubtedly the case that this writer—

[1] See Appendix. Note XXXI., page 559.

[2] Founder and most diligent interpreter of the Synthetic Philosophy.

[3] Principal Fairbairn, *The Philosophy of the Christian Religion*, p. 209.

he of all others!—had an unfortunate habit of theorising, and that he was prone to substitute speculation for fact in the foundation of some of his more daring structures. Nevertheless, at heart, he clearly desired to produce sound and enduring work; and certainly he never spared himself in order to lessen the constant pressure of his labours. Spencer was no mere dreamer. Though studying the situation (for the most part) from afar, he discovered the bond of a common brotherhood that ultimately draws all men together, and that knits them into one great organic whole. The mysterious laws of this wondrous and widespread organism he honestly sought to unravel.[1]

2. HENRY HAVELOCK ELLIS[2] (1859–).—Dr. Ellis, who has rendered students everywhere a great service by his editing the "Contemporary Science Series" of modern Handbooks,[3] has contributed to this group of volumes a work which cannot be omitted even from this very condensed catalogue.[4]

3. DANIEL GARRISON BRINTON[5] (1837–1899).—Dr. Brinton, to whose diversified researches reference has already been made, was always an ardent student of Sociology. Just before his death he completed the manuscript of an important book, which was soon afterwards published; no reader can fail to gain from it both light and stimulus.[6]

4. FRANKLIN HENRY GIDDINGS[7] (1855–).—Professor Giddings gives to his recent and very suggestive volume the sub-title, "A Syllabus of Methods, Analyses and Classifications, and Provisionally Formulated Laws." It is full of hints and counsels drawn from a wide and watchful experi-

[1] See his *Principles of Sociology*. See also *The Study of Sociology*. London, 1873. [9th ed., 1880.]

[2] Editor and Author.

[3] Begun in 1899. [*In progress.*]

[4] *The Criminal*. London, 1890. [3rd ed., enlarged, 1900.]

[5] Cp. page 313.

[6] *The Basis of Social Relations: A Study in Ethnic Psychology*. New York, 1902.

[7] Professor of Sociology, Columbia University, New York.

ence. To a beginner in Sociology, it cannot but prove a help of exceeding value.[1]

5. JOHN H. W. STUCKENBERG[2] (1835–1903).—Dr. Stuckenberg was a most careful student of sociological questions; and his latest volume (unfortunately also his last) was sincerely welcomed by all those, not a few, who had already profited by his guidance.[3]

6. EDWARD ALEXANDER WESTERMARCK[4] (1862–).—Among the perplexities which awaken warm debate, in the study of primitive society, none is more puzzling than the Marriage problem—its significance, its origin, etc. It is in this direction, in particular, that Professor Westermarck has of late turned his inquiries, and with signal diligence and success.[5] The relationship of this universal practice to Religion has given rise to various theories; but the tendency prevalent among all races, as Ethnology has clearly shown, has been (generally speaking) twofold, viz., either to bring the event directly under the sanction or under the frown of Religion,—and thus either directly to couple it with, or authoritatively to separate it from, revered religious rites.

7. CHARLES J. M. LÉTOURNEAU[6] (1831–1902).—The subject which has engaged so largely the researches of Professor Westermarck, and many others, proved a very fruitful study in the hands of Professor Létourneau.[7] But,

[1] *Inductive Sociology.* New York, 1902. See also *The Principles of Sociology.* New York, 1898. [Translated into many languages.]

[2] Author and Critic.

[3] *Sociology: The Science of Human Society.* See also his *Introduction to the Study of Sociology*, New York, 1897 (to which the work just named is a sequel); his *Christian Sociology*, New York, 1880; and his series of monthly articles, published until his death, in the *Homiletic Review*, New York.

[4] Lecturer in Sociology, University of Finland, Helsingfors.

[5] See *The History of Human Marriage.* The same topic has been ably discussed by Mr. Ernest Crawley, Professor Tylor, Dr. J. G. Frazer, Mr. J. J. Atkinson, Dr. George E. Howard, etc. Cp. footnote on page 46.

[6] Formerly Professor in the École d'anthropologie, Paris.

[7] See *L'evolution du mariage et de la famille.* Paris, 1888. [Translated, London, 1891.]

in works of very much wider outlook, he has surveyed the whole field of Sociology in a masterly way.[1]

8. RAOUL DE LA GRASSERIE[2] (1839–).—Another name that claims mention on this page is that of Dr. Raoul de la Grasserie. A prolific writer on Philological and Legal questions, he has worked also in several other fields, and with no small measure of success. In particular, he has of late turned his inquiries towards Psychology and Sociology, as these studies stand related to the development of Religion.[3]

SOCIOLOGY VIEWED AS SUBSIDIARY TO COMPARATIVE RELIGION.—Sociology is as yet too recent a study to warrant one's speaking dogmatically concerning its capabilities and prospects. It is, in truth, a department of inquiry which is still only in its infancy, and it need surprise no one that the assistance which it at present affords to students of Comparative Religion is fragmentary and meagre. It must not be forgotten, however, that Sociology has its own special work to do, and that it has never undertaken to deal expressly with questions connected with Religion. Nevertheless, to many of these questions Sociology has supplied its own answer in its own characteristic way. Equally with Anthropology, Psychology, etc., it declares that absolutely no man is utterly destitute of religious perceptions and aspirations.[4] Moreover, it makes plain that social conditions invariably influence the special type of Religion which prevails, and increasingly prevails, in any given community. It emphasises the fact that "every man is not simply an individual, but a conscious and active atom in an immense organism; that he is born into a Society that gives to him before he gives to it, and its gifts are more

[1] See his *La sociologie d'après l'ethnographie*. Paris, 1880. [Translated, London, 1893.]

[2] Philologist and Jurist.

[3] See his *De la psychologie des religions*. Paris, 1898; and *Des religions comparées au point de vue sociologique*. Paris, 1899. For additional British and Foreign Authorities on Sociology, see Appendix. Note XXXII., page 561.

[4] Cp. fifth footnote, page 291.

than educative processes, are faculties that can be educated."[1] These, and similar results that might be named, are unquestionably gains; and their value should be openly acknowledged. Several Universities and Theological Seminaries, especially in the United States, are giving to this study a place of increased importance in their "Special" curricula. Thus Boston University offers instruction in (*a*) Various theories of the State and social ideals, from Plato to the present time; (*b*) Modern Socialism, as illustrated by Germany, England, and America; (*c*) The Social Mission of the Church; (*d*) The New Testament and the solution of modern sociological problems; and (*e*) Theories, Principles, and Methods. Harvard University is about to establish a course of lectures on "The Sociological Aspects of Religion." Princeton University recently founded a Chair which is to deal with "Political Economy, Socialism, Communism, Social Reform, Criminology, Prison Reform, and allied topics." Princeton Seminary has provided a course on "Christian Sociology," in which "the teachings of Christianity as to the family, the nation, and the school, and the argument for Christianity from the superiority of its social system," are exhaustively dealt with. The University of Chicago has a Department of "Sociology and Anthropology," the work of which is carried on by a notable group of Professors. Of late, moreover, the University of London has begun to take a quite vigorous interest in this new and inviting field.[2] In 1903, Mr. J. Martin White of Dundee presented the University with a gift of £1000, in order that it might make independent provision for regular courses of lectures on Sociology,—"meaning thereby the study of social organisation, development, and ideals (past and present) over the world, from the lowest to the highest forms; with the object not only of constructing a scientific theory of society, but also of associating such theory with the highest

[1] Principal Fairbairn, *Studies in the Philosophy of Religion and History*, p. 246.

[2] Cp. second footnote, page 46.

philosophical thought, and of indicating the bearing of such knowledge on practical life." The studies which Mr. White particularly desires to encourage are "those associated with the titles Anthropology and Social Psychology, Social Philosophy (including Philosophy of History) and Ethics." Thus far, Professors from University College, Dundee, the University of Cambridge, and the University of Finland, have given courses of from eight to ten lectures each; and it is evident that, by co-ordinating already existing facilities for sociological teaching in London, the metropolitan University has resolved to secure for the study of Sociology an importance and impulse which it has never obtained in Great Britain hitherto. The student in this field must, however, be constantly on his guard lest he exaggerate the amount of influence which Sociology has actually wielded within the domain of Religion; that influence, in the judgment of the ablest authorities to-day, has probably been less than many leading men who are exclusively Sociologists imagine.

General Summary of Chapters VIII. and IX.—It has been thought desirable to give some account of those six Auxiliary Sciences[1]—each of them, itself, a Comparative Science—which have helped, more or less effectively, to advance that study in which the readers of this Manual are especially interested. As the outcome of this review, the following conclusions appear to be warranted:—

(1) The Assistance rendered to Comparative Religion, though indirect, has been invaluable.—The impulse which Comparative Religion has secured from those six progressive Sciences which have just been referred to, while it has been indirect indeed, has nevertheless been real and substantial. These varied studies have been founded, and severally promoted, with definite individual

[1] Other Auxiliary Sciences might have been adduced, as, *e.g.*, Comparative Philology. Cp. pages 33, 116, etc. But the six instances cited will abundantly suffice.

ends in view; and their goals, respectively, have been far from identical with that of Comparative Religion. Yet, in the course of the investigations which have necessarily been undertaken, it has gradually become manifest *in each case* that the factor of Religion, latent but by no means unimportant, has steadily been rising more and more distinctly into view. Accordingly, in obedience to that impetus which genuine science invariably imparts, an additional series of investigations has had to be inaugurated in each of these domains, in order to determine the weight and place which ought to be accorded to this hitherto neglected factor. Thus it has come about that, within the last few years, there has been established the most cordial co-operation between the students of Comparative Religion on the one hand, and the students of Anthropology, Archæology, Psychology, Mythology, Ethnology, and Sociology on the other. Each of these Sciences examines, from its own particular standpoint, of course, the facts it has to pass in review; but even so, each contributes something of its own to the common and growing store of relevant information. Indeed, in no way can one get a more abiding impression of the many-sidedness of Religion—which is an intensely human thing (Anthropology), inseparable from man's earliest history (Archæology), appertaining to his mental constitution (Psychology), revealing itself in his primitive religious thinking (Mythology and Folklore), and constituting an integral part of his developed social life (Sociology)—than by studying it deliberately from these various points of view. Each of these kindred Sciences, and others like them which have not been specified, helps to corroborate and confirm, or else to correct and ratify, that fully rounded conception of Religion which is at once accurate and complete.

(2) IT IS AN ADDITIONAL ADVANTAGE THAT EACH OF THESE CONTRIBUTORY LINES OF INQUIRY IS BEING PURSUED SEPARATELY, AND BY AN INDEPENDENT GROUP OF WORKERS. —These six fields of investigation, upon which our atten-

tion has been concentrated in the course of the last two Chapters, undoubtedly touch at points, and even overlap. It is true that, occasionally, they cover the same ground. The last five of them, indeed, may be held to be merely subordinate divisions of the first. Hence some have been found who condemn this tendency to specialisation, and who ironically ask: Into how many additional departments is it proposed, in accordance with this method, to subdivide Anthropology in the future? Probably the best rejoinder to this query would be: Let Anthropology be further subdivided just as often as the exigencies of an exacter scholarship may seem to suggest that step. Specialisation is the hope of Comparative Religion, and we can scarcely have too much of it; moreover, in no other branch of inquiry has the division of labour been more welcomed by patient and competent explorers. As already explained,[1] each of these studies is an independent branch of learning; each, therefore, may be pursued quite irrespective of its bearing upon any of the others, or of its bearing more especially upon Comparative Religion. Yet each may be made auxiliary to all the others, and all may become auxiliary to Comparative Religion. When studied with the latter aim in view, these Sciences are found to supply Comparative Religion with material of the most varied kinds, drawn from all quarters, and furnished even by the most remote ages. They lead one back from mere theorising to the earliest accessible historical sources. Moreover, they point the investigator to regions and epochs that are older still; for they disclose the fact that (prior to the most primitive antiquity we know) there were yet earlier ages,—and that even these, quite plainly, were the development of something that was immeasurably older! Thus one is guided back from various starting-points towards the actual beginnings of things; and the lips of many witnesses, speaking out of a well-tried experience, present their mutually corrective (because totally independent) testimonies. It is

[1] See page 256.

clear that no reliable reconstruction of our knowledge of spiritual things can be effected until this preparatory work has resolutely been faced and mastered; and one cannot, therefore, be too grateful that so large a number of competent scholars have already addressed themselves to this task.

(3) MANY SURPRISES, BOTH GRATIFYING AND THE REVERSE, ARE CERTAIN TO REWARD THE CAREFUL RESEARCHES WHICH ARE BEING CONDUCTED IN THESE SEVERAL FIELDS.—The future has in store, no doubt, its surprises for both parties in this combined assault upon ignorance,—both for those who view the whole propaganda of Comparative Religion with distrust, and for those who are the most enthusiastic promoters of its present rapid advance. This aspect of the situation will be dealt with at length in a subsequent treatise.[1] It is enough meanwhile to say that truth is the only possible goal for the scientific inquirer, and that from that goal no conceivable consequences can suffice to turn him away. Even the ordinary man, who makes no pretence to possess acquaintance with the deeper reasons of faith, has no occasion to feel concerned touching the possible revelations of scholarship, let them be what they may. In some particulars, he must be prepared to suffer loss; but he will also unquestionably be treated to many a glad surprise, and his venerated beliefs (where true) will be shown to rest upon immovable foundations. Happily the prevailing attitude of modern Theology, strictly so called, is one that is increasingly hopeful; at any rate, it is decidedly more friendly towards these Subsidiary Sciences to-day than it was twenty-five years ago.

(4) A DANGER TO BE AVOIDED.—There is always great risk, when a new method of research has begun to yield satisfactory results, that it will be pressed into service too rapidly and then pushed too far. Instance after instance might be cited in which the lack of sufficient coolness and patience at the outset has sacrificed much meanwhile, and

[1] See *Comparative Religion: Its Opportunity and Outlook.* [*In preparation.*]

has even brought the whole issue into serious jeopardy. The brief history of Comparative Religion itself might furnish more than one illustration of the imminence of this danger. It is not strange, of course, if, through over-ardent zeal, grave miscalculations have occasionally been made, and the individual importance of some one or more of these Auxiliary Sciences has rashly been overrated. But to be forewarned is to be forearmed. These risks, therefore, may quite complacently be contemplated; for they can always either be avoided or surmounted.

CHAPTER X

ITS MENTAL EMANCIPATIONS

SYLLABUS.—General Remarks: pp. 327–328. What has Comparative Religion accomplished towards securing for man the fullest Mental Emancipation? I. Religion has at last been made a subject of Exact Study: pp. 328–334. II. A clearer Understanding has been reached as to what Religion really is: pp. 334–340. III. The legitimate place of Mysteries in Religion has been recognised and conceded: pp. 340–344. IV. A more adequate Interpretation has been put upon the various Forms, alike non-Christian and Christian, which Religion has been found to assume: pp. 344–359. V. An improved Conception has been gained touching the Supreme Being, and His essential relation to Man: pp. 359–364. VI. A conspicuous Enlargement has been wrought in the measure and outspokenness of a genuine sentiment of Charity: pp. 364–367. Summary: pp. 367–368.

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GENERAL REMARKS.—It will prove no easy task, even within the space of the next two Chapters, to summarise the succession of achievements which have now to be enumerated, and which are at once so numerous and so varied. For although Comparative Religion is one of the most recent of the Sciences, its record is already a distinguished one,—a fact which is as gratifying as it is honourable to those who have contributed towards bringing this result to pass.

No attempt will be made at present to do more than chronicle the principal successes in a long and important series. Moreover, such achievements as do obtain explicit mention must be referred to in the briefest possible form.[1] They will be dealt with under a twofold division. Thus the present Chapter will specify certain radical changes which have recently been effected in *current popular sentiment*, while Chapter XI. will indicate the *new methods of research* which have been introduced, and which promise to secure speedily for Comparative Religion a wider and more effective scope.

It must also be borne in mind, in the course of the following review, that the results mentioned are restricted to achievements which have been attained *thus far*. But the study of Comparative Religion means the promotion of a movement which is still within measurable distance of its beginning, and which is plainly destined very greatly to outrun the goal of its original purpose. In view not only of its researches into the past, but of the steadily widening horizon of its future, it is safe to predict that Comparative Religion will one day occupy a foremost place among those Sciences which compel universal recog-

[1] In a subsequent volume it is proposed to expand greatly the contents of the present Chapter, and to present a full survey both of the grounds upon which the statements here made are based, and of the proofs by which the conclusions reached may very easily be established. The rapid review of the field now given will, however, in the meantime, serve an important purpose of its own.

nition, and which secure for themselves prompt and loyal allegiance.[1]

WHAT HAS COMPARATIVE RELIGION EFFECTED IN THE DIRECTION OF SECURING FOR MAN THE FULLEST MENTAL EMANCIPATION?—A wise teacher has declared that "the tree is known by his fruit";[2] and Comparative Religion is perfectly willing to be weighed and judged under the application of this test. If estimated, in particular, in the light of the changes which it has so directly contributed towards effecting in current sentiment touching some of the most lofty problems of modern thought, no one will deny that this new Science has rendered most efficient service in the interest of sound scholarship, and in diffusing more intelligent and progressive conceptions concerning God and man, and their respective relations to each other.

1. RELIGION HAS BEEN MADE AN EXACT STUDY. — As standing in the very front of all its other achievements, Comparative Religion has brought it to pass that Religion is now deliberately included among those subjects to which men are applying the methods of *exact* investigation and study.

When one thinks of it calmly, it is truly a surprising fact that, among the multitudinous themes upon which men are accustomed to reflect, Religion is the one which usually receives the least and the briefest attention. Of course it is not overlooked, in making this remark, that there are many who take their Religion more seriously. There are individuals, to be reckoned even by thousands, who hold Religion to be supreme; but, speaking of mankind in the mass, and of the mass of mankind since the race had its origin, the foregoing indictment is unquestionably true. Usually no opinions, once formed, are so tenaciously held by a man as are those which he calls his religious opinions;

[1] See *Comparative Religion: Its Opportunity and Outlook.* [*In preparation.*]

[2] Matthew xii. 33.

nevertheless, in the great majority of cases, no human beliefs are accepted more heedlessly—and oftentimes, it must frankly be confessed, in more complete ignorance of their ultimate grounds—than are some of those which are embraced in a man's ecclesiastical Creed! We give ourselves to the study of the Arts and the Sciences; and, with most praiseworthy perseverance, we persist in our undertaking through long laborious years. Or we are ambitious to possess skill in some particular kind of handiwork; and we think it not too costly a prize when at last the coveted dexterity becomes ours as the reward of incessant pains. We are often perplexed, and sometimes completely baffled, as we slowly work out the solution of some complicated problem in Philosophy; yet we courageously continue our quest, and resolutely refuse to be turned away defeated. Nevertheless, within the domain of Religion, with its profounder and more intricate and much more momentous difficulties, we exhibit a strangely feeble curiosity. In that connection, we have too long been content to let others —and, more singular still, to let almost *any one*—do our thinking for us. While our opinions concerning secular matters have been more or less deliberately formed, our views concerning the unseen world have been accepted practically without examination—sometimes, evidently, with only a languid concern, sometimes with manifest indifference—whether these conclusions have chanced to reach us through the teaching of parents, or through the instruction of the pulpit, or through the conversation of some garrulous but ill-informed friend. It will not be denied, therefore, that unlimited praise is due to any new factor in our modern methods of study that may have been instrumental in checking so grave, so inexcusable, and so utterly reckless a course of moral conduct.

It has proved no small satisfaction to the promoters of Comparative Religion, that the work undertaken within this latest field of research has helped materially to modify current popular sentiment touching this whole matter.

Men toil and slave in the domain of Physical Science, and indeed in every department of material advance, because experience has taught them that only by this means can they hope to win success. They thoroughly believe in the employment in that connection of severely scientific methods, because they have tested and proved their utility. Surely in this respect "the children of this world are in their generation wiser than the children of light."[1] Men would believe more profoundly in Religion if they understood it better; and if they really believed in it, they would be more willing to endure self-sacrifice and even reproach for its sake. Be that as it may, it has at least been made clear that the study of this phenomenon is fully as important as—nay, is immeasurably more important than—any other study. If, as Tiele affirms, "Religion is one of the mightiest motors in the history of mankind,"[2] no conscientious student can afford to neglect or minimise its significance. Another, with equal emphasis, has declared that "Religion, if it be true, is *central* truth; and all knowledge which is not gathered round it, and quickened and illumined by it, is hardly worth the name."[3] Hence it has come to pass that, during the nineteenth century, the various manifestations of this subtle element in man have carefully been observed; the records compiled by different investigators have been compared; the results thus obtained have in due course been classified; and an honest attempt has been made to understand and account for those psychological and directly religious impulses which, sooner or later, reveal their activity in every human breast. The primary question, in truth, has of late become completely changed. It is no longer, "Are these several Religions true, or false?" but rather, "What are the actual foundations upon which each of these Faiths rests?" And, as a consequence of this altered attitude and query, it did not take

[1] Luke xvi. 8.
[2] Article on "Religions," *Encyclopædia Britannica*.
[3] William Ellery Channing.

long to convince thoughtful men that Religion demands and rewards serious inquiry quite as fully as do any of the Physical Sciences. If we have been startled, and then blessed, by the revolution which the introduction of electricity has wrought in almost every sphere of human experience, the keenest eagerness has been awakened by the demonstration that there exists also a spiritual electricity—the subtle invisible powers of which we are only beginning to understand and control—with which it becomes us to secure, as rapidly as possible, an enlarged individual acquaintance. And of late the doctrine has been energetically preached, and reiterated, that only by the laborious way of exact investigation and study can this intimate acquaintance be obtained.

It will scarcely be contended that Religion, as a vast domain of belief, has had fair play in the past. Its dicta have not been impartially scrutinised, and then (if possible) brought into harmony with the rest of our knowledge. On different pretexts, times without number, prospectors in this arena have been promptly arrested, and then vigorously warned away. Accordingly, although some of the very richest ore has long lain close at hand, and almost upon the surface of a wide but unexplored territory, this great area remains to this day, so far as the masses are concerned, a vast *terra incognita*.

The chief obstacles which have frustrated the purpose of the explorer hitherto have been two, viz.—(*a*) a hesitancy on the part of others to permit the application of exact methods of study within a region which most men think should be entered only with measured step and with uncovered head;[1] and because, (*b*) where inquiries of this sort have previously been carried on, they have frequently resulted in a lessened degree of veneration for those Scriptures, whether Christian or non-Christian, which had hitherto been held to be unique and entitled to an unquestioning reverence.

[1] Cf. Appendix. Note XXIII., page 545.

These objections, and others which are only less urgently pressed, will be fully dealt with when, in the volume already referred to,[1] a reply is being made to the critics of Comparative Religion. In the meantime, attention may be directed to two considerations which are directly relevant to the topic now under review. (1) The study of Religion (no matter how exact — the more exact the better, provided it be pursued by a competent and conscientious investigator) *cannot hope to do more than exhibit and establish the* LEGITIMATE CLAIMS OF THE SCRIPTURES of any given race or people. A man is not suffering an injury, but is invariably being rendered a service, when he is brought directly and conscientiously into contact with the truth. And this statement holds good, emphatically, in connection with an examination of the Sacred Writings which he has always been taught to revere. As the outcome of a closer study of these books, a man may lose, indeed, his old reverence for the historic records of his Faith; but he will not surrender a due reverence, and a reverence which now rests upon stable and visible foundations, where such foundations actually exist. If, on the other hand, the grounds of one's belief can be shown to be purely (or at least largely) imaginary, it is plainly of the very first importance that so momentous a fact should be ascertained and recognised with the smallest possible delay. And (2) the study of Religion, in accordance with exact and scientific methods, is *the only means by which any Faith can now win or retain the confidence of* THOUGHTFUL MEN.[2] It cannot be denied that, prior to the Reformation, the beliefs and worship of even Christian lands were inseparably wedded to tradition. Authoritative opinion was accepted, not interrogated. But to-day, whether the adherents of any particular Religion like it or not, every Faith is distinctly upon its trial; and the investigations already begun, the inevitable product of the

[1] See footnote, page 327.

[2] Religentem esse oportet, religiosum nefas ("A man should be religious, not superstitious").

age in which we live, are certain to go on. President Harper of Chicago, when speaking of modern Christian communions, recently felt constrained to declare that "the Church has alienated from itself the rich and the poor, and it is now alienating the intellectual also." The scientific method, which is to-day being employed in every department of exact inquiry, has at last been deliberately introduced into the domain of Religion; for it is recognised that there, as elsewhere, there can be no reliable or constructive work done without it. Reading men now understand that not only Language and Literature and Law and Art and Science pass through successive stages of growth, but that Religion equally is subject to the same process. Moreover, the Bible is no longer supposed to be the oldest writing that we possess, or to contain necessarily a record of the earliest civilisation: the archives of other nations besides Israel, and of nations that long antedated Israel, are now becoming accessible to every scholar, and are being carefully examined and pondered. Accordingly, "the educated man will insist on the use of reason. He will refuse to stultify the understanding. . . . [Nay more,] it is as the result of scientific investigation that the Bible continues to be for him the Book of Books, and the Religion of Christ the Religion of Religions. . . . He has discovered what has permanent value in Christianity, and has sifted from it all that is of an ephemeral nature. . . . [Thus he has found Christ;] not the Christ of dogma, or of tradition, or of his parents, but the Christ of his own experience,—the living, helping, forgiving, saving Christ."[1]

Apart altogether, therefore, from any hypothesis as to the manner in which Religion may have begun, it has plainly had a history; and that history must patiently be studied before it can reliably be interpreted. Scholarship to-day, whether Christian or non-Christian, can not possibly

[1] *The Christian Work and Evangelist.* New York, October 11, 1902. Cp. Symposium on "The Alleged Indifference of Laymen to Religion," in *The Hibbert Journal*, pp. 235–258. London, January 1904.

shirk this task. Certainly the pulpit should not ignore, or fatuously underestimate, the gravity of the issues which are at stake. The old demand, "simply believe!" will no longer suffice. If it be thought that some who have undertaken the work of interpretation are at heart unfriendly to the special Faith which we chance to represent, or that they blunder because they are ignorant or visibly careless in carrying on this work, the reason why others (animated by a more serious spirit) should follow them into this field is manifestly increased. If one really believe that his Religion is true, if one really believe that the Scriptures he possesses are genuine, he cannot better display that confidence before the world than by welcoming the fullest inquiry into the foundations of his Faith, and by lending cheerfully his own personal assistance towards making that inquiry thorough and complete. And if the Religion in question actually is what it is conscientiously held to be, then no agency can be named which will so quickly strengthen this conviction, both in oneself and in others—and thereby lend immense impulse to the defence and propagation of the beliefs that are maintained—as the Science of Comparative Religion. For that Science not only incites a man to study, leading him to examine anew the grounds of his personal confidence in the tenets which he professes;[1] but, to all who would establish themselves in the truth, it supplies one of the most authoritative and penetrative methods by which they may promptly and effectively attain the special end they have in view.[2]

2. A CLEARER UNDERSTANDING OF WHAT RELIGION REALLY IS.—As the natural outcome of those exact and critical studies to which reference has just been made, Comparative

[1] Cp. the testimony of even so widely read and profoundly thoughtful a witness as Principal Fairbairn, *The Philosophy of the Christian Religion*. Preface, pages vii.-ix.

[2] It was the late Dean Church who once aptly remarked that "the call to be religious is not stronger than the call to see *of what sort* our religion is." See also Howard Agnew Johnston, *Scientific Faith*. Chicago, 1904.

Religion has been instrumental in diffusing a clearer understanding of what Religion really is.[1]

In Chapter VII., some account was given of the different Schools into which modern opinion has gradually become divided touching the origin of Religion. The theory which an ever-increasing number of students of Comparative Religion to-day support—a theory which involves the affirmation of the divinity of faith's source, while admitting the inevitableness of those incessant modifications which every Religion undergoes owing to the influences of its particular environment[2]—presents a perfectly reasonable explanation alike of the similarities and the dissimilarities which have invariably characterised Religion in the course of its development.

It has fitly been said that the dawn of the religious consciousness in man must be one of the most hallowed and inspiring sights which it is possible to contemplate. What that experience meant for the first members of the race, Comparative Religion is not in a position to say; but it *is* the special business of that Science to scrutinise every instance of that experience which it can discover, and to seek to trace and explain its individual significance. And as the result of prolonged and varied studies—carried on directly within its own proper domain, or conducted in other but contiguous fields—it has reached certain definite conclusions, which it now offers to all who are willing to examine them. It teaches that the earliest and fundamental revelation which God makes of Himself to man is an *inner* revelation,—a revelation in conscience, a revelation that has its seat in the very being of man.[3] Accordingly, Religion does not reveal itself merely in the chance ejaculation of the lips; it is the natural and necessary outcome of the very life which throbs within a man's breast. Religion is not a matter of mere heredity; it is rather a personal exercise by the soul of those abilities which belong to its

[1] Cp. pages 109 and 217.
[2] See pages 231 f.
[3] Cp. page 233.

separate and responsible self. Religion is not a gift which one man secures through, and owes exclusively to, the good offices of another: it is ever an original possession, and is enjoyed as an inalienable birthright. Religion is not a speculation,—a mental abstraction in which the secluded Mystic may find recompense for his withdrawal from the world, and by means of which the profound scholar may rise to heights which lie wholly beyond the reach of the ordinary man: it is in all cases a life, varying in its intensity, but invariably real and practical, and ever willing to expend itself in the service of others.

Whenever, therefore, one is confronted by the question, "How, and why, does Religion manifest itself in the experience of man, and why does it invariably persist in the face of countless obstacles?" the answer is furnished more fully by Comparative Religion than by any other discipline. From this source, we have been supplied with the knowledge of at least four great governing principles, viz.:—

(1) *The Unity of Religion.*—As Comparative Philology gradually disclosed among Languages a hidden but essential unity which had never previously been suspected, the same service has been rendered within a different realm by means of Comparative Religion. For it has shown that Religion is not an abnormal or accidental experience, but one that is fundamentally characteristic of the human race. The various Faiths of the world are but the evolution of an original constituent principle of humanity. Religions are diverse; but Religion itself, like the air which man inhales, and which everywhere enswathes him, is one. It is just because of the existence in man of this basal and all-pervasive sentiment that, everywhere and always, he has striven to satisfy the cravings of his distinctly religious emotions.

(2) *The Necessity of Religion.*—No objective supernatural revelation is required, in order that man should exhibit the propensities of a profoundly religious being; for, wholly independent of such a revelation, he cannot live without making at least some response to that unmistakably religious

instinct which has been begotten within him. A man can no more help being religious than he can help eating or breathing. Principal Fairbairn puts the case very strongly when he writes: "Religion is so essential to man, that he cannot escape from it. It besets him, penetrates, holds him even against his will. The proof of its necessity is the spontaneity of its existence. It comes into being without any man willing it, or any man making it; and as it began, so it continues. . . . It must have been some strong instinct in the savage that moved him to the creation of those naïve beliefs and rites which we seek so eagerly to explain. . . . And this means that it was not in the Nature without, but the nature within the man and behind the beliefs, that was the really significant and causative nature."[1] "The race has been haunted by God. The altar which Paul saw in Athens, dedicated 'To the Unknown God,' is set up in the deep heart of man."[2] That an additional revelation, supplementary in its character, should have followed upon that subjective revelation which every man possesses, is an event quite possible in itself, and (under given circumstances) desirable and even essential; but, apart altogether from such an occurrence, "Man is incurably religious," as the late Professor Sabatier used often to phrase it.[3]

(3) *The Universality of Religion.*—The proofs of *this* principle have been sufficiently adduced in what has been said already. Comparative Religion has shown that man's exercise of faith in the unseen is not merely a visible manifestation of a strong inward impulse, but that it is the necessary manifestation of that impulse. Man is religious before he is fully aware of the fact; willingly or unwillingly, he bows his head when consciously in the presence of the Divine. It has also been pointed out, in a previous Chapter, that Religion is for man—and hence for all men—a psychological necessity.[4] But Comparative Religion has

[1] *The Philosophy of the Christian Religion*, p. 196.
[2] Hugh Black. *Sermon* preached in London, May 1902.
[3] Cp. page 220.
[4] See page 291.

gone further. Utilising the results of inquiries which have been conducted by the Historian, the Anthropologist, the Archæologist, etc., this new Science has demonstrated—Lord Avebury, the late Herbert Spencer, and others to the contrary notwithstanding—that the testimony of duly authenticated facts endorses and confirms the dictum that Religion is universal.

(4) *The Indestructibility of Religion.*—It was Carlyle who used to say, "Religion is not dead; it will never die. It has its dwelling-place, and birthplace, in the soul of man; and it is eternal as the being of man." Professor Jastrow declares that "however profound may be the modifications which religion will undergo, religion (as such) can never disappear."[1] "We have many proofs that the aspirations of men after faith—though they may be crushed, baffled, and apparently deadened—cannot be killed. That the spirit of man cleaves to the world-to-come is as true as that he stands erect in this."[2] "Religion is not a perishable commodity. The religious sentiment is an inextinguishable sentiment,—an element of human nature as universal, as ineradicable, as the fact of sex."[3] "Religion can no more die out of the heart of man, in his race capacity, than gravitation can disappear from the physical world."[4] The sense of the nearness of God is "set unchangeably in the soul of the world,—deeper than fleshly lust, deeper than commercial instinct, deeper than lines of cast and colour and country and sight."[5] "Wherever there are traces of human life, there are traces of religion."[6] Such testimonies, gathered from widely separated sources, could almost indefinitely be multiplied; but the profound truth they embody, however

[1] *The Study of Religion*, p. 293.

[2] W. Robertson Nicoll, in the *British Weekly*, London.

[3] *The Christian Work and Evangelist*, New York.

[4] Goblet d'Alviella, *The Contemporary Evolution of Religious Thought in England, America, and India*, Preface, p. x. London, 1885.

[5] Charles Cuthbert Hall, *Spiritual Experience and Theological Science*. New York, 1904.

[6] Max Müller, *Introduction to the Science of Religion*, p. 65.

diversely expressed, could not possibly be stated in terms more confident or more convincing than in those which have been cited already. It would appear, therefore, that God, having willed that man should never wholly forget Him, has deliberately incorporated in humanity an irrepressible factor which renders the divine purpose quite certain of its fulfilment. A man may reject the Faith of his fathers, and also some other Faith (or Faiths) which he has subsequently espoused; but there is a God-consciousness within him which will always ensure his allegiance to *some* type of belief and deathless hope. The appeals of Religion which reach him from without may be coldly and repeatedly spurned, and kindred appeals which utter themselves within may be resented or ignored or only very meagrely obeyed; but these latter voices persist, and they can *never* be altogether silenced within man's breast.[1]

The four fundamental principles which have just been specified, and which have been affirmed and enforced with peculiar emphasis by Comparative Religion, draw attention to one of the ways in which that Science has helped to diffuse a clearer understanding of what Religion really is. "It is the central, essential, and eternal thing in human life."[2] "It is the deepest, strongest, and most universal interest of man. It accompanies him from the cradle to the grave."[3] It is something that speaks to man of realities and certainties which, although unseen, constitute the really permanent forces of the universe. It tells him that the spiritual world is his true fatherland, and that he is not home-sick for an abode which he shall one day discover to have been in truth a mere chimera. The longings that make man restless, and that often fill him with a painful dispeace, are not the idle creations of his fancy; on the contrary, as the needle unwaveringly seeks the pole, so do

[1] Cp. pages 239–240. Also Appendix, Note III., page 487.

[2] Minot Judson Savage, *The Passing and the Permanent in Religion*, p. 13. New York, 1901.

[3] Philip Schaff, *Theological Propædeutic*, pp. 63–64. New York, 1893.

these cravings inevitably and universally direct the soul towards God.

3. A FRANK ACKNOWLEDGMENT THAT THE "MYSTERIES" OF RELIGION ELUDE AND BAFFLE ANALYSIS.—The impression that at least the foremost Doctors of Theology must always be able to expound with confidence the mysteries of their Faith, has of late been dispelled and abandoned. Of those matters which belong to the innermost verities of belief, it has become the custom in recent days to speak with a noticeable caution, and with an unwonted modesty. For it is at last being admitted that in the domain of Religion, as elsewhere,—nay, much more there than elsewhere,—the limits of human knowledge must be recognised and respected.

Accordingly, the note of dogmatic confidence and finality—a note which has often been far too pronouncedly characteristic of the religious teaching of practically every school of opinion, and which has unfortunately became so familiar—is gradually disappearing from the discussions of thoughtful men. It is now frankly admitted that the "deep things" of Religion, notwithstanding the closest scrutiny, often contrive wholly to elude analysis. Hence, when one has to deal with these complex and controverted topics, the adoption of a tone which says in effect *I am sure* results not only in arousing many needless antagonisms, but is at once unbecoming and unwarranted. Professor Paterson does not rebuke too sternly what he calls "the all-daring and all-embracing Gnosticism of the older theology." He then goes on to say, speaking of twentieth-century theology: "One of the most necessary improvements [about to be effected] is to draw—and that in earnest—the distinction between verities and problems, and to map off the realm of certitudes from the region in which assurance is unattainable, and in which variety of speculation is admissible."[1] It is of course flattering to a man's vanity that he should suppose himself able to "understand all

[1] *The Position and the Prospects of Theology*, p. 33. Edinburgh, 1903.

mysteries and all knowledge:"[1] but it is now recognised that, in every Sacred Book which we possess, there are contained tenets that are not amenable to reason,—many of which, moreover, taken in their ordinary literal meaning, are apparently not even reconcilable with one another. If we interrogate the official representatives of individual Faiths, they generally answer us with the old-time confidence, and declaim fluently once again about the esoteric significance of certain rites and beliefs; but the spell of primitive reverence has been broken, and these reassuring speeches no longer soothe or satisfy. Occasionally, outside interpreters of a given Faith, proffering their services as experts, courageously step into the breach and declare that the riddle has been solved: but they too often fail to communicate the measure of their own convictions to their hearers, who at the end are constrained to confess that the mysteries remain mysteries still.

Systematic Theology, in the narrower sense of "The Science of Christian Doctrine," has certainly not been the least notable transgressor in this connection in times past. The majority of the readers of this Manual will no doubt be representatives of Christianity; and, lest they should be found charging others with a fault of which they are guilty themselves, let Professor Paterson once more bear testimony in their presence. "The old view of the Bible," he says, "was that it is a storehouse of supernaturally revealed truths, and that it speaks with Divine authority in all its parts and on all subjects. Whether the matter belonged to the sphere of science, or secular history, or religious doctrine, it was settled by any declaration of Scripture which was not inconsistent with other parts of the acknowledged scriptural system, and it was settled as decisively by the voice of Genesis or Ezekiel as by the testimony of Christ or St. Paul. This use of Scripture had the advantage of being easily worked, of being valuable in polemics, and of giving a comfortable feeling of absolute certainty; but it has

[1] 1 Corinthians xiii. 2.

become impossible to employ and uphold it."[1] Or, again, speaking more particularly of his own country, Professor Paterson says: "The history of Dogmatics in Scotland during the nineteenth century is not inspiring, or even reassuring. During the first half of the century the Scottish Church was in the happy position of having inherited an elaborate doctrinal system which answered almost every question as to the being of God and His works in creation and redemption, and disposed of almost every religious problem arising out of the nature and destiny of man, and which was believed to be authenticated at every point by scriptural statements that rested on immediate Divine authority."[2]

It is timely that such a reproof should be uttered, and that it should be reiterated with great plainness of speech; and, fitting spokesmen having at last been found, sentiments of this sort—based upon a deeper and truer conception than heretofore of the perplexities which belong to the very texture of Religion—are now beginning to gain currency and acceptance everywhere. The mysteries of a man's Faith cannot be sounded, it would appear, by any human plummet. That an opposite belief has long prevailed is not, indeed, surprising, and the universal diffusion of it accounts for many of the amazing burdens with which Religion has been shackled and encumbered. It explains, on the one hand, how arrogance and ignorance have often managed to enter and establish themselves, and even exact the tribute of reverence, in places from which they ought especially to have been excluded. It explains also how it is that so many conflicting views have been announced concerning—not indeed the fact, but the manner of—Inspiration, Incarnation, Atonement, Resurrection, etc. The fully-informed Apologete in each case, be he Christian or non-Christian, has done his very best (we shall suppose) with the scanty materials which have been placed at his disposal; but not

[1] *The Position and the Prospects of Theology*, pp. 27–28.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 4–5.

only have the representatives of different Faiths rendered entirely different verdicts concerning each of the doctrines named, but even the representatives of the same Faith have often arrived at conclusions materially differing from one another. The fact is that the available data are hopelessly incomplete; hence they are capable of being variously viewed, variously combined, and variously interpreted. What the Doctors of Theology teach, therefore, concerning such matters, is manifestly only their theory of the facts. It is an explanation which seems to account for the facts,—or rather *more or less fully* seems to account for them; but does it really account for them? No amount of honesty, or of ingenuity, or of merely circumstantial corroboration can justify or avert the evil consequences of a verdict which even unwittingly misleads; hence, where the Sacred Books of one's Faith are obviously silent or obscure, an unbending dogmatism is liable to become as offensive as it is, in any case, utterly invalid and unreasonable.

Let it not be supposed that Comparative Religion has any desire to bring reproach upon, or to cast impediments in the way of, the study of Dogmatic Theology. On the contrary, it seeks rather to promote that study by raising it nearer to the plane of a strictly scientific inquiry. It recognises the extreme difficulty of the task; and therefore it greets with a sincere Godspeed all who conscientiously enter upon it. But it insists upon drawing a line of demarcation between things which differ. It would have the theologian expound, carefully and fully, those ethical and spiritual aspects of his Faith concerning which he can speak with confidence; but concerning some at least of its doctrinal aspects—especially as regards its more mysterious doctrines—it would have him exhibit a manifest caution and a more seemly reticence. There is a kind of Agnosticism which is in the highest degree commendable, but which unfortunately is rare, viz., the courageous confession of the learned man who frankly says, "*I do not know.*" The temptation to voice one's opinion in some oracular utterance

is unquestionably very strong, because the theologian teaches in a domain wherein many never think very profoundly for themselves;[1] but he who avoids this snare, or who prevents others from falling into it, is a benefactor of his generation, and is helping to raise the standard of modern religious instruction to a worthier and more enlightened level.

4. A MORE ADEQUATE INTERPRETATION OF THE MULTIFARIOUS FORMS WHICH RELIGION HAS ASSUMED.—A third most important result which has accrued from the study of Comparative Religion is that, within recent years, men have come to hold a truer and more valid conception of the individual worth of each of the great Religions of the world, and to recognise the function which each has severally discharged in the course of the unfolding history of the race. This fact is so manifestly germane to the essence and purpose of Comparative Religion as a Science, that no apology need be made for discussing it somewhat in detail, and for allotting to it considerably more space than has been given to any of the other topics which are dealt with in this Chapter.

Undoubtedly it has been one of the notable achievements of Comparative Religion, that it has furnished the thoughtful with a vastly improved, a more exact, and a much more just conception of the Christian Religion than formerly prevailed. It has compared and contrasted that Faith with every religious system of which it has been able to obtain any accurate knowledge, and it has demonstrated that there are radical differences which separate it, and which set it far apart, from all the others. To this conclusion, and to the grounds upon which it rests, fuller reference will be made in a moment.[2] But it is important to remark that Comparative Religion has succeeded, not less conspicuously, in giving to the world a vastly improved, a more exact, and a much more just conception of the non-Christian Religions. It has laid compelling emphasis upon the fact that for thousands of years there have existed a great variety of

[1] Cp. page 329.

[2] See pages 353 f.

forms of genuine belief and worship. The non-Christian Religions are not mere empty shadows—flitting fancies, and easily surrendered by those who have once revered them; they are the outcome of genuine (though not always of profound) conviction, and ought not, therefore, to be lightly esteemed, or profaned by the merely curious. Moreover, it has been demonstrated that, but for these alien Religions, Christianity would not occupy to-day that lofty position to which it has manifestly attained; for, by the instrumentality of these other Faiths, directly or indirectly, its ascent has been made more easy. This statement, as will be shown, casts no reflection upon the unique history and the supreme moral excellence of that Religion which was inaugurated by Jesus of Nazareth; but even were the consequences otherwise, a denial of authenticated facts is never permissible. Nevertheless, the close relationship in which Christianity stands affiliated with various earlier Religions was singularly overlooked, until students of this new Science began to affirm and enforce this unexpected teaching. Hence many false impressions as to the absolute isolation of Christianity, viewed as a distinctive type of Religion, are now rapidly being dispelled; whilst the dictates of the most ordinary wisdom, in accordance with which even Christ Himself was always found willing to utilise "the weak things of the world,"[1] has received an additional and most emphatic endorsation.

It is quite hopeless, in dealing with so wide and complex a subject, to attempt to give in the present Manual anything like a complete survey of it; but there are four points to which attention ought especially to be directed, viz.:—

(1) *Every historic Religion has fulfilled a distinct mission of its own.*—It would prove a most interesting task, and by no means a superfluous undertaking, if one were to proceed to justify—successively and in detail, concerning each of the great World Religions—the statement which heads this paragraph. Nothing more is possible here, of course, than

[1] 1 Corinthians i. 27.

an outline of the argument which will be fully presented in a subsequent volume;[1] but if it be indeed true that each historic Religion has fulfilled a distinct mission of its own, no further inducement ought to be required to lead students to accord to all of them, Christian and non-Christian alike, that candid and thorough examination to which each is abundantly entitled.

It will not be denied that, in various ways and in differing degrees, (*a*) *All these diverse Faiths have fanned the flame of religious fervour in man's breast.* They have delivered humanity, accordingly, from the catastrophe of an utterly sordid life. "Dim and cold . . . as twinkling distant cloud-obscured stars, they are nevertheless far removed from the utter darkness, from the gloom and terror of despair. . . . Burdened with never so much error, with never so much superstition, [they are] better, immeasurably better, than [would be] the error and superstition without the religion; and they would be there in undisturbed exercise, if *it* were not there."[2] (*b*) *All these diverse Faiths have truth in them, and that truth they help to disseminate among those who loyally accept them.* Among the Fathers, St. Augustine drew attention to this fact, over and over again; but, to this hour, many refuse to give heed to his words. Justice, morality, and a score of other virtues—varying greatly as to their standard, but really the same in principle—are preached by all Religions, among all races, and in all quarters of the globe. Whether the teacher be a pagan philosopher, a militant proselytiser, or Jesus of Nazareth, what matters it?—a truth is a truth, be the speaker who he may. A genuine Confucianist, not less than a Christian, gives honour to those who reverence lofty ideals; and he, quite as sincerely as the Christian, endeavours to practise, and to lead others to practise, the precepts which he commends. Superstition, lust, cruelty, selfishness, savagery, wrong, hate,

[1] *Comparative Religion: Its Principles and Problems.* [*In preparation.*]

[2] Rev. George T. Candlin, Missionary to China. See Barrows, *The World's Parliament of Religions*, vol. ii. p. 1186. 2 vols. Chicago, 1893.

rage would prove a hundredfold worse than they are (wherever they still exist) if they were not in some measure held authoritatively in check. Base standards, horrible tortures, and most cruel murders have been deliberately planned and perpetrated by professed Christians; deceptions, treacheries, "envyings, backbitings, whisperings . . . and all uncharitableness"[1] too often besmirch the record of that Faith still; yet the world is infinitely better off with Christianity as it is—yea, though it were a hundredfold worse than it is—than the race would be to-day without it. And since truth is truth, as God is God,—since, moreover, all sides of a truth are true, be they ever so varied,—it is manifestly a poor philosophy, and a sorry expenditure of logic, to strive to explain *any* of its unexpected dicta away. All truth is in its own right worthy: it has everywhere its own work to do. (*c*) *In all these diverse Faiths there is something of Him who, by way of an unrivalled distinction, has been called "The Truth."* To some, this statement may at first appear daring and exaggerated; but, in the light of the researches which Comparative Religion is conducting, more sober second-thought pauses, and demands for this plea at least a patient hearing. Truth, in any and every form, is an expression of the mind of God; and where truth of an elevating and definitely religious character is being taught, God's own high purpose—though often very strangely—is unquestionably being fostered and executed. It is not too much to say that there is no Faith that has ever effectually asserted its sway over a considerable portion of mankind, or over even an individual life, that has not graciously been utilised by the Spirit of God. A Religion may give only a very inadequate expression to one's instinctive impulse to worship, and its earlier forms may completely be outgrown as man advances to a higher stage of civilisation; nevertheless, every system of belief that is worthy to be called a Religion nourishes within the breast right aspirations, and lifts men nearer to communion with God. Yea more, each

[1] 2 Corinthians xii. 20.

such system has its place, and plays its part, in the spiritual education of the race. The late Professor Max Müller felt constrained on one occasion to express himself very forcibly as follows: "I hold that there is a Divine element in every one of the great religions of the world. I consider it blasphemous to call them the work of the Devil, when they are the work of God; and I hold that there is nowhere any belief in God except as the result of a Divine revelation, the effect of a Divine Spirit working in man. . . . I could not call myself a Christian if I were to believe otherwise,—if I were to force myself, against all my deepest instincts, to believe that the prayers of Christians were the only prayers that God could understand. All religions are mere stammerings,—our own, as much as that of the Brahmans. They all have to be translated; and, I have no doubt, they all will be translated, whatever their shortcomings may be."[1] (*d*) *The less adequate Religions serve as a preparation for others which are better fitted to survive.* The Vedic Hymns, in language which is at once suggestive and vivid, have been termed "Songs before the sunrise"; and the same descriptive phrase might equally be applied to the Scriptures of other Faiths as well,—Faiths which, perchance, having served their day and generation, have now ceased to be living forces in the world, or have completely disappeared. Nevertheless all these various systems have discharged an important function as regards other systems, which proved ultimately to be their superiors,—alike in conception, in characteristics, and in a higher educational value. Not one of them, accordingly, should be accounted worthless, or its adherents disregarded and despised. Even Christianity, when intelligent, does not affect to ignore its less fortunate predecessors. As one of the most recent writers on this topic has put it: "At no time in the world's history did God leave Himself without witness, but in

[1] *The Life and Letters of the Right Honourable Friedrich Max Müller*, vol. ii. p. 464. 2 vols. London, 1902. (An extract from a letter addressed to Sir Henry Acland, November 7, 1873.)

divers parts and in many manners led mankind on to the Christ who was to be. If God controls the movements of history, and the life of the universe, He equally watches over the religious beliefs of the soul,—so that, however much men may go astray, and however degraded their beliefs may be, they shall yet preserve some seed of truth which will be fruitful in time to come. . . . While the time of the full revelation was yet far off, men were everywhere working their way towards it, and God was preparing them for it. When we consider how universal in all Religions are such ideas as community with Deity, incarnation, sacrifice and atonement, immortality, etc., it is easy to see that there was a real preparation for Christian doctrine in every pagan religion."[1]

(2) *Every historic Religion has contributed something towards promoting the efficiency of other Religions.*—Besides fulfilling in each case a distinct mission of its own,[2] every World Religion has had a function to discharge in relation to other Religions,—a function which exhibits itself not merely (as just shown) in preparing the way for their advent, but also in promoting their advance as soon as they have actually come.

The very defects of a Religion, its manifest inadequacies, are not without their value: they suggest the necessity of securing something that is better. In this way, even by means of very imperfect instrumentalities, the spiritual progress of the race has ultimately been advanced. A task, therefore, which ought no longer to be postponed, is the attempt to supply an exposition, at once full and exact, of the service which each great World Religion has achieved in the course of its history,—not so much with regard to the mission which it has fulfilled towards its own adherents, but rather with reference to that wider influence which it has been permitted to exercise over the representatives of other Faiths,

[1] John Arnott Macculloch, *Comparative Theology*, pp. 3 and 9. London, 1902.

[2] Cp. pages 354 f.

and through which it has contrived to lead them gradually from a lower to a loftier plane.

It is manifestly quite impossible to essay such an undertaking here. Suffice it to affirm, meanwhile, that every historic Religion is, in many and various respects, a debtor to others. Elements of strength have flowed into it from other Faiths; and it, in turn, has helpfully influenced its neighbours. "The religions of the world are not isolated and independent, . . . but are forces which contribute to one another."[1] An illustration of this pregnant truth—one which Comparative Religion has done so much to disclose and emphasise—has already (as regards the influences which have unmistakably tinged and moulded Christianity) been worked out with considerable detail in Chapter III.[2] And as Christianity can be shown to have derived much of its colouring, and also of its impulse, from antecedent and contemporaneous Faiths with which it has come into contact; while, moreover, it is still absorbing new and enriching elements as current thought advances, and so is proving itself to be the legitimate heir of its age,—it also is manifestly influencing other Faiths, and is directly promoting their efficiency. In India, in Japan, in China, and elsewhere—and never more markedly than to-day—its stimulating effect is so easily traceable, that few have failed to perceive it. Let the Brahmo-Somaj movement in India serve as an example. At that period when it was strongest, it was imbued and fairly saturated with distinctively Christian ideas. Accordingly, the former beliefs of its converts —their convictions as to child-marriage, widow-burning, caste, etc., etc.—were gradually undermined, and were by and by willingly surrendered. In the same country, notwithstanding that Christianity is unquestionably hampered by its being the Religion of a conquering and alien race,

[1] See Professor Goodspeed's paper on *What the Dead Religions have bequeathed to the Living.* [Barrows, *The World's Parliament of Religions*, vol. i. pp. 554–564.]

[2] See pages 71–93.

additional reforms which it has silently recommended are sure before many years to be adopted as a matter of course. Or take the case of Japan. Here, likewise, though under entirely different conditions, the same permeating influence is at this very moment at work, and is producing precisely analogous results. Buddhism makes no secret of the fact that it is busily studying the most approved methods which Christianity has long been employing for advancing and strengthening its power in various portions of the globe: and in its energetic adoption and adaptation of such thoroughly tested agencies as Schools, Orphanages, Colleges, Lectureships, Young Men's Buddhist Associations, Hospitals, preaching services both on the streets and in the Temples, the establishment of a Missionary Press in various countries, the publication of popular apologetic treatises, etc., Buddhism is making no mistake. The very same process is going on, with corresponding results, in Ceylon. In this way, the efficiency of Christianity is being made directly contributory to the increased efficiency of one of the many Faiths by which it is confronted,—a Faith, besides, which is bent upon securing, if possible, a revival of its earlier zeal and systematic propaganda.[1]

(3) *Every historic Religion, Christianity included, exhibits a fateful tendency towards deterioration and disintegration.*—The late Professor Max Müller used to say that, "if there is one thing which a comparative study of religions places in the clearest light, it is the inevitable decay to which every religion is exposed."[2] The secret of this decline, with its threat of ultimate dissolution, can very easily be discovered. It is to be found, not in any particular Religion which a man may profess, but rather in the heart of the man who professes it. Assuredly, if there is something Divine in every Faith to which men have yielded allegiance,[3] there is much also that invariably is merely human; and because of this human element that enters into it, every

[1] Cp. pages 376 and 408–409.

[2] *An Introduction to the Science of Religion*, p. 237.

[3] Cp. page 347.

Religion suffers continual impairment. The Faith which a man holds may be inferior or superior, primitive or mature, inadequate or adequate; but the will of man himself is wayward always. It prefers earthly things. It knows the law of the spirit, but it obeys the law of the flesh. Hence every new Religion has been the introduction of a reform; and every Religion requires to be purified and revivified from time to time by means of a new reform, else it too must inevitably perish. The process of disintegration usually asserts itself quite early in the history of a Faith; and unless this tendency be met and counteracted by an infusion afresh of those elements—or of yet better elements than those—which dominated it at its beginning, it will indubitably pass away.[1]

Sometimes the reformer appears too late, and hence the arrest of death is only temporary. In other instances, the reformed Faith presents only a faint likeness to the one out of which it has emerged, so radical have been the changes remorselessly wrought in it. In yet other cases, a practically new Faith has been the ultimate product—a Religion bearing a new name, and governed by new and essentially different principles. Illustrations in abundance will occur to every thoughtful reader. One might cite as witnesses those Faiths which recall the names of Buddha and Confucius and Mohammed; but the history of Christianity is equally apposite. The Hebrews, notwithstanding their unique experiences and the special safeguards with which they were surrounded, would utterly have wrecked their future, had it not been for the appearance of Moses and a succession thereafter of powerful and heroic Prophets. They were carefully taught to look for the coming of the Messiah, and they did anticipate with expectancy the day of His appearing; but it can hardly be said that, as a people, they devoutly waited for Him. Hence the advent of Jesus, later in their history, was accompanied by the inauguration of another far-reaching reform. Moreover, it is the continual

[1] Cp. pages 237 and 240–241.

outpouring of God's Spirit, graciously vouchsafed in power (time and again) to His Church, which is the saving salt of that Church at this hour. If Buddhism or Confucianism or Mohammedanism could produce to-day—or obtain from without—a leader equal in endowment to the leaders they possessed at the beginning, they would assuredly experience the thrill of a new life, and they would once again—though admittedly not to the same degree, for conditions have changed in the meantime—amaze the world by their energy and progress. The existing difficulty in each of these cases lies in the fact that the force of the original impulse has been lost, nothing adequate has been put in its place, and so the pulse has become feeble and the heart faint. Christianity, on the other hand, notwithstanding its many relapses, has been continually revived and reinforced,—so that its resources and effective strength are immeasurably greater to-day than they were at the first. Nay more; though Christianity no longer sees its leader in the flesh, it has ground for believing that He is its leader still, and that the explanation of the persistency and growth of its power is simply the fulfilment on its behalf of that wondrous but never-forgotten prophecy: "Greater works than these [that I am doing] shall ye do, because I go unto my Father."[1]

(4) *The Christian Religion possesses some absolutely unique features.* — It might seem more in consonance with the strictly impartial character of this book, that no judgment should be expressed concerning the ultimate superiority of any one Religion when contrasted with all the others; but such a course would be tantamount to passing by in silence one of the most conspicuous achievements with which Comparative Religion has to be credited. Any attempt, wheresoever made, which essays to champion the claims of one particular Faith, and to exalt it unduly at the expense of another, involves a line of action which is not only unpardonable in itself, but which deliberately courts the defeat which has so often proved its Nemesis. In any case, it

[1] John xiv. 12.

is quite certain that this Manual makes no pretence to be an apologetic treatise on the Christian Religion. But if one of the leading results of the study of Comparative Religion has been to demonstrate that Christianity, while quite properly classed among the other World Religions, possesses characteristics which necessarily differentiate it from all its forerunners and neighbours, no scientific discussion of the subject can afford either to ignore or to minimise this truly momentous discovery.

Suppose the testimony of one or two representative witnesses be cited; what is the verdict which these authorities have placed upon record?

(*a*) It would not be difficult, of course, to quote the views of men who, while sane and conscientious teachers of this new Science, have spoken admittedly from the platform of Christianity, and who are reckoned among the accredited expounders of that system. Take, for example, the late DR SAMUEL H. KELLOGG. In the course of a scholarly study of Buddhism, he writes: "The impressions gained (in many years of intercourse with the people of India and study of their religious works) of the immeasurable disparity between the best that Heathenism can offer and the teachings of the Gospel of Christ, have been, by these literary labours in a related field, still further deepened and strengthened. I am more than ever convinced that, by comparison with other religions, Christianity not only cannot lose to our mind its high pre-eminence, but, on the contrary, is sure—the more thoroughly such comparisons are carried out—to appear in that pre-eminence the more solitary and sublime."[1] Or one might cite the language of the late PRESIDENT BARROWS, another enthusiastic student of Religions, and one whose sudden death shocked and distressed a widely scattered band of admirers and disciples. In an address delivered in the spring of 1902, when instituting a comparison between the Christian and the non-Christian Faiths,

[1] *The Light of Asia and The Light of the World*, pp. xii. and xiii. New York, 1885.

he exclaimed: "The splendour of Christianity, like that of the Sun, becomes only the more apparent when rush-lights and candles are held up before it."

But (*b*) similar testimony comes to us from an entirely different quarter—not from those only who are the authorised preachers of Christianity, but also from those towards whom many Christians unhappily still look with suspicion and distrust. Two representative names, each of them intimately associated with this particular domain of scholarship, will suffice. There is the late PROFESSOR MAX MÜLLER, for instance, who, found fault with on many grounds, was never charged with being prejudiced in favour of the traditional beliefs of Christendom. Yet in one of his books we read: "Just as a comparative study of Languages has thrown an entirely new light on the nature and historical growth of our own language, a comparative study of Religions also, I hoped, would enable us to gain a truer insight into the peculiar character of Christianity,—by showing both what it shares in common with other religions, and what distinguishes it from all its peers." . . . "I make no secret that true Christianity—I mean, the religion of Christ—seems to me to become more and more exalted the more we know, and the more we appreciate, the treasures of truth hidden in the despised religions of the world."[1] It was for this reason that Max Müller, applying the title to a system which is vastly different indeed from that of modern Positivism, openly designated Christianity to be none other than "The Religion of Humanity." Or let us take the testimony of the late PROFESSOR W. ROBERTSON SMITH. It is not yet forgotten that this name was once, in various theological circles, the synonym of all that was radical and rash both in thought and statement. This sad misunderstanding, as unfortunate for those who are chargeable with it as for him who had to confront and resist it, is now abjured beside a revered but premature grave; yet not even there would any one affirm that Robertson Smith was ever a Bibliolater.

[1] *Introduction to the Science of Religion*, p. 37.

The Bible for him was a book among books—a Sacred Book among the world's store of Sacred Books; but it had ever to submit its claims, quite like the others, to the test of a most searching scrutiny. And yet what was Robertson Smith's conclusion when the ordeal, not certainly lacking in rigour, had finally been completed? His opinion can easily be found by all who wish to know it. He was on one occasion criticising the attitude of a certain School of Dutch scholars, which "has for its avowed end the explanation of the religious ideas and progress of the Old and New Testament, in accordance with a theory of the philosophy of religion that refuses to see a *difference in kind* between Christianity and the other religions of the world. . . . [Then he adds:] We decline to believe that we and the men of the *Theologish Tijdschrift* are really fellow-workers on one scientific edifice. It is absurd to ask for scientific fellowship where there are radically opposite aims. We are antagonists."[1] Probably few scholars can be mentioned, who, having added to a mental equipment of a very high order the fruits of the actual study of a number of non-Christian Faiths, have been more successful than this Scotch Professor in demonstrating that the Christian Bible contains a genuine revelation from heaven. His investigations, it is true, were to a large extent restricted to the field of Old Testament studies; but even that field, when viewed intelligently, is a vast one, and by this painstaking worker it was most diligently cultivated. Recall his pronouncements concerning any of the great distinctive features of the Jewish Scriptures. Certainly the doctrine of Biblical Inspiration, as that doctrine is to-day believed and taught by men who are accustomed to base their convictions on something essentially different from "the traditions of the Elders," owes its existence and its stability not a little to the courage and candour of W. Robertson Smith.[2]

[1] *The British and Foreign Evangelical Review.* London, July 1871.

[2] Cp. *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church.* Edinburgh, 1881. [2nd ed., London, 1892.] See also Appendix. Note XVI., pages 528 f.

When we were dealing with the non-Christian Faiths,[1] it was stated that it would manifestly be impossible to present a complete review of any one of them within the narrow limits of the space that is here available. In like manner, it is impossible now to enter into details concerning the absolutely unique features of the Christian Religion; the verification of the claim which is here put forward on its behalf must be offered elsewhere. The points of difference which separate Christianity from every other Religion—sometimes profound and unmistakable, sometimes so unobtrusive that they have to be long and diligently sought for—demand a fulness of statement and a patience in treatment which must perforce be postponed until after the completion of the present historical survey. It may be announced, however, by way of anticipation, that it will then be found by all who pursue this inquiry dispassionately and perseveringly that "the unique feature of the Christian religion lies in the spiritual dynamic which it possesses, and by means of which it can translate its truth into life. Beautiful as the ethics of Christianity are, it is not its ethical content, but its spiritual power to make ethics live in experience, that gives to the religion of Christ its unique place in history."[2] The seat of that essential difference which sets it apart from every other Faith is equally well expressed in a recent most stimulating book, wherein it is affirmed that "those who sincerely accept and adopt its [Christianity's] teaching—those, that is, who act on the assumption that Christianity is *true*—do as a matter of fact solve the practical problem of human existence with a degree of success elsewhere, and otherwise, unattained and unattainable by men."[3] Christianity might well indeed prove, upon examination, to be a unique Religion; for it can be shown that, in its connection with Jesus of Nazareth, it enjoyed an absolutely unique distinction. But it possesses

[1] Cp. pages 345 f.
[2] *The Christian Work and Evangelist.* New York, May 1903.
[3] John R. Illingworth, *Reason and Revelation.* Cp. pp. 242–243.

unique advantages, yet further, in virtue of the qualities which are inherent in itself. It speaks, and with an unparalleled clearness and calmness, of the love of the universal Father; of relief from the burden of sin; of newness of life, as regards both this world and the next; and of various other matters of simply superlative moment. In the fulness of response which it makes, and makes so confidently and naturally, to the profoundest depths of human need—unrivalled, nay, unapproached, by the corresponding capabilities of any of the Faiths which surround it—one sees undoubtedly the prophecy of its final exaltation to a place, beyond reach and beyond challenge, among the Religions of the world.

The present survey, though extended,[1] is necessarily incomplete. Enough has been said, however, to vindicate the claim that Comparative Religion has guided men to a more adequate interpretation of the various forms which Religion has assumed during the history of our race. These Faiths agree, and also differ, in a great variety of ways; but because of that fact, they all the more invite and repay the scholar's careful scrutiny. In particular, as regards the non-Christian Faiths, while containing much that is true and uplifting, they all are admittedly defective, and some of them undeniably are more and more falling short even of their own very moderate ideals. Under such circumstances, unless they consent to be reformed, they are doomed to pass away and to be supplanted by something that is better. On the other hand, as regards the Christian Faith, the study of Comparative Religion has brought believers in its uniqueness to appreciate it, not even yet at its full value, but certainly for the first time with approximate adequacy. Hitherto it has been supposed that Christianity had no reason to shirk a comparison with even the most formidable of its rivals; now that fond hope has at last been changed into a conviction. And hence the adherents of this Faith are beginning to recognise that there is a more excellent way of advancing and magnifying the Christian view of the

[1] Cp. pages 344 f.

universe than by casting needless reflections upon the standing of other Religions. Comparative Religion has made it clear that Christianity contains constituent elements, and is governed by supreme and potent principles, which set it wholly apart from, and render it incomparably superior to, every other Faith that is known among men. The more, therefore, that Faiths alien to Christianity can legitimately be exalted, the more must Christianity itself be exalted with them.

5. AN IMPROVED CONCEPTION OF GOD, AND OF HIS ESSENTIAL RELATION TO MAN. — Another achievement to which Comparative Religion may justly lay claim is that, during its brief but fruitful history, it has helped men to reach a more comprehensive conception of God, and of His fundamental relation to man,—thereby incidentally resolving not a few of the constantly recurring problems by which beginners in Theology will always be perplexed and embarrassed.

We live in an age that inclines to be sceptical, but it shows little sympathy with Atheism. It distinctly dislikes Theology, but it believes in God. It is in no haste to put its beliefs into moulds, where they tend to take permanent shape and to become crystallised; but it is neither ashamed nor silent touching its conviction that there exists a spirit-world, and that every man stands in an important relation to it.[1]

Now, all Religion, though it presents itself under a great variety of forms, is found to be due ultimately to an essential relationship which unites the soul to God. This relationship is often only faintly recognised, and it has in many cases been very imperfectly interpreted. Whenever the question has deliberately been studied, and scholars have carefully formulated their more or less comprehensive answers, the world has been furnished with still another

[1] See Appendix. Note IV., page 489. Cp. also Henry Jones' Article on "The Present Attitude of Reflective Thought towards Religion," in *The Hibbert Journal*, pp. 228–252. London, January 1903.

"System" of Theology. But even in the absence of a full and exact inquiry, having for its purpose the determining of the true character of that bond that knits God and man together, practically none to-day call in question the common conviction that an essential relationship of this sort exists, that it is invariable and eternal, and that it is desirable that all men should rightly construe its meaning.

Suppose that, by way of illustration, we compare in this regard the two great systems of Mosaism and Christianity. What (speaking generally) is the view of God—and, more particularly, what is the view of His essential relation to humanity—which these two Theologies propound?

(1) *The Jewish Conception of God.*—According to this view, Jehovah was set at a distance from man—far removed, indeed, and designedly standing aloof. Even to the Jew—who claimed, in effect, an exclusive and proprietory right to the Divine favour—He was the God of the incommunicable name. He was clothed with an incomparable majesty. Man, accordingly, was warned to approach Him with every evidence of humiliation and reverence: "Serve the Lord with fear, and rejoice with trembling"[1] was a characteristic exhortation. Even Moses himself is said to have been charged by God, when the latter began to speak to him out of the bush: "Draw not nigh hither; put off thy shoes from off thy feet, for the place whereon thou standest is holy ground. . . . And Moses hid his face; for he was afraid to look upon God."[2] Hence, according to the Old Testament, the announcement that Jehovah was about to draw specially near to any of His people was followed invariably by a feeling of alarm and trepidation on the part of those whom He was pleased to invite to meet Him!

(2) *The Christian Conception of God.* — On the other hand, the Christian conception of God clearly aims at bringing divinity and humanity together; and the more that conception becomes unfolded, the closer and more intimate and more joyful is the communion that ensues. Jehovah,

[1] Psalm ii. 11. [2] Exodus iii. 5–6.

speaking through the pages of the New Testament, bids man "Fear not"; rather does He urge him to "Come,"—yea, to come even with boldness, and to enter with confidence into the holiest places. It goes without saying that, because of the relation of Christianity to Judaism, many an ideal of the older Faith passed over into its successor, and continued to exercise a conservative and restrictive influence until it was eventually outgrown.[1] The power of heredity tells in the case of Religions quite as surely as it reveals itself in the history of men. Accordingly, in spite of all that Jesus believed and taught and did, things crept into primitive Christianity for which He was in no wise responsible, and which He never approved. So far, however, as His personal teaching was concerned—and, in particular, as touching the essential relation of God to man—it was unmistakable and uniform. He went about continually doing good, showing invariable sympathy towards the needy, the suffering, and the outcast; and yet, in all this thoughtful and beneficent activity, He over and over declared that He was simply revealing the character of the Unseen One who had sent Him. He laid special emphasis upon the fact that this Unseen One was the *Father* of man. He taught His disciples to utter that prayer which begins, "Our Father." He declared of Him repeatedly: He is "your Father as well as my Father."[2] He spoke, also, quite frequently, of His own relation to humanity. He and His hearers being the children of a common Father, He Himself was the *Brother* of all men; and so He often said: "Whosoever shall do the will of my father which is in heaven, the same is . . . my brother."[3] It was thus that the doctrines of the universal divine Fatherhood and of the universal human Brotherhood began to be whispered and proclaimed.

Now, the study of Comparative Religion, because of the distinctive character of its work, has been of inestimable value in spreading broadcast, and in securing the general

[1] Cp. pages 71, 82 f., etc.
[2] John xx. 17.
[3] Matthew xii. 50; Mark iii. 35, etc.

acceptance of, this characteristic dual-doctrine which Jesus taught. Comparative Religion holds no brief, indeed, in the interest of Christianity; it is not specially concerned in the exaltation or discrediting of *any* of the Faiths which have asserted their sway over men. It is directly concerned, however, in the discovery and disclosure of *facts*. It has become too much the custom, in all Religions that have been systematised and formulated, to construct with great pains various definitions of dogma, and thereafter to produce these ready-made formularies whenever a doctrine has chanced to be under debate. In each particular sect, the production of this "official" answer has been held to settle the dispute. But what were the circumstances under which, in some earlier age, these numerous definitions were severally drawn up? The history of dogma shows that, in nearly every case, they were framed to counteract the disturbing influence of some alleged heresy. Hence special emphasis has almost always been laid upon some point that was temporarily of supreme moment, but which by no means necessarily constituted the central factor of the doctrine that was being discussed. Such certainly has been the history of the doctrine of God. In primitive times, among both Jews and Christians, stress was laid upon the Divine unity, because of the inevitable polytheism by which both of these Faiths were continually confronted; upon God's spiritual character and claims, as opposed to material and sensual conceptions of worship; upon His severity, as opposed to lax ideals of conduct and ingeniously invented methods of securing forgiveness; and so on. But no matter what definitions ultimately secured favour, *true so far as they went*, how utterly inadequate, how preposterously defective, were even the very best of them! It is largely for this reason that rigid definitions of doctrine are now viewed in many quarters with distinct distrust, and that not a few refuse absolutely to subscribe them except in a free and quite general sense. Dogmatising preachers, expounding an outgrown creed, have probably driven more people away

from God than they have ever persuaded to love Him. In truth, definitions tend, by and by, to divide those whom they have temporarily united; for, while thought and knowledge must always advance, a dogma is liable to become invested with a fictitious sanctity and a fossilised rigidity,—in which case, instead of its continuing to be held in unquestioned esteem, it ought to be placed in a museum, or else quietly buried out of sight.[1]

It has often been remarked that the conception of God which is outlined in the records of the Christian Religion is one which makes instant appeal to every human heart. The Divine nature is there described as "Love"; and believers are at last beginning to *understand* that love of the Father—"for the world"—which made Him willing to give even "of His own blood" for the reclamation and redemption of men. Through the death of Christ there was not effected any alteration in God's fundamental relation to man: that death merely *made manifest* a relationship which had existed from the first. Those who have been forgiven most, and who themselves have forgiven most, know most about the Divine forgiveness,—both the experience of it, and the power in some faint degree to exhibit it. Yet what is the measure of human affection, even at the best? God's love rises ever superior to obstacles which are accidental and temporary. He views His children always "sub specie æternitatis." Of course, it became necessary to safeguard such amazing declarations, lest they should be grossly exaggerated and made the excuse for an indefensible neglect of obedience; but, in seeking to escape the dangers of one extreme position, a blunder of an opposite sort was unfortunately committed. Even by the most eminent of Christian theologians, the tenet of the Divine Paternity has seldom been distinctly enough affirmed.

[1] A recent theological writer, referring to the true purpose of modern Creeds, has aptly said: "By them the Christian message is handed down the ages, to be expanded in its fulness for each generation afresh."—John R. Illingworth, *Christian Character*. London, 1904.

It is not too much to say, as one has lately put it, that "if there is *any* doctrine that requires to be presented vigorously and sympathetically—and, of course, sanely—at the present day, it is this sublime truth of the Fatherhood of God," with all that that doctrine involves; for such teaching lays peculiar stress upon one of the particulars in which Christianity stands furthest removed from all its predecessors and contemporaries. Other Faiths appeal directly to man's fears; but, while not ignoring the necessity and effectiveness of this motive, Christianity makes *its* central appeal to man's gratitude. Comparative Religion, therefore, with its invariable tendency to bring to the fore things that are entitled to occupy the foremost place, has rendered no little assistance to Theology in the effort it has recently made to remedy a very serious mistake. And a visible response has already been evoked. Several branches of the Christian Church have lately revised, and more or less recast, their distinctive Creeds. The latest illustration of this movement has presented itself in the United States. There the Presbyterian communion (Northern branch) has discerned that, "as the pre-Reformation Church was not the end of all thought and the consummation of all faith, so the Jerusalem Chamber, in doing its work so splendidly, did not assume to send forth that which asserted an infallibility for itself which it had denied to the Fathers."[1] It is safe to predict that this latest effort to secure a needed and even imperative reform will not conclude its task until the old misleading conception of God's (more or less) remote relation to man shall have been completely eradicated from every Creed in Christendom.

6. A CONSPICUOUS ENLARGEMENT OF THE SPIRIT OF CHARITY.—A sixth important achievement, and one which is directly the outcome of the scientific comparison of Religions, may be seen in that broader spirit of charity which is one of the most conspicuous characteristics of the beginning of the twentieth century.

[1] *The Christian Work and Evangelist.* New York, May 1903.

It is not claimed, indeed, that the twentieth century has been the first to exhibit evidences of a sympathetic and tolerant temper. When, in previous pages, an account was being given of the Genesis of Comparative Religion, it was shown that some even of the earlier Roman Emperors were not destitute of this virtue.[1] Had it been otherwise, indeed, it would have fared ill with Christianity in the day of its beginnings. Nevertheless this sentiment, as then manifested, was of a nerveless and colourless quality; it was not a frank recognition of the claims and rights of others, but rather an exhibition of the languid acquiescence of an ignorant and unquestioning apathy. Thereafter, in accordance with a perfectly natural reaction, a bitterly controversial and ruthlessly persecuting age followed, when men were forced into a rigid and often lifeless conformity with some narrow and iron-clad Creed. And these two extremes of procedure, in alternating order, are found to confront the student very frequently, as he scans the records of the past.

But happily those who live to-day find themselves surrounded by countless evidences of a new and genuine catholicity. In controversy, men are growing accustomed to expect not toleration merely—an attitude which may convey an offensive implication of conscious superiority—but some easily interpretable proof of genuine appreciation and respect. There is now discernible, everywhere, a blending of sympathy with opposition, and a willingness to attempt to reform what one cannot honestly accept. Men are showing themselves ready to receive correction as well as to impart it. They cheerfully concede to an opponent every liberty of statement and action which they value, and seek to secure, for themselves; they listen with restraint and patience to all the arguments that may chance to be advanced, and they are themselves listened to with equal courtesy in return. And this marked change in mental attitude is not only a pleasant circumstance in itself, but its advent has been peculiarly timely; for the

[1] See page 103.

spirit of toleration is especially needed in an age which is witnessing the advancing stages of a very important transition. We are living in a period when, as the late M. Emile Burnouf phrased it, "it is of great consequence that every one regard his heart as the safe shrine of his faith, but his mind as a brave and impartial guide in the ways of reason and truth."[1]

There is no sphere within which the exercise of the spirit of charity is more essential, and yet unfortunately is more frequently wanting, than within the realm of Religion. The recognised leaders in every Church, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, are men who—at the outset, at least—have shown themselves to be profoundly conservative; indeed, had they at the beginning been radical thinkers, the reward of a gradually enlarging influence would in all probability have been denied to them. Accordingly, at the commencement of his career, a representative theologian is likely to devote more attention to presenting and enforcing his own firmly held convictions, than to securing a sympathetic acquaintance with the views of those who conscientiously differ from him. Why should he act otherwise? He believes thoroughly in the justice of his cause: according to his conception of it, Christianity —or some particular form of it, or some non-Christian Faith for which he stands—is unquestionably superior to any rival by which it can be confronted. Hence, towards every Faith that differs from his own, his attitude is usually frigid and immovable,—though, if a man be indeed persuaded that his position is impregnable, who should be so completely tolerant in spirit as he! But let a theologian, to whatsoever School he may belong, add to his knowledge by gaining acquaintance with the views of other theologians; let him pass beyond the limits of his own conventional standards, and, rising above the routine of his allotted daily task, delight his eye with the visions of a wider horizon; let his mind become emancipated from all narrowness of

[1] *La science des religions.* Paris, 1872. [4th ed., 1885, p. 3.]

perception and purpose and hope; let him come to realise that, in most cases, the inclusiveness of truth embraces his opponent's standpoint as well as his own,—and he will gain an entirely new conception of the opinions against which he has been contending, of the sincerity of their motive, and of the stability of the foundations upon which they respectively rest.

It would be easy to cite many an instance in point, but let one suffice. The Editor of a posthumous work by the late Professor Bright of Oxford, when adverting to the numerous alterations and corrections which he found in the deceased teacher's manuscript, remarks that, as the Professor advanced in years, "there grew up in his mind a greater tenderness and charitableness of judgment towards those who opposed the orthodox view, and a greater effort to credit them with those aspects of truth for which they were—however one-sidedly or wrongly, yet honestly—contending."[1] A similar broadening of outlook is an inevitable experience in every real thinker's career. And if, while still retaining its positive and aggressive character, the Faith of Christendom is gradually shaking off its old exclusive attitude towards other Faiths, it is not improper to say that it is to the study of Comparative Religion that this change is largely due.

RETROSPECTIVE SUMMARY.—It would require not one Chapter merely, but a series of Chapters, to develop adequately the six considerations which have just been enumerated, — and to instance and enforce still others, which are of scarcely inferior importance. It is proposed however, as already stated, to deal fully with these and kindred topics in a subsequent volume.

Let it be affirmed afresh that Comparative Religion makes no claim to have effected by itself the momentous achievements which have just been chronicled; on the contrary, it has simply been a factor—though a conspicuously

[1] *The Age of the Fathers*, vol. i. p. vi. 2 vols. London, 1903.

important factor, indeed the most potent single factor—in bringing to pass these and various other mental emancipations in which the world to-day rejoices. And it is Comparative Religion also which, more than any other single agency, is now keeping these several results in the very forefront of all relevant religious discussions, and is there securing for each of them its prompt and proper emphasis.

CHAPTER XI

ITS TANGIBLE ACHIEVEMENTS

SYLLABUS.—Introductory : pp. 369–370. I. THE ACTION TAKEN BY LEADING UNIVERSITIES AND THEOLOGICAL SCHOOLS. Its Origin and Stages—Differences of procedure, characteristic of different Countries : pp. 370–385. II. ADDITIONAL APPARATUS FOR ADVANCING THIS STUDY UNDER CONSTANTLY IMPROVING CONDITIONS. Lectureships—Scientific Societies—International Congresses—Travelling Fellowships—Scientific Expeditions—Special Museums—Special Libraries—Special Journals : pp. 385–406. III. SOME FURTHER ACHIEVEMENTS, WHICH MAY CONVENIENTLY BE GROUPED TOGETHER. A new Apologetic—A progressive type of Religion—Central Information Bureaux—A sounder Dogmatic —The Exposure of inept Comparisons—A revised Chronology : pp. 406–413. Recapitulation : pp. 413–414.

LITERATURE.—In the case of the present Chapter, it is impossible to prefix the usual list of books in which students, desirous of obtaining fuller information, may find the subject dealt with at length in separate special treatises. Most of the material contained in the following pages has been culled from the CALENDARS of Universities and Theological Schools, the TRANSACTIONS of Learned Societies, the PROCEEDINGS of Congresses and Conferences, the PROGRAMMES of Summer Schools of Study, the CATALOGUES of Museums, various YEAR-BOOKS, etc. Much advantage may be gained, however, through consulting at least three publications :—JASTROW (Morris, Jun.), *The Study of Religion*. New York, 1901. YEAR-BOOK OF THE SCIENTIFIC AND LEARNED SOCIETIES OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND. 20 vols. London, 1884– . [*In progress.*] REVUE DE L'HISTOIRE DES RELIGIONS. 50 vols. Paris, 1880– . [*In progress.*]

INTRODUCTORY.—Passing now from a consideration of those important and radical changes which the study of Comparative Religion has effected in the current thinking of to-day, the present Chapter will confine itself to a survey

of the various provisions which have been made for carrying forward the study itself,—provisions which, apart from their immediate aim, have been of no little service in the interest of sound scholarship, and within fully a dozen different domains. These achievements, unlike those specified in the preceding Chapter, are material and visible: they are, indeed, the tangible outcome of that widespread change of opinion of which they were the inevitable issue. And, considering the measure of attainment already registered, the result (though confessedly incomplete) is certainly in the highest degree gratifying.

I. The Action taken by leading Universities and Theological Schools.—One of the most interesting and notable events within the academic world, during the last quarter of a century, is to be found in the steps by which a place has gradually been made for the study of Comparative Religion in the curricula of the world's leading Institutions of Learning. It is proverbial that a "new" subject has to run the gauntlet of severe and persistent opposition before it can secure admission to an arena that is confessedly overcrowded already. At the same time, if progress is to be maintained, there must be stated revisions of educational programmes of study,—just as there must be revisions of creeds, of naval and military tactics, of mechanical plant used in mining, and so on. The chief danger to be guarded against is the risk of mental thinness, should a student's time be spread over too many distinct subjects; hence the necessity for, and the increasing provision of, numerous "elective" courses. Happily the difficulty, in so far as Comparative Religion is concerned, has by various expedients been successfully surmounted, and in an incredibly brief space of time. It goes without saying that this achievement, so commendable in itself, is plainly a prophecy of the still more rapid advance of this study in the future.

Accordingly, it is possible to-day for students to make

themselves intimately acquainted with all the various branches of this Science. The range of these studies is, as yet, confessedly much too limited,—for it is not easy to secure the teachers, the apparatus, and the very considerable endowments, which such "specialist" work requires; but it is now at least within the reach of all to acquire, without serious difficulty, a fairly adequate equipment for engaging very hopefully in the labours proper to this inviting field of study.

STAGES IN THE GRADUAL TRANSITION.—It is quite worth while to mention the more influential factors by means of which this marked change in the curricula of many of the foremost Colleges in Christendom was gradually brought about.

1. THE EXTRAORDINARY ACTIVITY OF SCIENTIFIC INVESTIGATORS.—Long before the Churches moved in this matter, the tireless eagerness of the Scientist has led him to enter this new field of research; and he was promptly rewarded, for he made almost immediately some very important discoveries. It was indeed only in the nineteenth century, and especially in the latter half of it, that Research Universities began to be founded. From these institutions there shortly emerged, not books only and contributions prepared for Scientific Journals, but *men*,—men who were thoroughly qualified workers as regards both knowledge and skill, and who were competent (through the initiation of independent researches) to widen materially the whole horizon of learning. It was just at this time, it will be remembered,[1] that a possible "Science of Religion" began to be talked about; and a small group of inquirers at once began to devote to this theme their undivided attention. The history of ancient races became gradually disclosed, thanks chiefly to the industry of the Archæologist; and as the relics of the Religions of those early days were successively brought to light, it soon became evident that many modern ideas concerning the religious status of

[1] Cp. page 58.

various primitive peoples would have to be abandoned. Even the Christian Religion was necessarily brought under review; for (to mention but a single instance) there was found at Susa recently[1] a great monument, now open to the inspection of scholars in Paris, on which is written the code of Hammurabi, possibly the very oldest code of laws in the world. One used to think of Moses as the revealer of the secrets of man's primitive history, and as the narrator of events which (but for him) might still have been veiled in mystery; but here is a record in stone which dates from a period perhaps a thousand years before Moses, and with which the Hebrew Lawgiver may yet be proved to have been intimately familiar. Such a discovery, had it stood by itself, would doubtless have thrilled the whole of Christendom. Yet it is merely one out of many. Its advent had been foreshadowed, as it has since been followed, by half a dozen other unsuspected disclosures, some of which are only slightly inferior to it in importance, as regards both the past and the future.

For a considerable period the Churches did not accord these indefatigable workers any assistance,—although the impulse accruing from even a very limited measure of official recognition would have proved of inestimable value. These inquirers, it was openly said, were not the Churches' representatives. They had not sought the Churches' patronage. Indeed, occasionally, they seemed to have forgotten that there were any Churches. Hence, regarded with general suspicion, they were labelled innovators, and were held to be intruders. Under the inspiration of these men, nevertheless, an entirely new order of things was gradually being inaugurated.

2. The Churches constrained to initiate a Reform. —The paramount importance of possessing acquaintance with certain departments of Comparative Religion, in so far at least as *the prospective Missionary* is concerned, ought never to have stood in need of serious and persistent argu-

[1] January 1902. Cp. page 81.

ment. When one takes time to think of it, it seems verily an extraordinary thing that candidates for this service—than which none is at once more momentous and more exacting—should ever have been sent forth to their task with, at least in many cases, a shamefully incomplete preparation for the right discharge of its duties. To ordinary men of the world, and also to a great many thoughtful believers, the measure of the success of modern Missions hitherto—disappointing as oftentimes it has undeniably been—is one of the greatest marvels of the whole movement. No civilised country permits medical students, or law students, to engage in the authorised duties of their profession until, after a severe course of *special* and arduous training, they have been at the pains of securing for themselves a worthy and sufficient equipment. In like manner, men are not permitted to enter the pulpits of Churches in the home-land until, after a prescribed and difficult course of exact professional instruction, they have attained recognised competency to preach the tenets of some particular School of Theology, and to discharge with distinct capability the various other duties which will shortly be entrusted to their care. Yet for fully a century—and, in some quarters, down to this very hour—candidates have been (or are still being) sent into all the Mission fields of the world, while the Church which they chance to represent has taken no adequate steps to qualify them for the work to which they go! Such slackness cannot escape being followed by consequences of a serious and regrettable character.

To be sure, the Missionary-elect—and, not less, the Board or Committee which have endorsed his application—has always shown eagerness to undertake *at once* the difficult work that awaits him. In almost every instance, the motive which has constrained the candidate to volunteer, and which has led his Church to ordain him, has emphasised strongly the importance of haste; for there has been the cry that valuable time was being lost, and that (as regards scores of those among whom the efforts of the Missionary might

prove of invaluable service) he would, unfortunately, arrive too late. And indeed, until recently, even if the young man or the young woman in question (of sufficiently mature age, and about to face a series of untried experiences among an indifferent and suspicious people) had looked at the whole situation more calmly and intelligently; if it had been borne in profoundly upon both that it is even more important to reach one's field prepared to do one's work *well*, than it is to inaugurate that work (somehow, anyhow) at the earliest possible moment,—only very slight advantage would have accrued to those who thus postponed their departure; for the Universities and Theological Schools of even a few years ago were in a position to supply to such students only the most meagre assistance.

Fortunately, however, this serious defect in modern educational machinery is now rapidly being removed. The insistent protest of students of Comparative Religion—backed up, with steadily increasing vigour, by Missionaries in all parts of the world[1]—has not been made in vain. The Churches to-day thoroughly recognise the fact that *the Missionary is a specialist*, in every instance where he takes his calling seriously. It is now admitted also that, if any candidate has allowed himself to be influenced by some different estimate of his office, the blame rests with the Committee who commission him, and who ought to see to it that a truer view of the situation shall speedily supersede the older one. To be sure, love for souls is the outstanding and supreme qualification which alone can warrant one's engaging in this exalted sphere of service; "all other deficiencies may be remedied, but nothing else will avail if this requirement be wanting." As Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe has expressed it: "Such be God's real priests whose ordination and anointing are from the Holy Spirit; and he who hath not this enthusiasm is not ordained of God, though whole Synods of Bishops have laid hands on him." Never-

[1] See *Comparative Religion: Its Opportunity and Outlook*. [*In preparation.*]

theless such preparation, while admittedly indispensable, will no longer satisfy those who really desire to deal honestly with the souls of others. There are thousands who are animated to-day by the sincerest love for Christ and for their fellows, who, beyond question, act wisely in not offering themselves as candidates for foreign missionary service. They possess no special aptitude for such work; and, hitherto, it has been exceedingly difficult for them to acquire it. But steps began to be taken a few years ago—tardily at first, and needing often to be accompanied by a detailed explanation and vindication—to remedy a condition of affairs which was felt to be positively discreditable. The scope of Apologetics was considerably enlarged, so as to make it include something more than a study exclusively of the defences of Christianity.[1] Some Theological Schools proceeded to found special Chairs, devoted to research in the domain of Comparative Religion. At a recent Conference of the representatives of the Foreign Mission Boards of the Christian Churches of the United States and Canada, held in New York in the spring of 1904, it was unanimously resolved to recommend that the Theological Seminaries of all denominations should henceforth provide for such students as looked forward to a missionary career courses of instruction in Pedagogy, Sociology, Comparative Religion, the History of Religion, and the History, Policy, and Methods of missionary undertakings. In other quarters, the leaders in various Churches, ambitious of securing the fullest possible equipment for prospective Missionaries, advocated the founding of "special" Colleges for cultivating skill in particular lines of aggressive missionary activity. Since 1627 the Roman Catholic Church has had its *College of the Propaganda at Rome*, where young priests are laboriously trained and equipped, and whence they are afterwards sent to that mission field, carefully selected from among all the rest, for which they have shown themselves to be most fully qualified. *Protestant Missions to the Jews*, likewise (where

[1] See pages 406–408.

these undertakings are approved, and are carried forward energetically), no longer ignore this necessity. Thus, at a recent Convention in London,[1] held in the interest of promoting such Missions, Professor Dalman of Leipsic recommended the establishment of a separate College, in which competent instructors would impart to their students a thorough training in Hebrew, in Jewish history and literature, and in the history of the relations of Judaism and Christianity. Many non-Christian Faiths, too, are showing themselves fully awake to the necessity of taking similar action. The modern revival of *Islam*, and the recent rapid increase of its adherents, is one of the most striking signs of the times; and Mohammedanism has always been an advocate of imparting to its agents careful and persistent instruction in the tenets for which it stands. *Hinduism* has now its "Central Hindu College" at Benares,—whence also it issues its authorised magazine, a publication which reaches and influences a much wider constituency than is commonly supposed. Yet further, it was announced not long ago, in a quite public way, that the richest and most influential sect of *Buddhists* had decided to attempt seriously the conversion of the American Continent to Buddhism. Whether the report thus spread abroad was warranted or otherwise, the scheme proposed was both aggressive and comprehensive.[2] It included the building of a great Temple

[1] January 1902.

[2] Let it not too hastily be said that such an idea is visionary, and even absurd; the late Lord Beaconsfield, who was endowed to a marked degree with "the presentiment of the eve," seems to have thought that some dénouement of this sort was by no means an impossibility. In reviewing the fragment of a novel which the deceased statesman left unfinished a quarter of a century ago, an English interpreter of its meaning feels himself constrained to write: "What if, in the reaction of the East upon the West, [exhibited in the strife between Japan and Russia], once again from Asia a creed should plant itself upon the prepared soil of a sick civilisation, transfiguring its disillusionment and exalting its despair. The reaction of the West upon the East has led to many triumphs for the Cross, and has brought Christ and His Gospel to lands that had scarcely heard His name; and it may chance that the new reaction of the East upon the West will create for His Church her most formidable foe. . . . Such, we think, was

at Sacramento, which was to be made the base of a widespread and persistent propaganda. Should the enterprise be deliberately endorsed by the Buddhist authorities in Japan, it will be safe to predict that no mistake will be made in regard to the men chosen to engineer this formidable undertaking. Not any candidates, but only the pick of the candidates,—not ordinary qualifications, but only qualifications of a specially high order,—will be deemed sufficient to meet the exigencies of so exacting a demand. And if Christianity is to make any radical and permanent impression upon the great non-Christian world,—especially upon the educated and more thoughtful portion of it,—it must be remembered that no miracle is likely to be wrought on behalf of those who are too niggardly, or too indifferent, or too blind, to take the trouble to help themselves. Men must be secured who are fully competent and sufficiently sympathetic to guide and instruct those whose religious convictions sink deep, and who have not the faintest desire to substitute any new Faith for their own. Accordingly, Missionary Colleges of a distinctly superior order must be established and maintained, both in the homeland and in every foreign missionary field, if Christianity would hope successfully to hold and enlarge the place she now occupies among her numerous and powerful competitors.

3. THE UNIVERSITIES AND THEOLOGICAL SCHOOLS COME INTO LINE WITH THE CHANGE IN CURRENT POPULAR SENTIMENT. —In seeking to summarise what the leading Universities and Theological Schools of the world have thus far achieved in this direction, and also to present a great multiplicity of details in a form that will be at once compact and clear, it has seemed wise to throw these particulars (which have diligently been collected in a great variety of quarters) into a series of convenient Tables. This statistical information

[this author's] belief." (Editorial in *The Presbyterian*. London, February 2, 1905.) The remarkable revival of Buddhism now taking place in Ceylon is at once a tribute and a challenge to Christianity. Cp. pages 349–353 and 408–409.

will be found among the Appendices.[1] A huge mass of memoranda, bearing upon different aspects of the general subject, has been accumulated during the last four years; but only the more important items need at present be specified. Sufficient data, however, have been supplied in the Appendices to demonstrate that, if Comparative Religion has too long been regarded as a department of study in which merely the curious and those who enjoy abundant leisure might perhaps usefully occupy themselves, the imperative claims of this new discipline, based upon the altered conditions which now everywhere confront one, are at last being recognised and conceded. The persistent toil, the patient hopefulness, and the manifestly sane counsels of a steadily increasing band of competent critical students, have at length begun to produce their timely and legitimate results. Within the last fifteen years, in particular, the Science of Religion has entered upon an entirely new phase; and, as already indicated,[2] the subject is now being accorded a place in the curriculum of all the more noted seats of learning, whether in Europe or in America or in the most distant East.

As soon as one begins to study the Tables in question, regard being had to *the different Countries* which have done most to promote the progress of Comparative Religion, some very interesting particulars come to light,—in reference (*a*) to the chronological order in which, in different quarters, this belated undertaking was begun; and (*b*) to the measure and kind of impulse which each nation, working under certain characteristic conditions, has been able to lend to it.

(*a*) HOLLAND.[3] (1876.)—Dutch scholars were the first

[1] See Appendix. Chart IV., pages 580 f. These Tables will no doubt be useful in different ways, in accordance with the particular inquiry which individual students may be pursuing. The "Reference Numbers," inserted at various points, relate to a body of "Explanatory Notes" which follow, and which contain such compressed additional data as seemed likely to prove serviceable.

[2] Cp. Appendix. Note I., pages 483 f.

[3] Cp. pages 179–185 and 206.

to take definite action in this connection. In 1876 the Government founded, in each of the four Universities of the Netherlands, a Chair for the scientific study of Religion; and these posts have now been ably manned for more than a quarter of a century. The late Professor Tiele of Leyden, who received his appointment in 1877, was perhaps the greatest master in this Science that the world has yet seen. As regards the general influence of Holland in the field of Comparative Religion, it has been operative almost exclusively in scientific circles. This fact is explainable on two grounds: partly because the number of students offering themselves for foreign mission work has never been very large, and partly because the Government requires its professors so to deal with the subject that they shall keep it entirely separate from individualistic theological associations. The Churches are expected to provide, and must provide, all distinctive theological teaching. The deliberate aim of the Dutch Universities is to produce experts in this department, not theologians; and this purpose they have successfully achieved.

(*b*) FRANCE.[1] (1880.)—The first country to imitate Holland in this important new movement was France,—where, in 1880, a special Chair of instruction was founded in the Collège de France, Paris.[2] The first occupant of this post, Professor Albert Réville, is happily with us still. He is the honoured Nestor among the world's teachers in this department to-day; and although he is now in the evening of life, his natural force and his unmistakable enthusiasm are only very slightly abated. Moreover, the foremost School of Comparative Religion in Europe, estimated strictly on the basis of its merits, is unquestionably made up of that group of teachers who, in different Institutions, are at present at work in Paris. The late Professor Tiele, with

[1] Cp. pages 185–191 and 207.

[2] The earliest *University* Chair in France devoted to this subject—and it is still the only one—was founded at Montauban in 1899. It has been established in connection with the Evangelical Theological Faculty of the University of Toulouse. Cp. Appendix. Chart IV., page 587.

his characteristic modesty and fairness, used to tell his students that they could not afford to miss the advantages of a longer or shorter sojourn at the French capital; and not a few of those who listened to this counsel were wise enough to follow it. The agent of research uniformly employed by the French School, as illustrated in the discussions of the International Congress on Religions which was convened at Paris in September 1900, is the historic method. The range of studies covered is considerably more comprehensive than that of the Dutch School; and the expositions offered, delightfully lucid in style and designedly more popular in form than those which are framed in Holland, are as a consequence not so severely scientific. At the *École des Hautes Études* (Section des Sciences Religieuses) one may pursue at any time minute investigations, under the guidance of experts, into the religious beliefs of India, China, Japan, Arabia, Egypt, Mexico, etc.—as regards alike their primitive forms and their most recent developments. Then, when one recalls the unrivalled adjuncts in the way of Museums, Scientific Journals, etc. (to which aids reference will be made in a moment or two[1]), it will cheerfully be conceded that Paris is at present *the* city in which both the principles and the products of this new Science may most easily and rapidly be mastered. It is to gain acquaintance with the fruits of the latest research, rather than with the purpose of fitting themselves for engaging in missionary undertakings, that students in the French capital are at present giving close attention to this study; for France happens to be a country where the missionary spirit of the Churches is not just now very ardent, and the number of men who are offering to engage in work in "the regions beyond" is considerably less than formerly.

(*c*) GREAT BRITAIN.[2] (.)—No definite date can be placed at the head of this paragraph; for it would be hard to say when, in Great Britain, Comparative Religion obtained

[1] See pages 397–398, 403 f., etc. [2] See pages 169–179, and 207–208.

the honour of a formal recognition. The late Professor Max Müller made an excellent beginning, more than thirty years ago; and if his energies had not been so incessantly absorbed in other literary pursuits, he would doubtless have made to this Science a contribution of conspicuous and permanent value. As it turned out, he failed to inaugurate the new discipline himself; and his lead, it must be confessed, has somewhat disappointingly been followed. Much work of a high order has been accomplished, indeed, by his successors, but it is still very difficult to link the real commencement of this study in Great Britain with any individual name.

As regards the Universities, from which something better might reasonably have been expected, it must be said that they have viewed the matter with a strange and persistent indifference; and so, though various denominational Colleges have gradually been coming into line,—notably Manchester College, Oxford, which has had a Lectureship in Comparative Religion since 1876,—only one University Chair has thus far been founded![1] Oxford University has, indeed, its Chair of Anthropology,[2] and Cambridge possesses a most useful Lectureship in Ethnology; but these two courses of Lectures deal only with the fringe of our subject, and certainly they should already have led to results which might now have been contemplated with fuller satisfaction. The reorganised University of London, however, within the last year or two, has awakened profound gratitude and hope in the breasts of students of Comparative Religion everywhere.[3] Not only has it arranged to furnish teaching in the department of the History of Religion and in the more advanced department of the Philosophy of Religion, but it has organised besides

[1] In 1904, at Victoria University, Manchester. Cp. Appendix. Chart IV., page 586.

[2] Since 1895.

[3] For fuller details, as also for information touching the beginnings of a similar movement in other parts of Great Britain, see *Comparative Religion: Its Opportunity and Outlook.* [*In preparation.*]

an intermediate department for conducting studies in Comparative Religion. This admirable result has been attained by admitting seven denominational Institutions—each of which possesses a competent theological staff—to the rank of "Schools of the University in its Faculty of Theology." It only needs, indeed, that the scattered forces which are already at work at different centres in Great Britain should, in a similar way, be united and wisely directed, in order that that country should speedily come to occupy a most honourable place among the very foremost promoters of this discipline; and the University of London, which is plainly destined to become a great imperial seat of learning, has boldly led the way. At the same Institution, occupying University Chairs, we have Sir Robert Douglas (King's College) devoting himself as diligently as ever to the interpretation of Chinese Religions; Professor Flinders Petrie (University College) unravelling the mysteries of Egyptology; Professor Rhys Davids (University College) expounding the varieties of Buddhism; and there are other teachers who might be mentioned, whose names are scarcely less distinguished. These facts are certainly full of promise, for they remind us of an achievement which dates only from yesterday. It may confidently be predicted, now that the scholars of Great Britain have put their hands to the plough, that it will not be long before they take still further aggressive steps in the same direction. And when that day comes, no complaint will be heard that British scientists and British theologians are allowing themselves to be outdistanced by others. Already the new impulse has firmly entrenched itself in the Theological Colleges, within which, indeed, it earliest found expression; and there it has for years been welcomed, alike by professors and students, as an indispensable aid in equipping men for the high vocation of a missionary teacher or preacher. The type of Comparative Religion which will eventually assert itself, and which will come to be known as characteristically British, will have regard to the various useful ends

which it may be made to subserve. Not utilitarian in any unworthy sense, it will doubtless be especially valuable because it will furnish results of a comprehensive and definitely practical sort,—whether for the historian, the philosopher, the social reformer, or the theologian.

(*d*) THE UNITED STATES.[1] (.)—In this case, also, the date-space must be left a blank. It is true that, as early as 1867, the late Professor James Freeman Clarke began to deliver lectures on the History of Religion at Harvard; but his Chair, one of those belonging to the Faculty of Theology, demanded most of his time for other and more usual subjects. It is true also that Boston University, in 1873, inaugurated a comprehensive series of Lectures in this department; and the credit of founding the first University Chair in America—and, indeed, the first University Chair in the world—devoted to this study was thus early and honourably won. Eight years later, Princeton Theological Seminary followed suit, and in 1887 New York University founded its Chair; but it was not perhaps until 1891, when a Chair was formally set apart to this work in Cornell University, that the American movement can be said to have distinctly begun. The following year the University of Chicago inaugurated its Chair, and also its "Department of Comparative Religion." Although, however, the *terminus a quo* cannot definitely be fixed, there is no country whose Universities and Theological Schools have done more of late, in providing students with the means of securing a competent acquaintance with Comparative Religion, than have some of the foremost Colleges in the United States. Hence, while the last to enter the field, the advances made have been so persistent and so numerous, that the results achieved have rightly been esteemed most gratifying.

If one strive to ascertain the causes of this sudden deepening of interest in a relatively "special" study, the explanation is not far to seek. The willingness of American

[1] Cp. pages 197–202, and 208.

scholars to adopt new methods, and to allow immediate value to unfamiliar but authenticated data; the unmatched liberality of American benefactors, who have so promptly come to the aid of this difficult educational undertaking; the widespread influence of the scientific spirit, imbibed by the hundreds of American students who have completed their training at one or more of the German Universities; the magnificent example which the Churches of the United States are setting to the world, in sending the choicest and best equipped of their sons (and in steadily increasing numbers) to missionary fields in every part of the globe; and that intensely practical instinct which America shares with other representatives of the Anglo-Saxon race,—all these factors have contributed to lend to the study of Comparative Religion in that country a strong and permanent impulse. So far, research has confined itself chiefly to the History of Religion; but already there are not wanting abundant indications that that stage, rightly antecedent, will speedily be used as a stepping-stone to its natural and inevitable successor. In the Theological Seminaries the Instructors in this department are already employing the comparative method, their material being largely supplied to them by the publications of competent historical witnesses. On the whole, it is safe to say that the present prospects of Comparative Religion in the United States are not excelled, if indeed they are equalled, by those which are discernible in any other country.

SUMMARY.—It appears, then, when we review what has lately been accomplished in the leading Universities and Theological Schools of the world, that the impulse which owes its birth to the advent of Comparative Religion, and which has suggested alterations in various educational programmes of study, has achieved a very great deal already. In a subsequent volume,[1] something will fall to be said

[1] See *Comparative Religion: Its Opportunity and Outlook.* [*In preparation.*]

concerning the immediate outlook of this study,—a survey which cannot fail to be at once gratifying and inspiring. It is no empty prediction that of this new movement we have seen as yet only the beginning. The latest accession of strength is reported from distant Tokyo, where, in the Imperial University of Japan, a Chair devoted to the Science of Religion was inaugurated in September 1903.

II. THE PROVISION OF A VARIED APPARATUS FOR ADVANCING THIS STUDY UNDER IMPROVED AND STILL IMPROVING CONDITIONS.—Thus far, the steps which have been taken by many of the higher Institutions of Learning—in founding new Chairs, in enlarging the range of existing studies, etc. —have been indicated with considerable fulness of detail. But it has been one of the notable achievements of Comparative Religion that, in addition, there has been provided a varied and costly and fairly complete apparatus, the employment of which will tell immensely towards promoting this study most effectively in the very near future. This supplementary assistance has not been tested fully as yet; for it has been contrived and organised only within the last decade, and it is still only partially in operation. But beyond question the varied means whereby one may conduct the processes of an exact and patient inquiry, so essential to the advancement of every genuine Science, have at last been made available within the domain of Religion; and the result of the competent employment of these agencies, already so happily initiated, is now being awaited with the very brightest prospects of success.

Even already, the wisdom of this reasonable and far-sighted policy has begun to bear excellent fruit. In particular, quite a number of promising workers have announced their intention to devote themselves henceforth to making researches exclusively in this new and attractive field. This resolve can awaken no surprise. For not only

has Comparative Religion suffered severely in the past through an evident absence of sympathy with its ideals and aims, but the appliances for prosecuting the study have been entirely inadequate. Where such helps existed, they were meagre and scattered; indeed, they were practically inaccessible, in so far at least as the majority of students were concerned. But how completely is the situation now changed! It will not be possible to do more than refer to the chief of those accessories which might fitly be enumerated, and those which *are* selected must be dealt with in the briefest possible way; but a fair conception of the promising and expanding outlook of this new study can very easily be given.

1. LOCAL LECTURESHIPS.—Many foundations of this sort, it must frankly be confessed, have yielded very unsatisfactory results; but failure in particular instances argues nothing against the wisdom of the general principle involved. It can be affirmed, on the other hand, that an appointment to a Lectureship has often determined the whole direction of a young scholar's career, and that some of the epoch-making announcements of Science and Philosophy and Theology have, through this channel, first found their way into the stream of popular knowledge. The BAMPTON LECTURES at Oxford, the CONGREGATIONAL LECTURES at London, the BAIRD LECTURES at Glasgow, the CUNNINGHAM LECTURES and the CROALL LECTURES at Edinburgh, the ELY LECTURES and the MORSE LECTURES at New York, and the STONE LECTURES at Princeton, may be cited as a few representative instances.[1] When connected with a University or a College, as is so often the case, these foundations serve a double purpose. If the Lecturer chosen be a mature scholar, he secures an opportunity of dealing with some special phase, or special application, of the study in which he has made himself a master; if, on the other

[1] Lists of the topics discussed by Lecturers on several of these foundations are given in the Appendix. See Notes XXXIII to XXXVII., pages 562–568.

hand, the occupant of the Lectureship for the time being stand nearer to the beginning of his researches, he is supplied with that temporary assistance and stimulus which are simply invaluable to a man at such a stage in his history. In this way, further, many a student has been tested—both by himself and others—as regards the real intensity of his purpose to surmount accumulated obstacles. The value of such an aid, in a new department like that of Comparative Religion, is peculiarly helpful; for there are still so many distinct aspects of the subject which have as yet scarcely been touched, that a score of such foundations, allotted to genuine workers, would be certain to yield useful results almost from the outset.

2. INTERNATIONAL LECTURESHIPS.—While the Trustees of some of the foundations already mentioned have invited the co-operation of scholars from abroad, another group of Lectureships has been instituted with the intention of keeping that special aim continually in view. Local scholars are by no means excluded, and it has been found that they are fully competent to maintain the honour of the homeland against equally learned confrères who have been trained under the academic conditions which prevail elsewhere; but the Lectureships now referred to distinctly contemplate the extension of invitations to scholars of international standing. One might mention, as cases in point, the HIBBERT LECTURES, founded in England in 1878; the GIFFORD LECTURES, founded in Scotland in 1888; and the AMERICAN LECTURES ON THE HISTORY OF RELIGIONS, founded by a Committee representing a group of American Universities in 1891.[1] Two additional American foundations call for special mention, viz., the BARROWS LECTURES, provided for by the late Mrs. Haskell of Chicago, and

[1] The SOUTH PLACE INSTITUTE LECTURES, London (two Courses, 1888 and 1891), afterwards published as *Religious Systems of the World*, ought perhaps also to be included. A complete list of the Lectures on the Hibbert, Gifford, and American foundations, and of the subjects with which they deal, will be found in the Appendix. See Notes XXXVIII. to XL., pages 568–572.

delivered in various cities of India since 1895, and the BROSS LECTURES, founded by the late William Bross of the same city, and inaugurated in 1903.[1] Thus far, it is true, no one of the foundations just named, nor yet any one of their contemporaries, has devoted itself with any thoroughness to the exposition of Comparative Religion; *that* subject, indeed, hitherto has very markedly been neglected. Nevertheless, it has been referred to incidentally on not a few occasions, and its claim upon the attention of Experts cannot much longer be postponed. When its turn comes to be dealt with seriously and systematically, doubtless it will gain through the instrumentality of International Lectureships that immense help which, through the same channel, the Philosophy of Religion has already so conspicuously derived, viz., the sympathy, the guidance, and the benefit of the mature experience of such teachers as Max Müller, Tiele, and others of equally commanding authority.

3. SCIENTIFIC SOCIETIES. — Valuable contributions to Comparative Religion, in the form of innumerable papers and discussions, have been secured from sources much less promising than those which are now more particularly in view; for, quite frequently at Religious Congresses and Conferences,[2] Ministerial Associations, Folklore Societies, Institutes made up of young men and young women who (as members of individual or neighbouring Churches) undertake to engage together in a study of Religion on its theoretic side, Literary Clubs, etc., the subject of Comparative Religion has frequently been dealt with in a thorough and truly scholarly way. Summer Schools likewise have been convened from time to time, and much excellent and permanent work has been accomplished by them. But

[1] This endowment provides for the establishment of a Decennial Prize of $6000, the accumulation of a Special Library, and the Lectureship above referred to. Cp. Appendix. Explanatory Note 23, Chart IV., page 595.

[2] Notably the *New York State Conference of Religion*, organised in 1900, and which meets annually. Cp. page 392.

such organisations, for the most part—not always, indeed[1]—aim at popularising results already secured, rather than at adding to their number and variety.

It is not, however, to associations of learners of this character, but to Scientific Societies strictly so called, International or Local,—the members of which hold themselves rigidly to the requirements of a scientific procedure, and who pursue their investigations in a stated and systematic way,—that Comparative Religion has learned to look with special hopefulness during the last decade or two. One or two cases in point may be instanced. In May 1890, THE AMERICAN SOCIETY OF COMPARATIVE RELIGION was founded in New York. The inspiration of the movement came from Professor F. F. Ellinwood, whose lectures on the subject, delivered to graduate students in the University of the City of New York,[2] had awakened widespread and genuine interest. The special object of the Society (see its Constitution, Article II.) was stated to be "the continued study of the religions of the world, and the collection and comparison of the results of such study." Article VII. reads: "It shall be the duty of the Executive Committee annually to assign to *each* member (as far as possible giving him his choice) some *definite* field of work—a religion, or a group of religions—to which he shall specially devote himself (keeping track of new literature, discoveries, etc.), and report thereon to the various meetings." After ten years of fruitful existence, during which from four to five hundred members lent and received help in connection with this organisation, it became necessary, unfortunately, to dissolve it; but its impulse abides in many of the Protestant denominations

[1] As an illustration of centres where much substantial work is done, take the AMERICAN SUMMER SCHOOL OF APPLIED ETHICS, founded in 1891. It began its annual meetings in July of that year at Plymouth, Massachusetts. Its programme embraced, besides Ethics, the two additional departments of Economics, and the History of Religions. Professor Toy, of Harvard University, has had the last-named Section under his special care; and he has rendered a large body of students an immense amount of help in this connection.

[2] Now officially designated "New York University."

of America, in many a foreign mission field, and in the occasional publications which it issued from the press. In like manner, THE HISTORY OF RELIGION CLUB was founded in connection with Harvard University in 1891. It was arranged that Monthly Meetings should be held,—at which Papers would be read, and less formal contributions submitted and examined. At the University of Chicago, THE COMPARATIVE RELIGION CLUB, conducted on similar lines, has been organised. Or take the step which THE AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY approved, when, in 1897, it inaugurated a new department of work by creating a "Section for the Historical Study of Religions." A similar procedure has been adopted in different European countries; and although this action dates only from a comparatively recent period, the volumes of the *Transactions* of these various Societies are already a thesaurus of information touching the Religions of the world. Happily the interests of Comparative Religion, although that domain of research is not distinctly specified in the official programmes of these Societies, has by no means been overlooked. Various details touching a number of Faiths, hitherto unknown or else deemed wholly unimportant, have now been carefully recorded; and the regular workers in this field, who give their thought exclusively to this study, have been greatly encouraged and aided. What now remains to be accomplished is the establishment, around the world, of an unbroken circle of Comparative Religion Societies, in which —founded either independently or constituting special Sections in some more comprehensive Society—scientific investigations shall be prosecuted with unfailing patience and vigour, and on lines similar to those which have made the History of Religion in our day a universal study.

It is quite worth while, in this connection, to call attention to THE AFRICAN SOCIETY, an Association which has recently been formed with the purpose of perpetuating the memory of the late Miss Mary Kingsley. This Society, which is meant to form the British National Memorial to a

remarkable woman, announces that it aims at promoting the study of native law and customs. Black men being equally agreed with white men that Miss Kingsley's work and character deserve recognition, they (as well as whites) have subscribed liberally towards the required funds. The object of the Society is directly scientific, as has been said; and it is scientific because it is ambitious to be practical, and therefore permanently useful. It was Miss Kingsley's strong conviction that, in dealing with the natives of any country, one's course of action must be based upon such *facts* as have been collected by competent hands, and that uninformed philanthropy is actually injurious. The inaugural meeting of the Society took place in the United Service Institution, London, on June 27, 1902. It will not confine its operations to West Africa, where Miss Kingsley herself laboured, but will study carefully the domestic, social, and religious life of all the native races on the African Continent.[1] This experiment will be watched with keenest interest, and not least by those who view the situation very intently from the standpoint of Comparative Religion.

4. INTERNATIONAL CONGRESSES.—In great gatherings of this character, there is risk lest the popular aspects of some current movement may be allowed to usurp the place and ignore the claims of exact and scientific inquiry; but the broadened range of survey, the comparison of differing judgments by the more notable leaders of any Science, the open impromptu discussions that follow, the indefinable stimulus that is secured through contact with experienced and venerated teachers, and the diffusion of intelligence touching a great variety of important subsidiary questions, must invariably count for a great deal. This statement holds conspicuously true as regards, in particular, Congresses on Religion. Besides, the more *serious* work of such Conventions can always be effectively carried forward by means

[1] Condensed from a description furnished by a friend of the Society to *The Daily Chronicle*, London.

of numerous and properly arranged "Sections" and "Subsections."

No assembly of this sort, as regards at once its popular and permanent interest, has ever quite equalled the FIRST WORLD'S PARLIAMENT OF RELIGIONS, held in Chicago in 1893.[1] That wonderful Congress—conducted throughout with consummate tact, and which was merely a beautiful dream until the late Dr. Barrows and those who so loyally supported him transformed it into a living inspiration—has not spent its force even yet. The New York "State Conference of Religion," referred to on a preceding page,[2] and similar Conferences held in other States of the Union, are the direct fruits of that most stimulating Western impulse. As one of the consequences of that Assembly, it is easier now to bring men of opposing Faiths together, and to enlist their sympathy and co-operation in different sorts of social and philanthropic service, than it has ever been before. And, prior to the dissolution of that great Council, steps were taken to perpetuate its influence, and diffuse yet more widely abroad its irenic and catholic spirit.[3] To name but a few of its successors, the religious Congress held in PARIS in 1900 was a noteworthy gathering; and although this later Parliament concerned itself expressly with the History

[1] Cp. page 134. See also page 198.

[2] See footnote, page 388. This is not, indeed, an International Congress, nor does it embrace any great variety of forms of religious belief; yet, within its more limited sphere, it seeks to affirm and render visible that religious unity which underlies all religious differences. Jews and Christians, Trinitarians and Unitarians, participate freely in its discussions. Its motto is: "There are many Religions, but Religion is one." In like manner, it is no longer an isolated and remarkable occurrence that, in the actual prosecution of Missions, the representatives of Christian and non-Christian Faiths should meet together for free and brotherly conference. Thus, in China in 1904, a group of about one hundred leaders of religious propagandism — Confucianists, Mohammedans, Christians, and others — assembled in Shantung, and frankly discussed the question: How shall we best revive Religion in China? It need surprise no one to-day that, according to the report of Dr. Timothy Richard, who was present, "there was not a single note of discord." Nevertheless the fact just stated is significant of the growing light of the slowly advancing centuries. Cp. pages 364 f.

[3] See Appendix. Note XLI., page 572.

of Religions, it furnished students of Comparative Religion with a vast amount of material which has proved to be of real and timely value. During 1904, two International Congresses of a similar kind were convened under very favourable circumstances,—the one during the WORLD'S EXPOSITION AT ST. LOUIS, UNITED STATES, and the other (the lineal successor of the Paris Congress) at BÂLE, SWITZERLAND.[1] Both proved to be occasions of genuine and widespread interest.

5. TRAVELLING FELLOWSHIPS.—Among the aids by which beginners in the department of Comparative Religion are now being greatly encouraged, none exceeds in value an adequately endowed Travelling Fellowship. The offer of these awards to promising scholars is, as yet, all too rare; but such aids are steadily increasing, and they need only to be appreciated at their real worth in order to lead benefactors to quadruple their number within the next few years. In the majority of cases, such assistance can at present be obtained only by men who have studied at some given University or Theological School; but already there exist foundations of this sort which stand practically apart from the control of individual academic institutions.[2]

The value of a Travelling Fellowship, as regards Comparative Religion in particular, can hardly be over-estimated. At a distinguished World's Congress, one finds himself in the presence of, and brought indeed into personal contact with, some of the greatest living pioneers in one's own special field,—an experience which, as has already been stated, is calculated to be at once pleasant and helpful; but the temporary local environment is, in most cases, the very

[1] Although this Assembly is officially known as "The *Second* International Congress for the Study of the History of Religions," it is really the *Third* Conference of the series. The initial gathering of scholars in this field met at Stockholm in 1897. The domain of inquiry then covered, as indicated by the title of the Convention (viz., *Religionswissenschaftlicher Kongress*), was considerably broader than the one which later on was formally approved at Paris. Hence the change in the name, and also in the numerical designation, of the Congress.

[2] *E.g.*, the *Hibbert* Travelling Fellowships.

reverse of favourable to sober investigation and study. Such results, indeed, are often practically precluded. A long and overcrowded programme of topics has to be exhausted; the discussions that take place are perforce far too brief and fragmentary; and the Congress, at the end of the period allotted to its sittings, has to be abruptly dissolved. But when a student has the opportunity of making the personal acquaintance and securing the personal interest of some *one* outstanding savant; when he can daily watch him in his laboratory, and be given some definite task to perform as he works by his master's side; when he can spend a year or two, uninterruptedly, under this teacher's individual guidance; when he can learn to imitate the skill exhibited by a man who has been trained in the use of mature and scholarly methods, and catch the inspiration of a spirit that is constantly informed and alert,—he has gained an experience, a momentum, and a kind of knowledge which mere money cannot buy. No one, for example, ever came under the influence of the late Professor Marillier of Paris, or of the late Professor Tiele of Leyden—even for the limited period of but three or six months—who ceased to be the debtor of his master as long as he lived.

6. SCIENTIFIC EXPEDITIONS.—When the student of Comparative Religion has made some progress in his work, one of the greatest boons that can possibly be put within his reach is an invitation to join a Scientific Expedition, and to continue his investigations under quite new and attractive conditions. Happily for the men who are pursuing their studies to-day, such opportunities are no longer merely occasional. Students in Germany, for example (foreigners included), are frequently permitted to join parties of this sort,—as when Professor Delitzsch of Berlin, in the spring of 1902, took several men with him to the East, in order to carry out certain desired explorations of the site of ANCIENT BABYLON. Oxford students have had a similar opportunity afforded them in connection with the excavations which Professor Evans is directing in THE ISLAND OF CRETE.

Cambridge men have been doing some excellent work in the TORRES STRAITS ISLANDS. The various national ARCHÆOLOGICAL SCHOOLS—at Rome, at Athens, in Palestine, etc.—provide facilities of the same sort, and in steadily multiplying number.[1] In the United States, also, such expeditions afford advanced students increasingly frequent opportunities for carrying forward their studies. The University of California sent out recently an important expedition to EGYPT, and accomplished some notable results,—securing material which is now being examined and sifted, with a view to securing its incorporation in an elaborate printed Report. Professor Salisbury of the University of Chicago, during the summer of 1902, took a number of graduate students with him to the BIG HORN MOUNTAINS, WYOMING, where they spent some two months in practical geological investigations; while another of the Professors in the same department conducted southwards a similar group of men, and set them to work in the MISSISSIPPI VALLEY. During the winter of 1902, Professor Shailer Matthews, of the same University, announced his willingness to accompany some twenty theological students to PALESTINE,—in order that they might be enabled to study, amid historic surroundings, the geography of the country, and the various traditions and incidents which are associated with the life of Jesus. Such a proposal, had it been made twenty-five years ago, would probably have been pronounced chimerical; but for those who were invited to consider it, it must have seemed as if a glorious vision were about to become a reality. Such expeditions however, under proper auspices, are not merely pleasant and informing,—they are of simply priceless worth. The advantages of a Travelling Fellowship, when combined with membership in a Scientific Expedition, are enhanced thereby fully a hundred-fold. The laboratory, no longer

[1] Cp. page 274. At the *British School* at Athens, during 1901, there were two lady students and five men; and the research-work done by each was not only satisfactory in the meantime, but full of promise for the future. Most of these investigators secure important archæological or other posts upon the completion of their studies.

stationary, finds now its temporary shelter beneath a tent; while an atmosphere of novelty adds its charm to the many other impulses of the work, the field of research continually changing its site.

7. SPECIAL MUSEUMS.—One of the most important of modern adjuncts to the study of Comparative Religion is a well-equipped Museum of Religion. Inasmuch as the vast majority of students are debarred from visiting the East, or at best from making any prolonged stay in it, the necessary steps must be taken to bring the various resources of the East nearer to the homes and haunts of the students.

Every one admits the importance of permanent Museums, and of temporary local Exhibitions, for increasing general intelligence in connection with the various Arts and Sciences; but such auxiliaries are quite as important, and are fully as effective, within the domain of Religion. No greater misfortune could happen to the religious beliefs of humanity, than that they should become hedged about with artificial restrictions, and compelled to maintain their existence in the dimness of some remote background; for then those beliefs themselves are liable to become dim and uncertain and artificial, shirking the light of day.[1] A tendency of this sort has always been characteristic of man, but happily Comparative Religion has been successful in drawing attention to it and checking it. If ample justification can be found for establishing—in addition to the more usual collections—Commercial Museums,[2] Museums of Ethnology,[3] the International War and Peace Museum at Lucerne,[4] the Museum of Bibliography at Leipsic, the Post Office Museum at Berlin, the special Museum connected with the Indian

[1] Cp. pages 328–334.

[2] *E.g.*, the permanent Exhibition of Colonial Manufactures in London; the German Colonial Museum in Berlin; the permanent Expositions of Chinese products in New York, Chicago, and San Francisco, and the corresponding Expositions of American products in Peking, Canton, Hongkong, Hankow, etc.

[3] At Berlin, at Harvard University, etc., etc.

[4] See descriptive Article in *Chambers's Journal*, pp. 257–259. London, April 1903.

Institute at Oxford, and others of an equally definite and limited range, an unanswerable argument can be framed for establishing, and efficiently maintaining, an adequate Museum of Religions. Indeed, in view of the unique and universal interest that attaches to Religion, a separate department devoted to that subject should now be found in literally *every* important Museum that opens its doors to the public.

Fortunately, in the capitals of all Western countries at least, some provision of the kind indicated has already been made.[1] In London, the facilities for such researches, now available for all in the unrivalled BRITISH MUSEUM, leave little to be desired. Similar work can be prosecuted, also with the highest advantage, in the SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION in Washington;[2] in the FIELD COLUMBIAN MUSEUM in Chicago; in the HASKELL ORIENTAL MUSEUM of the University of Chicago;[3] in the ORIENTAL MUSEUMS OF HARVARD UNIVERSITY,—of which one must name in particular the new SEMITIC MUSEUM, which (with its fine array of originals, casts and photographs) is not surpassed, so far as Semitics are concerned, by any similar Collection in the world. Indeed, it is at present the *only* Collection devoted exclusively to Semitic learning.[4] But the most successful effort of this sort, attempted thus far, is undoubtedly the GUIMET MUSEUM in Paris.[5] An entire building, ample in size and skilfully designed, has been set apart for the accumulation and exhibition of articles of every kind belonging, even in a remote way, to the domain of Religion. One has to visit this Museum over and over again, before it is possible to appreciate the pains and perseverance with which its immense store of treasures has been gathered, and then so invitingly thrown open to the world's inspection

[1] Cp. pages 409–410.

[2] By a decision which has everywhere been commended, the remains of the founder, James Smithson, are to be transferred from Geneva to the site of his magnificent benefaction.

[3] Founded by a gift of $100,000.

[4] Dedicated in February 1903.

[5] Founded in Lyons in 1879, but domiciled in Paris since 1888.

and study. With absolute impartiality, the Religions of all lands and races are there represented by a larger or smaller number of distinctive religious emblems. Everything that can throw light upon the forms, the history, and the inner essence of each of these differing systems—whether in the guise of books, models, vestments, idols, etc.—has rightly been accounted of importance, and has been assigned to its own appropriate Section. Indeed, the existence of this unique Museum in Paris—apart altogether from the lectures which are delivered in the Sorbonne and in the Collège de France, apart from the huge national and other Libraries, and apart from various other forms of helpful apparatus—has long proved a supreme attraction to students of Religion, and has constrained them to prefer the French capital to every other centre where they might have prosecuted their researches. The existence of this magnificent Exposition has also served to suggest, to the Senate and Directors of various Universities and Theological Schools, the desirability of imitating (even on a much reduced scale) so admirable an example; and so, to-day, many local Collections of this sort are being gradually accumulated.

In addition to these larger and permanent Museums, it is now becoming a common practice to bring together in one place (for a week or ten days, or other limited period) the best assortment of articles of this character that can conveniently be secured. These exhibits, arranged in the order of countries, and briefly explained by a missionary or other traveller who knows intimately the customs and manners of the natives who formerly owned them, are certain to awaken inquiry; and oftentimes they make an abiding and most useful impression upon the minds of those who chance to see them. Thus, at the great *Missionary Conference* held in New York in 1900, and also at the *Presbyterian General Assembly* held in Philadelphia in 1901, an outstanding feature of each occasion was a truly representative Exhibition of the Religions of the world. Such enterprises ought certainly to be commended and fostered,

for they accomplish an inestimable amount of good. Yet some sort of *permanent* Collection ought rather to be aimed at.[1] The necessary exhibits could very easily be procured, and practically without cost, by enlisting the co-operation of Missionaries in every quarter of the globe. Many hundreds of suitable objects, already brought to the West, are hidden away to-day in cupboards and boxes; but no one ever sees them. By and by, they may come to be regarded by their possessors, or by those who inherit them, as so much worthless lumber; and eventually many of them may be lost or thoughtlessly thrown away. Nevertheless all these relics have a distinctly historic and religious value. Some of them, if destroyed, can never be duplicated. Only a very slight effort would be necessary to persuade the present owners of them—indeed, by most collectors, the proposal would be greeted with the most cordial welcome—to allow them to be brought together in some convenient and central building, where they might be sure of being properly taken care of through all coming time. Moreover, if placed thus on exhibition, the survey of them would probably constitute one of the best arguments for Missions that could possibly be framed;[2] the public would begin to feel an entirely new interest in the religious beliefs of those to whom they send their commissioned representatives, being appealed to through the eye as well as by way of the ear; while special students in this department, having such a collection thrown open to them, would often be found gratefully improving the opportunity of becoming acquainted with the intricacies of a primitive—but often recondite and ingenious—symbolism.

8. SPECIAL LIBRARIES.—Another notable result which has been achieved by the rapid advances recently made in

[1] Cp. pages 409–410.

[2] President Warren of Boston has thrown out a suggestion which many will be quick to appreciate; for he has well said that "the more one knows of the thoughts and worship and life of the heathen peoples, ancient and modern, the clearer and more impressive will be one's vision of the value of a diviner teaching."

the study of Comparative Religion has been the establishment of Special Libraries — or, in a smaller way, the founding of a special Section in every important General Library—where the Literature of this new Science can adequately be represented. For it is not too much to say that, through the inauguration of Comparative Religion, an entirely new and distinct department of Literature has been created.[1] Thus it has come about that to-day, in addition to innumerable monographs and articles of a more or less furtive character, — Addresses, Pamphlets, Sermons, contributions to Scientific Journals and to the Transactions of Learned Societies, etc.,—many volumes of permanent value have already been issued from the presses of Europe and America. The necessity of systematically collecting these publications, and then of making them immediately available for students, has of late been fully recognised; and accordingly Special Libraries, which contain only such prints as are devoted to the exposition of some phase of religious belief or practice, are now being methodically accumulated all over the world. It is to-day frankly admitted that it is quite as essential to found and foster a Library of Religions as it is to found and maintain a Museum of Religions. The one is the complement, indeed, and the explanation, of what is contained in the other. What the Catalogue or Guidebook does for the ordinary sight-seer in a Museum, the Library achieves (though much more fully) for the student who has been assigned some task in a fairly complete Museum of Religions. Accordingly it has now become the custom—in France, Germany, America, etc.— to house both a Museum and its Library in a single building.[2]

The Literature of the Science of Religion has concerned itself, thus far, only very meagrely with that section of the field in which students of Comparative Religion are specially

[1] See Appendix. Note I., pages 483 f. See also Chapter XII.

[2] The Guimet Museum contains a Library numbering already about 24,000 volumes. See also page 410.

interested; this fact will become evident to any one who will make an examination of the contents of the limited number of Special Libraries which have already been collected. THE HISTORY OF RELIGION, indeed, has already been very satisfactorily handled.[1] It was natural, and even essential, that this department should be studied and mastered first; for the results thus secured constitute the materials which have subsequently to be compared and analysed by the Expert. It is only after this prior discipline has been carried forward to a certain point that the processes of Comparative Religion can begin.[2] THE PHILOSOPHY OF RELIGION, likewise, though developed somewhat prematurely, is represented by a very large assortment of volumes. The publications of Germany alone, illustrative of this special sphere of work, would fill many shelves in a Library. These books seem perhaps to be increasing more rapidly than is actually the case; for many of them, even when distinctly superior to the rest, are gradually outgrown and drop out of sight, and their places have to be refilled by others. The explanation of these failures lies in the facts (*a*) that the results accumulated by students of Comparative Religion are still largely unrecorded, and (*b*) that the great bulk of such material has still to be collected. Hence the time for making generalisations has scarcely yet arrived. COMPARATIVE RELIGION, however, though last to employ this aid, has now likewise summoned the printing press to its assistance; and that indispensable agency will doubtless lend to it, as to so many other aspiring movements, a prompt and abiding impulse. A quite admirable instance in point is to be found in Mr. Macculloch's recent book.[3] At the same time, to show how extremely little has yet been accomplished, it is only necessary to examine the catalogues of the *Library of the British Museum*, the *Bibliothèque Nationale* in Paris,

[1] Cp. Chapter XII. See also Appendix. Note I., pages 483 f.
[2] See Appendix. Note II., pages 485 f.
[3] *Comparative Theology.* London, 1902. Cp. footnote, page 27.

the large *London Library* in St. James's Square, and several other representative Collections which might readily be named.[1] Happily, one or two Library Directorates have resolved to make an important new departure in this connection, and to establish without delay a separate Section or Alcove, devoted exclusively to books of this class. Probably the most notable illustration which can be cited—although the *John Rylands Library*, Manchester,[2] deserves especially honourable mention — is that of the *Bodleian Library*, Oxford, which has commenced to prepare two special Catalogues of volumes, collected under the general headings "The History and Biography of the Philosophy of Religion" and "The History, Biography, and Methodology of Comparative Religion." Pamphlets also, in addition to bound volumes, are now being accumulated by the Bodleian Librarians, by whom also they are being carefully indexed. Only the beginning, however, as regards this comprehensive and most commendable scheme, can be said to have been made; meanwhile, the General Catalogue furnishes the novice in this field with practically no assistance whatever. Nevertheless no great Library to-day can afford to be without the volumes, all too few as yet, to which attention is here being directed. Accordingly nothing is more certain than that this particular department of Literature will before very long appeal with success to benefactors, anxious to promote the endowment of a series of Special Libraries, — in which, not by Experts only, but by the general mass of readers, the history, the comparison, and the philosophy of man's religious evolution may dispassionately be studied, and where that development can adequately be illustrated and expounded. As a result, the various conclusions reached and now held by scholars will rapidly be made known to the world,—when they will not only become the accessible property of all, but will for the first time be subjected to a competent and

[1] See second footnote, page 484.

[2] Founded in 1899. An invaluable depository for research students.

dispassionate criticism. All hypotheses will be closely inspected and sifted, and then either sustained or rejected. Theories that can be shown to be invalid—whether seriously propounded by an over-ardent investigator, or merely clung to by the traditional believer—will have to be surrendered; while all who wish to be able to give a reason for the Faith wherein they stand, and which they desire intelligently to advance and defend, will find that the most effective of weapons has been put into their hands. Yet further, during the advancing stages of this process, Comparative Religion will be found to be busily unearthing a vast unknown Literature, which is so old that much of it has been entirely forgotten; and, at the same time, it will be producing a Literature of its own, some of whose volumes will prove to be as engaging and even as intensely interesting as any that have ever been written.

9. SPECIAL JOURNALS.—In concluding the list of items enumerated in this imperfect catalogue, mention must be made of an agency which is closely related to the one last specified. The promotion of the study of Comparative Religion has been greatly aided of late by the editing of special scientific Journals, which devote themselves (more or less fully) to this particular line of research.[1] For a considerable time, it had been felt that a special organ was simply indispensable for the publication of texts, the discussion of problems, and the making known of discoveries, to those who were busying themselves with these investigations. And necessity is always sure to find a way. Accordingly effective steps in this direction were taken a little over twenty years ago, with the result that the REVUE DE L'HISTOIRE DES RELIGIONS was successfully founded in Paris.[2] This excellent Journal has regularly appeared ever since, and is now everywhere recognised as being the very first authority in its field; but, as its title indicates, it deals with Comparative Religion only indirectly. In Germany, the ARCHIV FÜR RELIGIONSWISSENSCHAFT was

[1] Cp. pages 432, 438, 447, 462, and 477.

[2] 1880.

begun quite recently,[1] under the editorial supervision of Dr. Achelis; but it, in turn, concerns itself very largely with questions pertaining to the Philosophy of Religion. In Holland, presenting itself as the pioneer in this enterprise, stands the THEOLOGISCH TIJDSCHRIFT,[2] — the organ which Drs. Kuenen, Tiele, Loman, and Rauwenhoff so brilliantly conducted, and in whose pages in former days so many stimulating articles on the study of Religion were wont to appear. Unfortunately this special feature, in an otherwise admirably managed Review, has not been so carefully maintained during the last ten or twelve years. In Belgium, LA REVUE DES RELIGIONS[3] (Roman Catholic), after a brief but useful career in France, became incorporated with LE MUSÉON,[4] and began to be issued under the new title LE MUSÉON ET LA REVUE DES RELIGIONS.[5] A new series of this publication has lately been begun, and its title is now changed to LE MUSÉON: ÉTUDES PHILOLOGIQUES, HISTORIQUES, ET RÉLIGIEUSES.[6] The assistance which this Journal lends to Comparative Religion, it must be said, varies very much both in amount and quality; but it has rendered highly competent and appreciated service. In Norway, the THEOLOGISK TIDSSKRIFT is still supplying much help, though within somewhat too restricted limits.[7] In Great Britain and in America, information proper to this department appears chiefly in the Transactions of Societies devoted to the study of Anthropology, Ethnology, Folklore, Psychology, etc. Happily, in the former country, there has recently been founded THE HIBBERT JOURNAL,[8] "a Quarterly Review of Religion, Theology, and Philosophy"; and discussions bearing upon Comparative Religion find a place continually in its pages. Introduced under exceedingly encouraging conditions, its circulation is increasing steadily. In the United States, the issue of the initial

[1] 1898.
[2] 1867.
[3] Begun in Paris, 1889.
[4] Founded in Louvain, 1882.
[5] Louvain, 1897.
[6] Louvain, Second Series, 1900.
[7] Christiania, 1886. [A New Series began in 1900.]
[8] London, 1902.

number of THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF RELIGIOUS PSYCHOLOGY AND EDUCATION[1] was certainly an event full of happiest augury; for it indicates that the effective resources of Clark University are now to be systematically utilised in the interests of this new study. Mention should also be made of THE RECORDS OF THE PAST,[2] a Monthly Magazine which has secured the interest and support of a very considerable circle of contributors and readers.

All that has been done in this direction, however, thus far, at least in English-speaking countries, has been entirely inadequate. It is pitiable that scholars should still be deprived of an agency which might be rendering them an inestimable amount of service, and which, could it but promptly aid them, would oftentimes bid them cease expending needless energy in seeking to solve problems which others have solved already. The supreme need, therefore, in Great Britain and America, just now—fortunately a need which seems likely soon to be removed—is the inauguration of a JOURNAL OF COMPARATIVE RELIGION, of the highest rank in point of erudition, published in the English language, and competent to take its place without fear by the side of the *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*. If such an organ were actually launched, the obstacles which have hitherto led to the postponement of its advent would unquestionably be surmounted. It might be restricted to a somewhat modest form of publication at the outset, and in this way the initial expenses could be kept within moderate limits; it might also, at first—perhaps, indeed, for an indefinite period—be issued under the combined editorship of British and American scholars; but it would need to start with, and maintain always, a thoroughly worthy professional standard. Certainly a progressive International Review of the sort indicated, in which the claims of Comparative Religion could be expounded, and in which the progress of that Science could regularly be recorded from quarter to quarter, would lend an unspeakably

[1] Worcester, Mass., 1904. [2] Washington, 1902.

helpful impulse to workers in this field. In a word, such a Journal is imperatively demanded; and, until its publication has actually been begun, the Science of Comparative Religion among English-speaking students can never come to its own. The Special Museum and the Special Library, as already stated, go naturally hand in hand; for neither is complete without the other. But these highly important aids, even when combined, are incomplete without the addition of a thoroughly able Special Journal. It is not surprising, therefore, that in Paris, where the most efficient Special Museum and Library for the study of Religions have their seat, *several* Journals of the kind described are regularly issued, and have been successfully published for more than a decade.[1]

III. Additional Achievements — some Positive and some Negative — which may conveniently be grouped together.—Over and above the influence which the advent of Comparative Religion has exerted, (*a*) upon University and Theological teaching, and (*b*) in securing the introduction of apparatus which is now enabling students to carry forward this line of research under immensely more hopeful conditions, there are one or two additional results of high importance which must not be left unmentioned. These items, at the same time, being grouped under a single heading, must of course be treated very briefly.[2] They will be found to consist of advantages which, partly positive and partly negative, are quite worthy of being included in the present condensed record.

1. The Framing of a New Apologetic. — Among the additional positive achievements that must not remain unchronicled, certainly one of the most notable is the clear perception and conviction that the old Apologetic has become in certain respects inadequate. Formerly, at least

[1] Cp. seventh footnote, page 447.

[2] A full discussion of these topics will be presented in *Comparative Religion: Its Principles and Problems.* [*In preparation.*]

in Christian countries, Apologetics was a term that signified the carefully ordered defence of Christianity. Long after the non-Christian Religions had become generally known, they remained practically ignored by Christian Theology. Certainly anything like a study of their origin and history, their varying relationship to Christianity, and the differing ends which they have so effectively fulfilled, used to be accounted supererogatory,—if not, indeed, a deliberate and most reprehensible reflection upon the Faith that Jesus inaugurated. But, for reasons which were mentioned in Chapter X.,[1] this old position has now very generally been abandoned. Rendered unreasonable in the light of a clearer understanding of the true relation of Christianity to the other Faiths which surround it, the range of Apologetics has been greatly expanded.[2] It is now recognised that Christianity cannot adequately be understood, and accordingly cannot adequately be interpreted, *apart from* a knowledge of its relation to other Religions. Hence every worthy Text-book of Apologetics is found to-day to introduce its main theme by giving a more or less full discussion of the latest results of Comparative Religion.[3] This is the only thorough and scientific way in which to deal with this subject. It has been demonstrated that Apologetics is sometimes little better than dilettantism, and that it results too often in a begging of the whole question, if the earlier method of studying it be adhered to; and it is not surprising, therefore, that that method is being rapidly discarded.[4] Both in printed books, and in sermons now preached in the mission field, the note of an intelligent sympathy with Faiths not one's own is becoming stronger and more common; and it is entirely beyond question that the best agents for carrying forward aggressive missionary work are those who,

[1] See pages 344–353.

[2] See Edmond de Pressensé, *The Religions before Christ.* Edinburgh, 1862.

[3] See, *e.g.*, Francis R. Beattie, *Apologetics.* 3 vols. Richmond, Va., 1903– . [*In progress.*]

[4] Cp. Appendix. Explanatory Note 73, Chart IV., page 603.

capable of viewing the situation from *both* sides, appreciate most fully the force of the arguments which necessitate the opposition of those who differ from them. It is here that one finds very largely the explanation of St. Paul's success, in all his various undertakings as a preacher "in the regions beyond"; for he had been a Jew, and a Jew of the strictest sort, before he became by conviction a Christian.[1] In like manner, cultured native converts, who completely understand their hearers, will always do more permanently to influence their fellow-countrymen to embrace a foreign Faith, than the average foreign Missionary can possibly hope to do. It must accordingly be a persistent aim, alike with university teacher and missionary candidate, that each shall approach ever more and more closely that ideal mental equipment which is his only worthy goal, viz., one that embraces a thorough acquaintance with those Religions against which he strives, as well as with that supremely revered Religion which he honestly seeks to commend.

2. The Gradual Elevation of a Religion to its higher and highest Possibilities. — The discovery that the non-Christian Religions have aims and resources and excellencies which were hitherto undreamed of, suggests that a deliberate comparison of Christianity with the various members of this group is by no means a fruitless task. Some Religions, all are agreed, are better than others; some one of them, it is most probable, is superior to all its contemporaries; but *Which Religion is actually the best?* Such a question, soberly and truthfully answered, will mean an invaluable gain to a man, upon whomsoever the query may be pressed; for such a one will thereafter ground his beliefs upon firmer and more enduring convictions. As this quest proceeds, millions who conscientiously hold that the Faith which they have inherited and profess is undoubtedly "the true Faith," will be stimulated to examine it anew, and to scrutinise it more closely than they have ever done before. Nay more, in many a case, as one cannot but

[1] Cf. Acts xxvi. 5; 2 Corinthians ii. 22; etc.

believe, such inquirers will be led deliberately to purify a Religion which, while they feel themselves incapable of surrendering it, they now discern to be unquestionably outdistanced in various particulars by several other Religions,—Religions of which they have known all too little, and which accordingly they have all too lightly esteemed. As a consequence, a progressive type of Faith will take the place of empty formalism, whether Christian or non-Christian.[1] Of course, he whose one ambition is to subvert every conception of worship except his own, and utterly to destroy it, may be expected to view with undisguised dismay any attempt on the part of the older Faiths to effect a reformation from within. But what of the Reformation of the sixteenth century! Moreover, Religion has never, in the long run, been successfully propagated by force. The best *will* win in the end, resist its progress who may! But if meanwhile, as knowledge increases and spreads, the standard of *many* Religions should slowly but perceptibly be raised, they who are the genuine servants of the Highest can only rejoice and give thanks.

3. The Establishment of Central Information Bureaux. — As the interest in this subject deepens, information of all sorts relating to various Religions—statistics, the differences which distinguish different Sects, the progress of new reformatory movements, etc.—will be in constant demand among Authors, Missionaries, Scientific Societies, and so on. It was one of the useful results of the Ecumenical Conference on Foreign Missions, held in New York in 1900, that a Bureau of Missions was shortly afterwards established in a central locality.[2] The first *Bulletin* was issued by the Secretary, Dr. Edwin M. Bliss, in 1902. At the address named, one finds to-day the nucleus of a magnificent Missionary Museum, containing a varied array of objects which illustrate the domestic, social, and religious life of a score of non-Christian peoples;

[1] Cp. pages 349–353, and 367–377.

[2] The Charities Building, 287 Fourth Avenue, New York.

a MISSIONARY LIBRARY, exceedingly well equipped with books, maps, ethnological, and other missionary charts, etc., any of which may be referred to at a moment's notice; and an INQUIRY BUREAU, where editors, pastors, students, etc., can secure the most recent and reliable information as to the progress of the missionary cause in every quarter of the globe.[1] Now, something of the sort, but limited to items of information touching the progress everywhere of THE STUDY OF COMPARATIVE RELIGION, is a desideratum of constantly increasing importance. Already several attempts have been made to supply these needed Bureaux, the most successful of which has found expression in the GUIMET MUSEUM in Paris;[2] but very much yet remains to be done. Full details in reference to this matter will be given in a subsequent volume.[3]

4. THE REFUTATION OF DEFECTIVE DOGMATICS.—Passing from positive to negative results brought about by the study of Comparative Religion, three representative examples may be named without difficulty. First, as regards the teaching of Theology. Apologetics being a department of Dogmatics, it is natural that, if the former discipline has had to be essentially modified, the latter will be under the necessity of effecting some modifications also. Take such a system as that of RITSCHLIANISM. It is true that Ritschl and his numerous disciples are not wholly at one in the expositions which they offer touching the same biblical doctrines; indeed, so divergent are they at times, that the question which Professor Orr puts in his recent volume is entirely relevant, "What holds these writers together, and still leads to their being spoken of as one party?"[4] Still, the distinctly representative writers of this School do agree in teaching

[1] In like manner, the splendid new Building of the London Missionary Society, formally dedicated in 1905, provides ample accommodation for accumulating a great Missionary Library on its fourth floor, and a corresponding Museum on its fifth floor.

[2] Cp. pages 397–398.

[3] *Comparative Religion: Its Opportunity and Outlook.* [*In preparation.*]

[4] *Ritschlianism: Expository and Critical Essays*, p. 23. London, 1903.

that faith is above reason, and that Religion is "an affair of the heart, with which reason has nothing to do!" They agree also in teaching that Natural Theology cannot exist! Indeed, when Professor Orr goes on to affirm: "I cannot accept its non-mystical view of religion; I cannot accept its divorce of faith and reason; I cannot accept its restriction of religious truth to value-judgments; I cannot accept its agnostic denial of the right of natural theology; I cannot accept Ritschl's practically humanitarian Christology,"[1] etc., Comparative Religion is found to endorse these conclusions, and in a tone that is characterised by an unmistakable emphasis.

5. THE EXPOSURE OF INEPT COMPARISONS.—The Science of Comparative Religion, not many years ago, used often to be quoted in the interest of hypotheses which were more notable because of their ingenuity than by reason of their agreement with facts. For instance, as the result of a superficial survey, it was announced that there was a remarkable fundamental similarity between BUDDHISM and ROMAN CATHOLICISM; and this declaration was put forth in the name of Comparative Religion! All will remember how the Science which was thus airily summoned as a witness, and which was relied upon to furnish the chief support of this theory, proved to be its most remorseless critic. Or take the well-known but rash generalisation of Renan, based upon too narrow an induction, viz., that ALL SEMITES EITHER ARE, OR TEND TO BECOME, MONOTHEISTS; Comparative Religion has shown that this conclusion is entirely unwarranted. No one can ever forget the pitiless exposure which Max Müller once made of M. JACOLLIOT'S PRETENTIOUS UNDERTAKING;[2] and a score of kindred illustrations might readily be recalled. A career of similar usefulness, it may confidently be predicted, lies before this Science in the future. Indeed, one of its most

[1] *Ritschlianism: Expository and Critical Essays*, p. 29.

[2] Louis Jacolliot, *La Bible dans l'Inde: Vie de Iezeus Christna*. Paris, 1869. See Robert Munro, *Archæology and False Antiquities*. London, 1905.

valuable achievements is likely to be found in the direction just indicated; for Comparative Religion has no patience with shallowness, whether exhibited in its lesser or more aggravated forms. Beginners, of course, must always run the risk of falling into mistakes; but, as Professor Jastrow has remarked, "This fondness for hasty comparisons is a characteristic trait of the comparative method in its infancy; whereas a matured comparative method is as much concerned with determining where comparisons should *not* be made, as with drawing conclusions from comparisons already instituted."[1]

6. The Revision of many Details contained in the Older Systems of Chronology.—It is due in part to Comparative Religion—and, yet more fully, to its faithful ally, Archæology—that a complete recasting of the early Tables of Chronology has been rendered pressing and imperative. Geology was first among the Sciences to preach and demand this reform; but Comparative Religion has often repeated the summons, and has confirmed and reinforced its claims with a special emphasis of its own. For instance, take The Story of the Creation which Mr. George Smith so early gave to the world.[2] Obtained partly from the discoveries he made in 1872 while searching among the countless fragments of Assyrian Inscriptions that had been deposited in the British Museum, and supplemented afterwards by means of personal excavations made in the East, compare the narrative minutely (especially in that fuller form of it which has since been made accessible) with the corresponding account which is to be found in the opening chapters of the Book of Genesis. It used to be said that the Pentateuch was written by Moses, and at the direct dictation of Divine lips;[3] but a close philological examination of the words employed in Genesis i.[4] practically

[1] *The Study of Religion*, p. 28. New York, 1901.

[2] *The Chaldean Account of Genesis.* London, 1876. For the more recent authorities on this subject, cp. footnote on page 79.

[3] Cp. pages 78–79.

[4] *E.g.*, verses 1, 14, 15, etc.

demonstrates that he who composed that chapter had the earlier Babylonian story of the Creation under his eye when he was drafting his statement. The writer of the beginning of the Hebrew Scriptures was certainly not the first who penned the substance of that remarkable sketch, for undeniably the materials he utilised were centuries older than he; nor is it true that his narrative, as regards its framework at any rate, was wholly dependent upon a revelation that reached him from a Divine source. Similar illustrations might be multiplied, practically without limit.[1] By means of this new comparative discipline, scores of historical events are now being brought for the first time into their true chronological sequence.

General Summary of Chapters X. and XI.—If one were to sum up in a sentence the principal achievements with which Comparative Religion may legitimately be credited, it can be said that it has brought men to view Religion, throughout the whole wide field which it covers, with a clearer intelligence, a more lively sympathy, a broader charity, and a resolute determination to investigate its innermost impulses and meaning.

The world has of late been constrained to make a profound study of Religion; and this work has been undertaken with such ardour, that man's acquaintance with this realm is more intimate to-day than it has ever been before. As a consequence, the present ruling conception of Religion, Christian and non-Christian alike, has been immeasurably enlarged and improved. Moreover, under the stimulus of this new Science, a new spirit has begun to manifest its presence; and, beneath the sway of its benign influence, a brighter era has already happily dawned,—an era in which an enlightened understanding has begun to yield its individual praise to God, and to occupy itself more largely in promoting peace and goodwill among men. Yet more; Universities and Theological Schools, Scientific Societies and Inter-

[1] Cp. footnote, page 38.

national Congresses, Museums and Libraries, Technical Journals and the Savants of widely separated countries, new methods of inquiry and new departments of instruction, —these are some of the agencies, though some only, which Comparative Religion has of late successfully pressed into service. And, inspired by a hope that refuses to be denied its fulfilment, this Science is to-day inviting men everywhere to interest themselves more fully in its investigations, and to encourage and aid it by their cordial personal assistance. May the bright promise of its future be speedily and completely realised!

CHAPTER XII

ITS EXPANDING BIBLIOGRAPHY

Syllabus.—General Remarks: pp. 415–416. I. A Selection of the best Books by British scholars: pp. 416–432. II. Distinctive Books by Dutch scholars: pp. 433–438. III. Foremost Books by French scholars: pp. 438–448. IV. Representative Books by German scholars: pp. 448–462. V. The ablest Books by American scholars: pp. 462–479.

General Remarks.—It is proposed in the present Chapter to give some brief annotations upon the books which, representing different nationalities, are most likely to prove helpful to students of Comparative Religion. At the same time, two other ends will incidentally be secured. (1) A concise presentation will be made of the kind of results which the scholarship of different countries has sought to contribute to the common store of knowledge. National ideals have always differed considerably; it is not surprising, therefore, that marked differences of aim and achievement have characterised the labours of those who, advancing from various quarters, have entered with more or less zest into this new domain of inquiry. It will not be hard, as one consults the several groups of volumes to which attention is now to be directed, to discern those features respectively of agreement and contrast to which reference has already more than once been made.[1] (2) The opportunity will be utilised to prepare what may perhaps be accepted as a tentative Bibliography of Comparative Religion. It has already been pointed out that, strictly speaking, no satisfactory Bibliography of Comparative

[1] Cp. pages 206–208, 378–384, 512 f., etc.

Religion can as yet be compiled.[1] Such an attempt would soon be found to be hopelessly premature. Yet the volumes which treat of this discipline indirectly—either foreshadowing it, or tacitly assuming its existence—are even now to be counted by hundreds, and their number is steadily increasing. The more useful of these books, therefore,—for the benefit of those who desire guidance in their reading, and who wish to acquaint themselves more closely with the different branches of the general subject,—will be mentioned, and then briefly appraised, in the paragraphs which follow.[2]

Great Britain.

British scholars may survey with some measure of pride the results that have accrued from the attention which, during the last half-century, has been given to the Science of Religion in Great Britain. Anything like an approach to complacency of feeling should, it is true, be restrained; for it must be confessed that few other countries have been in a position to carry forward these investigations with equal or even with approximate facility. Great Britain has innumerable agents—civil, military, and religious—distributed over the face of the entire globe; few nationalities, therefore, possess the advantages, in the way of rapid and easy accumulation of the material which the scientific student of Religion requires, which the British people enjoy. Moreover, on the other hand, there is no country in which there can be found more competent workmen, a greater number of persons who command the means and the leisure which are necessary for prosecuting these re-

[1] See Appendix. Note I., pages 483 f. Also pages 401–403.

[2] In the Bibliography which is about to be presented, special prominence will be given to books by *British* and *American* writers. This course is suggested by the fact that the present Manual has been prepared with the purpose of aiding, in particular, students of the two nationalities just named. The British and American lists, accordingly, will be found to be more full than any of the others. A large proportion of the volumes to which reference will be made are selected from the Author's own Library, which he has diligently been accumulating during the past twelve years.

searches, more or better-equipped libraries, more scholarly Anthropological and other Learned Societies, and more abundant resources in the way of accessible scientific Periodicals. Yet the representatives of the Government, thus far, have provided exceedingly limited opportunities either for teaching or study in connection with this vast field! Happily, however, a little group of British investigators, inspired by a praiseworthy enthusiasm, have begun to devote themselves and their talents to this inviting domain of inquiry. Three distinguished names have already been mentioned.[1] As regards those other workers who will now be referred to, it has seemed well that the list we supply should be broken up into three convenient subdivisions.

I. COMPARATIVE RELIGION.—The following books and authors, though not confining themselves exclusively to the theme specified in this heading, present to their readers admirable expositions of some of its more important phases or aspects.

1. JOHN FREDERICK DENISON MAURICE[2] (1805–1872). In his *Boyle Lectures*,[3] Maurice's treatment of the subject is much more largely historical than comparative; and, even historically viewed, the exposition is in many respects faulty. Still, in harmony with the writer's general attitude, a strong plea is advanced on behalf of allowing to all seekers after truth the fullest intellectual liberty, and of securing a sympathetic consideration of opinions which happen to be at variance with one's own. 2. GEORGE RAWLINSON[4] (1815–1902). While a Professor in Oxford, Canon Rawlinson prepared a little book which yielded good service in its day.[5]

[1] Cf. pages 169–179.

[2] Formerly Professor of Moral Philosophy, Cambridge University.

[3] *The Religions of the World, and their relations to Christianity.* London, 1846.

[4] Formerly Professor of Ancient History, Oxford University.

[5] *The Religions of the Ancient World.* London, 1882. See also his *Contrasts of Christianity with Heathen and Jewish Systems.* London, 1861.

As in the former instance, this volume is almost exclusively historical in aim and scope. It is also rather elementary in character. 3. CHARLES HARDWICK[1] (1821–1859). This author also was by preference a student of history; but he wrote at least one book which no student of Comparative Religion should overlook.[2] In various respects, this treatise has been superseded; yet it contains much that is suggestive, and it will repay examination. 4. ROBERT NEEDHAM CUST[3] (1821–). Having spent more than twenty years of his life in India, where he filled various important posts in the Civil Service of that country, Dr. Cust naturally came to be interested in the history of the different religious communities with which he was brought into contact. This interest developed into a more or less serious study and comparison of several of these Faiths. For many years of late Dr. Cust has found his chief occupation in extending his acquaintance with the Religions and Languages of the East.[4] 5. R. VAUGHAN PRYCE[5] (1834–). Although Principal Pryce has not yet published any volume in this department, he has for nearly a dozen years been lecturing twice each week on Comparative Religion; and it is hoped that some portion of these studies may be prepared for the press before very long. 6. MARCUS DODS[6] (1834–). Thus far, Dr. Dods has turned his attention merely in an incidental way to studies in Comparative Religion; but his success makes one wish that his sanity and equipoise of judgment may soon become more fully

[1] Formerly Divinity Lecturer, King's College, Cambridge University.

[2] *Christ and other Masters.* An historical inquiry into some of the chief parallelisms and contrasts between Christianity and the Religious Systems of the ancient world. Cambridge, 1855–59. [2nd ed., 2 vols., 1863.]

[3] Honorary Secretary, Royal Asiatic Society, London.

[4] See his *Les religions et les langues de l'Inde.* Paris, 1880. Also his *Common Features which appear in all Religions of the World before Anno Domini.* London, 1895. *Five Essays on Religious Conceptions.* London, 1897. *Linguistic and Oriental Essays.* 7 series. London, 1880–1904.

[5] Principal of New College, London University.

[6] Professor of New Testament Theology, New College, Edinburgh.

enlisted in this service.[1] 7. JOHN SHAW BANKS[2] (1835–). Dr. Banks has gained his acquaintance with religious life in the East through his personal experiences as a Missionary in Southern India. His contribution to the *Fernley Lectures* has supplied us with a compact and cogent volume.[3] 8. THOMAS KELLY CHEYNE[4] (1841–). It has been an important feature of Professor Cheyne's literary industry that he has frequently instituted formal comparisons between the various conceptions of Religion which man has been found to entertain at different periods in his history. This task he has been accustomed to perform, however, as is well known, in a somewhat radical and subjective manner. As a teacher, he is unusually stimulating and suggestive; but his readiness to propound theories which are startling, and even bizarre, tends to give to some of his conclusions a temporary and unreliable character. Out of the long list of the books which he has given us, only one need be cited here; but it, like the major part of this author's publications, deals with Comparative Religion proper only incidentally and indirectly.[5] 9. JAMES G. R. FORLONG[6] (1824–1904). General Forlong, besides seeing much military service in India, found sufficient leisure to gratify a very strong desire to inform himself as to its ancient religious systems. Rather more than twenty years ago, he published an elaborate treatise containing the product of his more important inquiries and conclusions.[7] Some years later, he prepared a second and abler book,[8]—a ponderous tome which has been described as "a veritable

[1] See his *Mohammed, Buddha, and Christ.* London, 1877. [10th ed., 1899.] Also, *The Bible: Its Origin and Nature.* Edinburgh, 1904. (See chap. i.)

[2] Professor of Systematic Theology, Headingley College, Leeds.

[3] *Christianity and the Science of Religion.* London, 1880.

[4] Oriel Professor of the Interpretation of Scripture, Oxford University.

[5] *Jewish Religious Life after the Exile.* New York, 1898.

[6] For many years a retired Major-General.

[7] *Rivers of Life, or Faiths of Man in all Lands.* 2 vols., and Chart. London, 1883. [*Out of print.*]

[8] *Short Studies in the Science of Comparative Religions.* London, 1897.

epitome of all ancient and modern Faiths except Christianity." These two works, it must be confessed, often disappoint the exact student; yet they constitute a rich quarry for all who, undeterred by their size, are competent and sufficiently patient to explore and utilise them. 10. J. ESTLIN CARPENTER[1] (1844–). One of the most diligent of workers, and fortified by the resources of an extensive range of learning, Mr. Carpenter has inspired scores of students with his own tireless enthusiasm. His competency as a linguist and critic have been demonstrated in various fields, and he has placed his abundant scholarship at our disposal in the form of numerous books and reviews. In Comparative Religion proper, his published opinions have as yet been made accessible chiefly in pamphlet form;[2] but the privately-printed "Outlines" of his various Courses of Lectures give promise that some valuable volumes will shortly be supplied by his pen,—volumes which will be found to be at once thoroughly informed, judiciously condensed, and keenly stimulating to their readers. Such help from Mr. Carpenter's hand would be very eagerly welcomed in a field wherein it is so conspicuously needed. 11. ALLAN MENZIES[3] (1845–). Professor Menzies' well-known Handbook,[4] which has been carefully revised and many times reprinted, is one of the "authorities" of to-day, and is very widely used both in Britain and America. Presenting at the outset a sketch of Primitive Beliefs and Practices, the author goes on to describe the various great historic Systems which culminate in Christianity. The amount of space devoted to the actual comparison of these various Faiths is relatively very small; but for the student of Com-

[1] Case Lecturer on Comparative Religion, Manchester College, Oxford.

[2] *E.g.*, *The Place of the History of Religion in Theological Study*. London, 1890; or, *A Century of Comparative Religion, 1800–1900*. London, 1900. The latter Essay, now out of print, has happily been reproduced—together with another, which gives its title to the volume—in *The Place of Christianity among the Religions of the World*. London, 1904.

[3] Professor of Divinity and Biblical Criticism, St. Andrews University.

[4] *History of Religion*. London, 1895. [2nd ed., 1901.]

parative Religion, in need of an historical Manual which is at once compact and comprehensive, the book is simply indispensable. It portrays the chronological advance, and emphasises the various steps, of a slow but constant development. 12. ARCHIBALD HENRY SAYCE[1] (1846–). Dr. Sayce has enjoyed peculiar advantages, both as a student and as a traveller, for furnishing Comparative Religion with some of its most recent data. In his lectures before the Royal Institution[2] and in his *Hibbert Lectures*[3]—but especially in his later *Gifford Lectures*,[4] which are really a continuation of the two earlier courses—the use of the comparative method is often most helpfully employed. Dr. Sayce rightly maintains that, in the solution of biblical problems, the testimony of history as revealed in Archæology is a more trustworthy guide than the conclusions of the Higher Criticism; but unfortunately he allows this principle to lead him occasionally to antagonise results concerning which Archæology has had relatively little to say, but which critical investigation has established upon a secure and enduring basis. Yet further, Dr. Sayce is hardly warranted in affirming that the leading Archæologists of to-day are admittedly the strenuous opponents of the Higher Criticism.[5] It should be added that, as Editor of the Second Series of an important group of English Translations—an undertaking in which he has been assisted by such experts as the late Sir Peter le Page Renouf, Professor Maspero, Professor Oppert, Dr. Pinches, Dr. Budge, etc.—he has made the contents of many of the Ancient Monuments of Egypt and Western Asia, and of numerous Egyptian and Assyrian Texts, accessible to students of

[1] Professor of Assyriology, Oxford University.

[2] *Babylonian Literature.* London, 1877.

[3] *The Origin and Growth of Religion, as illustrated by the Religion of the Ancient Babylonians.* London, 1887.

[4] *The Religions of Ancient Egypt and Babylonia.* Edinburgh, 1902.

[5] "Wherever Archæology has been able to test the negative conclusions of Criticism, they have dissolved like a bubble into the air." See his *Monument Facts and Higher Critical Fancies.* London, 1904. Cp. pp. 275 f.

various nationalities.[1] 13. WILLIAM MATTHEW FLINDERS PETRIE[2] (1853–). The various publications of this prolific author contain historical material of exceeding value. Some of his discoveries and reports, the outcome of twenty years of hard work in Egypt, relate to a period of religious belief and ritual which dates probably from 5000 B.C.[3] 14. T. WITTON DAVIES[4] (1851–). Dr. Davies, while confining himself largely to the field of Semitics, has found it to supply him with abundant material for instituting suggestive comparisons.[5] In order to meet the requirements of students who desire to present themselves as candidates for the degree of B.D. at the University of Wales,[6] Professor Davies has begun to deliver regular Courses of Lectures on Comparative Religion and on The History of Eastern Religions. 15. THEOPHILUS GOLDRIDGE PINCHES[7] (1856–). While Dr. Pinches has gained special distinction as an Assyriologist, and as the Editor of various Cuneiform Inscriptions and Texts, he has lately published a book which belongs manifestly to the department of Comparative Religion.[8] In this work, although confessedly popular rather than critical, the Babylonian and Hebrew accounts of the beginnings of history, of codified laws, etc., are carefully compared and contrasted. 16. DAVID SAMUEL MARGOLIOUTH[9] (1858–). In a current

[1] See *Records of the Past.* First Series, 12 vols. London, 1873–77. [*Out of print, except vol. xi.*] Second Series, 6 vols. London, 1885–88. [*Vol. ii. is out of print.*] Cp. page 424.

[2] Edwards Professor of Egyptology, University College, London University.

[3] See his *Ten Years' Digging in Egypt.* London, 1892. Also *Religion and Conscience in Ancient Egypt.* London, 1898.

[4] Professor of Semitic Languages, University College, Bangor.

[5] See his *Magic, Divination, and Demonology among the Hebrews and their Neighbours.* London, 1898.

[6] See Appendix. Explanatory Note 60, Chart IV., page 600.

[7] Formerly Assistant in the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities, British Museum.

[8] *The Old Testament in the Light of the Historical Records and Legends of Assyria and Babylonia.* London, 1902. [N. ed., 1903.]

[9] Laudian Professor of Arabic, Oxford University.

series of "Christian Study Manuals," Professor Margoliouth has furnished students of Comparative Religion with a most convenient little Handbook.[1] It professes to be merely a Primer, but it is a condensation wrought by the hand of a master. Its presentation of the development of religious thought in Persia is especially to be commended. 17. ALFRED ERNEST GARVIE[2] (1861–). Of Scottish parentage, but born in Russian Poland, where he spent the first thirteen years of his life, Professor Garvie enjoys the special advantages which accrue from his proficiency in ancient and modern languages. A brilliant and distinguished student, alike at Glasgow and Oxford, the highest expectations are entertained concerning his occupancy of the Chair to which he has lately been appointed. A prolific writer in Reviews and Magazines, his chief book thus far represents work he has undertaken in connection with a somewhat technical inquiry.[3] Yet even within that sphere he has been able to accomplish very useful results in the interest of Comparative Religion.[4] 18. WILLIAM ST. CLAIR TISDALL[5] (1859–). This accomplished scholar, who has spent most of his life in India and Persia, has made a special study of Eastern Religions. Moreover, his intimate connection with College and University work has forced him to become a critical student, while his wide command of Eastern languages has enabled him to deal with his authorities at first hand. His attention has been directed chiefly to Mohammedanism and Buddhism, on both of which Religions he has written and lectured for many years. As to the former, his most important work is a careful study of its origins;[6] and, during a furlough, while

[1] *Religions of Bible Lands.* London, 1902. See also his *Mahomet, and the Rise of Islam.* London, 1905.

[2] Professor of the Philosophy of Theism, Comparative Religion, and Christian Ethics, Hackney and New Colleges, London University.

[3] *The Ritschlian Theology.* Edinburgh, 1899. [2nd ed., 1902.]

[4] Cp. page 410.

[5] A Church Missionary Society's representative in Persia.

[6] *The Original Sources of the Qur'an.* London, 1904. [First published in Persian, *Yanâbi' u'l Islâm.* Lahore, 1900.]

filling the *John Long Lectureship* in London,[1] he selected for exposition some of the more popular aspects of the same theme.[2] When holding the *Long Lectureship* on a subsequent occasion, he gave a most helpful exposition of Buddhism.[3] This latter work is of special importance in this list, because of the direct and fair-minded comparison which it institutes between Buddhism and Christianity.

II. THE HISTORY OF RELIGION.—In addition to the volumes which have already been specified, Great Britain has made many notable contributions to the literature of the History of Religions. It is not necessary, however, to deal with each of these publications in detail, even if the necessary economy of space did not forbid it. Twelve or more representative authorities will be selected; and, whilst the student should not limit his reading to the several authors named, he should by no means overlook any of them. By giving special attention to fundamental and characteristic beliefs which have found expression within the limits of *a single Faith*, the following writers have placed students of Comparative Religion profoundly in their debt.

For an exposition of *Egyptian Religions* one must mention (19) SAMUEL BIRCH[4] (1813–1885)[5] and (20) ERNEST A. WALLIS BUDGE[6] (1857–).[7] For *Confucianism*, let us take (21) JAMES LEGGE[8] (1815–1897),[9] (22) JOSEPH

[1] Cp. Appendix. Explanatory Note 50, Chart IV., page 599.

[2] *The Religion of the Crescent.* London, 1895.

[3] *The Noble Eightfold Path.* London, 1903.

[4] Formerly Keeper of Oriental, Mediæval, and British Antiquities, and Ethnographical Collections, British Museum.

[5] Editor of *Records of the Past.* 12 vols. London, 1873–77. (Cp. footnote, page 422.) See also his new edition of Sir J. Gardner Wilkinson's *The Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians.* 3 vols. London, 1878. (Cp. Appendix. Note X., pages 507–508.)

[6] Keeper of the Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities, British Museum.

[7] See *Egyptian Ideas of a Future Life.* London, 1899. *Egyptian Magic.* London, 1899. *Book of the Dead.* 3 vols. London, 1901. *The Gods of the Egyptians.* 2 vols. London, 1903.

[8] Formerly Professor of Chinese, Oxford University.

[9] See *The Religions of China.* Confucianism and Tâoism described, and compared with Christianity. London, 1880. Also his Article on Confucianism in the *Encyclopædia Britannica.*

EDKINS[1] (1823–)[2] and (23) SIR ROBERT KENNAWAY DOUGLAS[3] (1838–).[4] For *Mohammedanism*, take (24) SIR WILLIAM MUIR[5] (1819–1905)[6] and (25) EDWARD SELL[7] (1839–).[8] For *Brahmanism*, take (26) SIR MONIER MONIER-WILLIAMS[9] (1819–1899)[10] and (27) FRIEDRICH MAX MÜLLER[11] (1823–1900).[12] For *Buddhism*, take (28) SAMUEL BEAL[13] (1825–1889),[14] (29) R. SPENCE HARDY[15] (1803–1868),[16] and (30) T. W. RHYS DAVIDS[17] (1843–),[18]—not forgetting the valuable contributions made by Sir Monier Monier-Williams[19] and Dr. Edkins.[20] For *Jainism*, take

[1] A Congregationalist Missionary in China.

[2] See *Religion in China*. An account of the three Religions of China. London, 1878. [3rd ed., 1893. This work orginally appeared in 1859 in a less complete form, bearing the title, "The Religious Condition of the Chinese."]

[3] Professor of Chinese, King's College, London University.

[4] See his *Confucianism and Tâoism*. London, 1877.

[5] Formerly Principal of Edinburgh University.

[6] See his *Life of Mahomet*. 4 vols. London, 1858–61. [N. ed., abridged, 1877, of which the 3rd ed. appeared 1894.] Also *The Coran*. Its Composition and Teaching, and the Testimony it bears to the Holy Scriptures. London, 1878.

[7] Secretary of the Church Missionary Society, Madras.

[8] See *The Faith of Islam*. London, 1880. [N. ed., 1896.]

[9] Formerly Boden Professor of Sanskrit, Oxford University.

[10] See *Religious Life and Thought in India*. London, 1883. [Revised, and then reissued as *Brahmanism and Hinduism*. London, 1887.]

[11] Formerly Professor of Comparative Philology, Oxford University.

[12] See his Lectures on *The Origin and Growth of Religion, as illustrated by the Religions of India*. London, 1878. [N. ed., 1891.]

[13] Formerly Professor of Chinese, University College, London.

[14] See *A Catena of Buddhist Scriptures*. London, 1871. *Buddhism in China*. London, 1884. Also, a great number of translations from Chinese texts.

[15] Formerly a Wesleyan Missionary in Ceylon.

[16] See *Manual of Buddhism in its Modern Development*. London, 1853. [N. ed., 1880.] Also, *Legends and Theories of the Buddhists*. London, 1866. [N. ed., 1881.]

[17] Professor of Pali and Buddhist Literature, University College, London; and Professor of Comparative Religion, Victoria University, Manchester.

[18] See *Buddhism*. London, 1878. [18th ed., 1899.] Also, *The Origin and Growth of Religion, as illustrated by Buddhism*. London, 1882. Article on Buddhism in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. *Buddhist India*. London, 1903.

[19] See *Buddhism in connection with Brahmanism and Hinduism, and in contrast with Christianity*. London, 1889.

[20] See *Chinese Buddhism*. London, 1880.

(31) EDWARD THOMAS[1] (1813–1886).[2] For *Zoroastrianism*, take (32) LAWRENCE HEYWORTH MILLS[3] (1837–).[4] For *Babylonian Religion*, take (33) LEONARD WILLIAM KING[5] (1869–).[6] For *Hebrew Religion*, take (34) GEORGE ADAM SMITH[7] (1856–).[8]

III. THE PHILOSOPHY OF RELIGION.—Of those whose inquiries illustrate the philosophical rather than the historical tendency, the following authors have proved especially helpful among the indirect promoters of the study of Comparative Religion. But, as in the case of the immediately preceding paragraphs, the briefest possible reference to each must suffice.

35. JAMES MARTINEAU[9] (1805–1900). Out of Dr. Martineau's many books, we shall select but one.[10] Professor Flint has characterised this publication as being "a work of rare excellence and beauty, and unequalled perhaps in its treatment of the moral difficulties in the way of acceptance of the theistic inference,—the chief obstacles to theistic belief."[11] 36. ALEXANDER CAMPBELL FRASER[12] (1819–). In his *Gifford Lectures*, Professor Fraser everywhere dis-

[1] Formerly in the Civil Service, Bengal.

[2] See *Jainism; or, The Early Faith of Aśoka.* London, 1877.

[3] Professor of Zend Philology, Oxford University.

[4] As a specimen of the Courses of Lectures regularly delivered, the following subject was dealt with during Term in 1902–03: "The Biblical Edicts of Cyrus, Darius, and their Successors, as compared with their Inscriptions and the Avesta." Or, again: "The alleged Zoroastrian Origin of the Doctrines of the Resurrection." Dr. Mills has published many translations and technical works. See also his *Study of the Five Zarathushtrian (Zoroastrian) Gathas.* 3 vols. Leipsic, 1892– . [*In progress.*] Also his *Zoroaster, Philo, and Israel.* 2 vols. Leipsic, 1903– . [*In progress.*]

[5] Assistant to the Keeper of the Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities, British Museum.

[6] See *Babylonian Religion and Mythology.* London, 1899.

[7] Professor of Old Testament Literature and Theology, United Free Church College, Glasgow.

[8] See especially his *Modern Criticism and the Preaching of the Old Testament.* London, 1901.

[9] Formerly Principal of Manchester College, Oxford.

[10] *A Study of Religion, its Sources and Contents.* 2 vols. Oxford, 1888.

[11] *Theism.* Edinburgh, 1877. [10th ed., 1902. Preface, p. vi.]

[12] Emeritus Professor of Logic and Metaphysics, Edinburgh University.

plays that comprehensiveness and lucidity of knowledge which students who have sat in his classroom have long been accustomed to couple with his name.[1] 37. JOHN CAIRD[2] (1820–1898). Eloquent in speech as well as profound in thought, Principal Caird produced in his mature years a work whose wide and permanent influence it would be hard to overestimate.[3] 38. JOHN TULLOCH[4] (1823–1886).[5] 39. EDWARD CAIRD[6] (1835–). Of wide philosophic training and outlook, of judicial temper, at once anxious and competent to mediate between antagonistic claims, Dr. Caird is emphatically a teacher for the times. As a student of man's mental and spiritual equipment and gradual development, he is seldom under the necessity of casting reproach upon any belief as being wholly unworthy or untrue; on the contrary, he is quick to discern the measure of its harmony with reality, and then to effect a synthesis in which he allows full weight to its positive or negative quality.[7] 40. ROBERT FLINT[8] (1838–). In the application of philosophy to theology, Dr. Flint has few equals and certainly no superior. Resourceful in knowledge, exhaustive in analysis, and firm in grasp, he is conspicuously fair towards positions which he undertakes to describe or refute. Open-minded always, he is wary withal; and no one is more quick to see any advantage which the tide of debate has brought within his reach, or to seize upon and utilise it for some legitimate purpose.[9] 41. JAMES

[1] *The Philosophy of Theism.* 2 vols. Edinburgh, 1895–96.

[2] Formerly Principal of Glasgow University.

[3] *An Introduction to the Philosophy of Religion.* Glasgow, 1880. See also *The Fundamental Ideas of Christianity.* 2 vols. Glasgow, 1899.

[4] Formerly Principal of St. Mary's College, St. Andrews University.

[5] See his *Modern Theories in Philosophy and Religion.* Edinburgh, 1884.

[6] Master of Balliol College, Oxford University.

[7] See *The Evolution of Religion.* 2 vols. Glasgow, 1893. [3rd ed., 1899.]

[8] Formerly Professor of Divinity, Edinburgh University.

[9] See *Theism.* Edinburgh, 1877. *Anti-Theistic Theories.* Edinburgh, 1879. *Agnosticism.* Edinburgh, 1903. [These three volumes constitute really a series, and supply a reasoned discussion of various aspects of Natural Theology.]

IVERACH[1] (1839–).[2] 42. JAMES WARD[3] (1843–).[4] 43. ALFRED CAVE[5] (1847–1900).[6] 44. The Right Hon. ARTHUR JAMES BALFOUR[7] (1848–).[8] 45. WILLIAM HASTIE[9] (1843–1903). The sudden death of Professor Hastie, in the midst of labours so abundant and fruitful, brought unspeakable sadness to his countless friends. Professor Flint has put on record a belief which all who knew the deceased will heartily subscribe: "A thoroughly competent scholar, whose knowledge of the systems and literature of religious philosophy is unequalled by any one known to me."[10] Unfortunately Professor Hastie devoted his energies so strenuously to making needed translations, and to writing for Reviews, etc., that he never secured time to prepare any of those comprehensive treatises which he had so ardently projected. Certainly the world's loss, in this defeated hope, has been a very real one.[11] 46. ALFRED CALDECOTT[12] (1850–). Professor Caldecott has supplied students with a book involving an immense amount of research, and exhibiting high qualities of discrimination and classification.[13] 47. JOHN RICHARDSON ILLINGWORTH[14] (1848–). As

[1] Professor of Apologetics, United Free Church College, Aberdeen.

[2] See *Theism in the Light of present Science and Philosophy.* London, 1900.

[3] Professor of Mental Philosophy, Cambridge University.

[4] See *Naturalism and Agnosticism.* 2 vols. London, 1899. [N. ed., 1903.]

[5] Formerly Principal of Hackney College, London.

[6] See *An Introduction to Theology; Its Principles, its Branches, its Results, and its Literature.* London, 1886.

[7] The Prime Minister of Great Britain.

[8] See *The Foundations of Belief.* London, 1895. [8th ed., revised, 1901.]

[9] Formerly Professor of Divinity, Glasgow University.

[10] Preface to Pünjer's *History of the Christian Philosophy of Religion,* p. xiv. Edinburgh, 1887.

[11] A partial exception to this statement may be found in *The Theology of the Reformed Church in its Fundamental Principles.* Edinburgh, 1904. In this volume Dr. Hastie makes some significant comments concerning the importance of the study of Comparative Religion.

[12] Professor of Mental and Moral Philosophy, King's College, London University.

[13] *The Philosophy of Religion in England and America.* London, 1901. See also his *Selections from the Literature of Theism.* Edinburgh, 1904. [In collaboration with Professor H. R. Mackintosh.]

[14] Rector of Longworth, Berkshire.

College Tutor and Bampton Lecturer alike, Dr. Illingworth instantly claimed, and has always easily held, the attention of thoughtful men.[1] But this extended catalogue may here fitly take end.[2]

[1] See especially his *Personality, Human and Divine.* London, 1894. *Reason and Revelation.* London, 1902.

[2] AN APPENDED LIST.—The foregoing enumeration of authorities, it will probably be admitted, is fairly representative. But the list is by no means a complete one. Indeed, it is *necessary* to supplement it by the bare mention at least of several additional publications. 48. JOHN WILSON, *The Parsi Religion, as in the Zand-Avastá, refuted.* Bombay, 1843. 49. RICHARD C. TRENCH, *Christ, the Desire of all Nations; or, The Unconscious Prophecies of Heathendom.* Cambridge, 1846. 50. JAMES GARDNER, *The Faiths of the World.* A Dictionary of all Religions and Religious Sects. 2 vols. London, 1858–60. 51. JONATHAN H. TITCOMB, *Short Chapters on Buddhism.* London, 1883. 52. J. MURRAY MITCHELL, *Hinduism, Past and Present; with a Comparison between Hinduism and Christianity.* London, 1885. Also his Duff Lectures on *The Great Religions of India.* Edinburgh, 1905. 53. REGINALD S. COPLESTON, *Buddhism, Primitive and Present.* London, 1892. 54. SABINE BARING-GOULD, *The Origin and Development of Religious Belief.* 2 vols. London, 1869–70. 55. ALFRED W. MOMERIE, *The Basis of Religion: An Examination of Natural Religion.* Edinburgh, 1883. 56. R. BOSWORTH SMITH, *Mohammed and Mohammedanism.* London, 1874. 57. WILLIAM L. DAVIDSON, *Theism, as grounded in Human Nature, Historically and Critically handled.* London, 1893. 58. JAMES LINDSAY, *Recent Advances in the Theistic Philosophy of Religion.* Edinburgh, 1897. 59. PERCY GARDNER, *Exploratio Evangelica: A Brief Examination of the Basis and Origin of Christian Belief.* London, 1899. 60. JANE E. HARRISON, *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion.* Cambridge, 1903. 61. JAMES H. KENNEDY, *Natural Theology and Modern Thought.* London, 1891. 62. DOUGLAS M. THORNTON, *Parsi, Jaina, and Sikh.* London, 1898. 63. John Chalmers, *Speculations on the Metaphysics, Polity, and Morality of the old philosopher, Lau-Tze.* London, 1868. 64. Arthur N. Wollaston, *The Sword of Islam.* London, 1905. A revision of "Half Hours with Muhammad" (London, 1886), a popular account of the life and teaching of Mohammed and his earlier successors. 65. Sigismund W. Koelle, *Mohammed and Mohammedanism.* London, 1889. A sternly severe arraignment, but notable for its appeal to Mohammedan authorities. The counterpart of Mr. Bosworth Smith's book, which enters an almost impassioned plea on behalf of this Religion. 66. Lewis R. Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States.* 2 vols. Oxford, 1896. 67. Charles T. Gorham, *The Ethics of the Great Religions.* London, 1898. A survey which includes Judaism, Christianity, Hinduism, Buddhism, Confucianism, Tâoism, and Mohammedanism. 68. John P. Mahaffy, *The Progress of Hellenism in Alexander's Empire.* London, 1905. 69. Samuel Dill, *Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius.* London, 1905. 70. Mrs. Ashley Carus-Wilson, *The Worships of the World.* London. [*In preparation.*]

IV. HANDBOOKS.—Of really satisfactory helps of this sort, Great Britain has thus far produced all too few; nevertheless, several excellent Manuals can be named, and others are in course of preparation.

As regards *Comparative Religion*, no competent book has as yet appeared; but in this respect, it should be added, Great Britain is no worse off than her contemporaries. Many hope that Principal Fairbairn will eventually prepare for the press that systematic and comprehensive survey of this field which, it is understood, he projected some years ago. Within the narrower area of *Comparative Theology*, an excellent volume has been provided by JOHN ARNOTT MACCULLOCH.[1] As regards the *History of Religion*, a useful publication may soon be expected from HENRY E. J. BEVAN.[2] Of narrower range, and more elementary in character, there are two smaller books which should be mentioned,—one by LEIGHTON PULLAN,[3] and the other by PROFESSOR MENZIES.[4] It is to the last-named writer, however, that we owe the ablest and also the most compact volume which Great Britain has yet contributed to this department.[5] In the *Philosophy of Religion*, two notable Manuals can be specified. The former of these volumes, undertaken by PROFESSOR FLINT,[6] is very eagerly awaited by all who know the author's unique fitness for the task which has been entrusted to him; the latter, the work of PRINCIPAL FAIRBAIRN—restricted for the most part to the Christian Religion, but unrivalled in that field—has already

[1] *Comparative Theology.* (The Churchman's Library Series.) London, 1902. See also his *Religion: Its Origin and Forms.* (The Temple Series of Cyclopædic Primers.) London, 1904.

[2] *The Great World Religions from a Christian Standpoint.* (The Churchman's Library Series.) [*In preparation.*]

[3] *A Comparative History of Religions.* (Oxford Church Text-Book Series.) London. [*In preparation.*]

[4] *Brahmanism and Buddhism.* (The Temple Series of Bible Handbooks,—which are to include, besides, critical estimates of the lives and work of the initiators of the greater non-Christian Religions.) London. [*In preparation.*]

[5] *History of Religion.* London, 1895. [2nd ed., 1901. Cp. page 420.

[6] *The Philosophy of Religion.* (The International Theological Library.) Edinburgh. [*In preparation.*]

appeared.[1] Great Britain, moreover, thanks to its abundant endowments in the form of Lectureships, possesses several series of volumes, among which are many that are fully entitled to rank as Handbooks.[2] Several of these publications have been referred to, more or less in detail, in earlier pages of this treatise. It was of one of these Foundations that Renan very fitly remarked: "It forms, in some sort, a Chair of the Comparative History of Religion,—a Chair which is occupied every year by a new Professor, who speaks only of that which he has made the subject of special study."[3] Reference might also be made to a very promising series of Manuals, recently inaugurated by a well-known Publishing House;[4] but thus far at least, as it has happened, the contributors have been Continental scholars.

Of volumes which scarcely aspire to rank as Handbooks, but from which very considerable help may be obtained, those mentioned in our footnote should certainly be examined.[5]

[1] *The Philosophy of the Christian Religion.* London, 1902. Cp. pages 178–179.

[2] Especially *The Hibbert Lectures.* 15 vols. London, 1878–94. Also the *Gifford Lectures.* 26 vols. 1888– . [*In progress.* It is to be regretted that the whole of these Lectures have not been printed, and that those which have been issued exhibit little uniformity as regards publisher, size of page, press work, binding, etc.]

[3] See the Preface to his Lectures on *The Influence of the Institutions, Thought, and Culture of Rome on Christianity and the Development of the Catholic Church.* London, 1880.

[4] Luzac's *Oriental Religions Series.* 2 vols. London, 1903– . [*In progress.*]

[5] Let the following brief list suffice:—

Non-Christian Religious Systems. (The S.P.C.K. Series.) 11 vols. London, 1877–1905.

Non-Biblical Systems of Religion. (Nesbit's Theological Library.) London, 1887.

The Faiths of the World. (St. Giles Lectures.) Edinburgh, 1882.

Non-Christian Religions of the World. (Present Day Tracts Series.) London, 1889.

The World's Religions. By George Thomas Bettany. London, 1890.

Religious Systems of the World. London, 1890. [4th ed., revised and enlarged, 1901.]

The World's Religion Series. 7 Booklets. London, 1904–05.

The Wisdom of the East Series. (The Orient Press.) 8 vols. London, 1904– . [*In progress.*]

It is significant that so many of these books have appeared within recent years. Although these publications are popular in form, and address themselves admittedly to the non-critical student, they have for the most part been prepared by writers who were thoroughly informed, and who were fully in sympathy with the aims of those by whom these books have been projected. That is to say, these successive volumes have been published with the purpose of securing, as one of them frankly puts it, "an intelligent *comparison* of the claims of Christianity with those of its predecessors and rivals."[1]

V. PERIODICALS. — Great Britain, unfortunately, does not possess as yet an official organ, or even any local Journal, which devotes itself exclusively to the interests of the Science of Religion. One or two publications, however, usually make it a point to set apart some definite allotment of space to this subject. The HIBBERT JOURNAL[2] is entitled to very honourable mention in this connection. Admirable service of the same sort has been rendered from time to time in the pages of the CRITICAL REVIEW;[3] but, unhappily, owing to various circumstances, this publication has been discontinued. The index of THE EXPOSITORY TIMES[4] makes it clear that to this Journal also students of Religion in many lands have long been profoundly indebted. It represents a theological point of view which is liberal without being latitudinarian, and it has never failed to secure literary contributions from the foremost authorities in practically every department of modern biblical learning.

[1] *Non-Biblical Systems of Religion.* Preface, p. vi. London, 1887.

[2] Quarterly Review. 3 vols. London, 1902– . [*In progress.*] Editor, Mr. Lawrence Pearsall Jacks.

[3] Bi-monthly Review. Complete in 14 vols. London, 1891–1904. Editor, the late Principal S. D. F. Salmond.

[4] Monthly Review. 16 vols. Edinburgh, 1889– . [*In progress.*] Editor, Dr. James Hastings.

Holland.

The three scholars whose names have already been mentioned, and of whose labours in this department a brief account has elsewhere been given,[1] do not represent by any means the full measure of the obligation which Comparative Religion owes to Holland, and in particular to the University of Leyden. To that same great School belong others whose work (in at least certain aspects of it) is scarcely less important than that to which reference has already been made; and to these investigators, likewise, our grateful recognition is cheerfully accorded.

I. Instructors.—The various teachers who are about to be named will not be classified into groups (as were their British confrères) in accordance with the more special type of research with which they stand identified. In the present instance, this step seems hardly to be called for,—seeing that, in practically every case, each of the writings now to be specified supplies illustrations of competency alike in historical, comparative, and philosophical criticism.

1. Jan Hendrik Scholten[2] (1811–1885). The importance of Dr. Scholten's contribution is to be found, not in its direct and immediate effects, but in its subtle and all-pervasive influence. He may be said to have been the *Founder* of the Leyden School, viz., about the year 1860; and his teaching, especially at that early day, was deemed extremely advanced and radical. Yet it soon became plain that many of his unexpected contentions were not only quite tenable, but were abundantly warranted; and, his numerous writings being widely translated and read all over the Continent, his arguments by and by began to be weighed and estimated purely upon their merits.[3] For the study of Religion, and especially of the Christian

[1] Cp. pages 179–185.

[2] Professor of Theology, University of Leyden.

[3] See his *Geschiedenis der Godsdienst en Wijsbegeerte* ("History of Religion and Philosophy"). Leiden, 1853. [3rd and last ed., 1863.]

Religion, he supplied to many an entirely new point of view. 2. JOHAN HENDRIK CASPAR KERN[1] (1833–). Born in Java, for two years Professor of Sanskrit in India in the College of Benares, a great traveller, and a linguist who feels at home in the employment of many Eastern and in practically all European tongues, Professor Kern is unusually well equipped for conducting those inquiries with which his name is so widely associated. He has furthered very effectively the work of interpreting the ancient Persian cuneiform inscriptions, and was one of the valued helpers of the late Professor Roth, when the latter was preparing his great Sanskrit Dictionary.[2] Students of Comparative Religion owe him most, however, for the light he has thrown upon their knowledge of the history of Indian Buddhism.[3] ABRAHAM KUYPER[4] (1837–). Originally a Leyden man, and holding to-day one of its Doctor's degrees, this versatile scholar represents a movement which is not in harmony either with the State University or with the State Church. In 1880 he secured the foundation of the Free University of Amsterdam; and to him also is due the recent "Reformed Church" agitation, which resulted in the disruption of 1886. This effort was directed against certain rationalising tendencies which were alleged to exist in the National Church. Dr. Kuyper has always exhibited, however, in the course of his busy career —at once ecclesiastical, academic, and political—a fondness for the comparative method of study; indeed, his very earliest attempt at authorship is found in an Essay which compares the two great Reformers, John Calvin and Johannes à Làsco. The list of his complete works would fill a page of this Manual, but there is no one of them that can claim special mention here. Of late, as Prime Minister of Holland, Dr. Kuyper has had little opportunity

[1] Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology, University of Leyden.

[2] Cp. page 458.

[3] See his *De Geschiedenis van het Buddhisme in Indie* ("History of Buddhism in India"). 2 vols. Haarlem, 1882–84. Cp. page 437.

[4] Professor of Dogmatics, The Free University, Amsterdam.

for pursuing those studies for which he possesses many visible qualifications; but he thinks and writes with amazing energy and rapidity, and thus he compels the regard even of those who are not in sympathy with some of his arguments and ideals. 4. JAN J. M. DE GROOT[1] (1854–). This diligent and well-informed writer, before assuming his present post, had lived for a considerable time in China; and, whilst holding an important appointment from the Dutch Government within that Eastern Empire, he made excellent use of the opportunity thus presented to him of becoming intimately acquainted with the religious conceptions of the Chinese people. As the result of extended studies, he holds that the Chinese Religion constitutes really only a single system; hence the title he has selected for the monumental work upon which he has been busy during the past fifteen years.[2] Four volumes of this wide and elaborate survey have already been published; and a fifth, which treats of Demonology and Sorcery, will speedily follow. If the whole of this literary undertaking be completed—in which case probably two volumes each will be devoted to the Confucian State Religion, to Tâoism, and to Buddhism—it will consist of about twelve volumes in all. Scholars have long been familiar with an able dissertation by Professor De Groot which appeared many years ago in the *Annales du Musée Guimet*.[3] Moreover, he has made a careful inquiry into the question, "Does the Chinese Government recognise religious liberty within its dominions?" His answer takes the form of a very decided negative. The discussion is one which is bound to awaken interest in various quarters, and especially among prospective Christian missionaries.[4]

[1] Professor of Chinese, University of Leyden.

[2] *The Religious System of China: Its ancient Forms, Evolution, History, and Present Aspect.* 4 vols. Leiden, 1892– . [*In progress.*]

[3] *Les fêtes annuellement célébrées à Emoui.* (*Amoy.*) 2 vols. Paris, 1886.

[4] See his *Sectarianism and Religious Persecution in China.* A Page in the History of Religions. 2 vols. Amsterdam, 1903–04.

5. GIJSBRET HENDRIK LAMERS[1] (1834–1903). For thirty years — at first, for a short time, at the University of Gröningen—the late Professor Lamers devoted himself to the special work of his Chair. He has not left us as large results in the way of literary labours as might have been wished; but one work which he edited is very widely known and valued.[2] Volume I. deals with the subject historically, while Volume II. deals with it rather from the philosophical point of view. 6. LODEWIJK W. E. RAUWENHOFF[3] (1828–1889). This earnest student has inspired ambitions similar to his own in many of those who were never privileged to know him. His earliest outstanding work was contributed to an able historical series which was begun about forty years ago in Haarlem,[4] and in the promotion of which his name stands associated with those of some of the foremost Dutch scholars of modern times. His latest work, which demands special attention here, reached in all probability a still wider circle, and is rightly held to-day in the highest esteem.[5] 7. WILHELM BRANDT[6] (1855–). Professor Brandt has won for himself the regard and confidence of all who know his work. He wields a skilful pen, and each succeeding book is welcomed by an increasing number of readers.[7] 8. WILLIAM BREDE KRISTENSEN[8] (1867–).

[1] Formerly Professor of the History and Philosophy of Religion, University of Utrecht.

[2] See his *De Wetenschap van den Godsdienst. Leiddraad ten gebruike bij het Hooger onderwijs* ("The Science of Religion. A Handbook for Students in Theology"). 2 vols. Utrecht, 1896–98.

[3] Formerly Professor of the Philosophy of Religion, University of Leyden.

[4] *De Geschiedenis van het Protestantisme* ("The History of Protestantism"). 3 vols. Haarlem, 1865–71.

[5] *Wijsbegeerte van den Godsdienst* ("Philosophy of Religion"). 2 vols. Leiden, 1887.

[6] Professor of the History and Philosophy of Religion, University of Amsterdam.

[7] See, for example, *Die Mandäische Religion* ("Mandaism"). Leipzig, 1889. *Mandäische Schriften* ("The Mandæan Scriptures"). Göttingen, 1893. *Die evangelische Geschichte und die Ursprung des Christenthums* (The Gospel History and the Origin of Christianity"). Leipzig, 1893.

[8] Professor of the History and Philosophy of Religion, University of Leyden.

After having taught with much success in the University of Christiania,—where, as a member of the Philosophical Faculty, Dr. Kristensen devoted himself to expounding the History of Religions,—he was selected to become the successor of the late Professor Tiele; and he gives promise of maintaining the high traditions both of the Chair and School with which he has now so honourably become associated.[1]

II. HANDBOOKS.—Of Handbooks, Holland has furnished two that are of outstanding and even international importance. For the *History of Religion*, there is the unrivalled Manual which has been prepared by PROFESSOR CHANTEPIE DE LA SAUSSAYE[2] and his collaborators. It is to-day the "standard" work in all countries. Students will do well to make themselves acquainted also with an excellent series of historical treatises which began to appear forty years ago, a full list of which is supplied in our footnote.[3] For the *Philosophy of Religion*, we have the well-known Manual

[1] See his *Aegypternes Forestillinger om Liv efter Döden i Forbindelse med Ra og Osiris* ("Ideas in Ancient Egypt about Life after Death in connection with Ra and Osiris"). Kristiania, 1896.

[2] *Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte* ("Handbook of the History of Religion"). 2 vols. Freiburg, 1887–89. [2nd ed., 1897. 3rd ed., 1905. Vol. i. of the 1st ed., translated, London, 1891.]

[3] *De Voornaamste Godsdiensten* ("The Outstanding Religions"). Haarlem, 1863–84. There are eight volumes in all, and each is the work of a specialist. Their authors and titles are as follow:—

DOZY (R.). *Het Islamisme.* 1863.
OORDT (J. W. G. VAN). *De Godsdienst der Grieken.* 1864.
TIELE (C. P.). *De Godsdienst van Zarathustra.* 1864.
RAUWENHOFF (L. W. E.). *De Geschiedenis van het Protestantisme.* 3 vols. 1865–71.
MEYBOOM (L. S. P.). *De Godsdienst der oude Noormannen.* 1868.
PIERSON (A.). *De Geschiedenis van het Roomsch Katholicisme.* 4 vols. 1868–72.
KUENEN (A.). *De Godsdienst van Israel.* 2 vols. 1869–70.
KERN (J. H. C.). *De Geschiedenis van het Buddhisme in Indie.* 2 vols. 1882–84.

It may be added that G. T. Bettany's book on "The World's Religions" (cp. page 431) has been translated into Dutch, and brought up to date, under the title, *De Godsdiensten der Wereld.* 2 vols. Amsterdam, 1903–04.

of the late PROFESSOR TIELE.[1] One should mention also a recent book by TJITZE JACOBS DE BOER, a work which presents the results of much patient and fruitful study.[2]

III. PERIODICALS.—There is no publication to-day, in Holland, which devotes itself exclusively to the Science of Religion; but the general subject is dealt with, more or less fully, in several of the Theological Reviews. The THEOLOGISCH TIJDSCHRIFT[3] deserves special mention. All its founders—Tiele, Kuenen, Rauwenhoff, etc.—are dead, and it does not allot to this theme the proportionate amount of space which was formerly reserved for it; but the value of its contributions to this department of inquiry is everywhere recognised. The THEOLOGISCHE STUDIËN[4] also, representative especially of the evangelical group of investigators, has lent much excellent impulse in the same direction.

FRANCE.

Out of the very large number of French scholars who have devoted themselves to securing the solution of one or more of the problems presented by the Science of Religion, it is not easy to make a just and adequate selection. France is much to be congratulated upon the fact that the attempt to name the most representative of its leaders, in this particular branch of study, is a matter of genuine difficulty. Yet, in addition to MM. Renan, Réville, and Marillier, who have been referred to already,[5] many others might be

[1] *Geschiedenis van der Godsdienst tot aan de heerschappij der Wereldgodsdiensten.* Amsterdam, 1876. [New and revised (making the 3rd) German ed., by Professor Söderblom, viz., "Tiele's Kompendium der Religionsgeschichte," Breslau, 1903. The first Dutch ed. was translated, "Outlines of the History of Religion to the Spread of the Universal Religions," London, 1877. 6th ed., 1896.]

[2] *Geschichte der Philosophie im Islam.* Stuttgart, 1901. [Translated, "The History of Philosophy in Islam." Luzac's Oriental Religions Series. London, 1903.]

[3] Published at Leyden since 1867.

[4] Published at Utrecht since 1883.

[5] Cp. pages 185–191.

mentioned whose claims in this connection are only slightly less distinguished.

I. The History of Religion.—The contributions which France has made to the Science of Religion have been for the most part either historical or philosophical. It will be convenient, therefore, to group her savants under these two main subdivisions.

1. Jules Barthélemy Saint Hilaire [1] (1805–1895). Notwithstanding an active political career, with its various demands and vicissitudes, this vivacious scholar found time to do much excellent work in literature. His translation of the complete works of Aristotle brought him international renown, and it is still held in esteem as a standard authority. But, extending his range of study far beyond the claims which his Chair made upon him, he mastered much of the philosophy of India, and made himself intimately acquainted with the religious systems of that country. Accordingly, we have received from his pen three books which fully deserve to be included in our present catalogue.[2] His examination of Buddhism is especially to be commended. 2. Edmond de Pressensé [3] (1824–1891). An eloquent defender of the rights of the Evangelical Church in France, Pressensé was frequently drawn perforce into the political arena; and there also his name soon became one that was linked with most honourable distinction. But his publications reveal the instincts and industry of the scholar, and they are at once able and many. His chief work was a History of the Church,[4] in an introductory volume to which

[1] Formerly Professor of Greek and Latin Philosophy, Collège de France, Paris.

[2] *Des Védas.* Paris, 1854. *Le Bouddha et sa religion.* Paris, 1859. [3rd ed., 1866.] *Mahomet et le Coran.* Paris, 1865. Cp. page 444.

[3] Protestant Pastor and Author.

[4] *Histoire des trois premiers siècles de l'Eglise chrétienne.* 6 vols. Paris, 1858–77. [New but incomplete ed., 1887–89. Translated, "The Early Years of Christianity: A Comprehensive History of the first three Centuries." 4 vols. London, 1869–77.] See also his *Les origines: le problème de la connaissance, le problème cosmologique, l'origine de la morale et de la religion.* Paris, 1883. [Translated, "A Study of Origins." London, 1883.]

he deals at length with the forms assumed at various times by Oriental Paganism, Pelasgic Mythology, Hellenic Humanism, Greek Philosophy, Judaism, etc.[1] 3. AUGUSTE BARTH[2] (1834–). A constant writer in the Reviews, and a contributor of many valuable Papers to the "Transactions" of Learned Societies, M. Barth has also given us a most useful book dealing with the History of Religions.[3] His intimate knowledge of Buddhism is of special value. 4. LÉON DE ROSNY[4] (1837–). Although an ardent student of History and Oriental Languages, it is with the exposition of Japanese Religions that Professor Rosny's name stands most closely connected. For many years attached as Interpreter to the suite of the Japanese Embassy, in Paris and elsewhere, his lectures at the École des Hautes Études have been very greatly valued by successive groups of students.[5] He soon secured the reputation of being a tireless and stimulating author.[6] 5. AUGUSTE BOUCHÉ-LECLERCQ[7] (1841–). A profound and competent student, but devoting himself chiefly to themes belonging to the departments of Greek and Roman History, Professor Bouché-Leclercq has not given himself as fully as some had hoped to the unravelling of such problems as are directly religious.[8] 6. MAURICE LOUIS VERNES[9] (1845–). Dr. Vernes' public lectures, delivered regularly at the École des Hautes Études, have dealt exhaustively

[1] Translated, "The Religions before Christ." Edinburgh, 1862.

[2] Author and Critic.

[3] *Les religions de l'Inde.* Paris, 1879. [Translated, London, 1882. 3rd ed., 1890.]

[4] Professor of Japanese in the École Spéciale des Langues Orientales Vivantes. Paris.

[5] See his Inaugural Address, entitled *Les religions de l'Extreme-Orient.* Paris, 1886.

[6] See especially his *La religion des Japonais.* Paris, 1881. Also, *Le Livre sacré et canonique de l'antiquité japonaise, "La Genèse" des Japonais.* Paris, 1885.

[7] Professor of Ancient History, Collège de France, Paris.

[8] See his *Histoire de la divination dans l'antiquité.* 4 vols. Paris, 1879–81.

[9] Assistant Director of the École Practique des Hautes Études, Paris.

with the Religion of Israel and its relations to the Religions of other Semitic peoples.[1] His translation of Tiele's "Outlines," and of Kuenen's "National Religions and Universal Religions," has done much to make the results of the researches of these experts familiar knowledge within a very wide circle in France. 7. JAMES DARMESTETER[2] (1849–1894). International scholarship was deprived of an original and energetic worker when Professor Darmesteter was suddenly cut off in the midst of his career. Comparative Philology claimed him for her own; and yet that fascinating form of research won his sympathies scarcely more, if at all, than did the equally alluring field of Comparative Religion. Here he chiefly concentrated his study upon the Religion of Ancient Persia. Besides his College duties, he undertook the lectureship of Zend in the École des Hautes Études. It should be added that he helped not a little to popularise on the Continent the late Professor Max Müller's varied investigations. Thus he translated into French that author's "Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion."[3] Englishmen will also gratefully remember his contribution to Max Müller's series of Translations of the "Sacred Books of the East," for Volumes I. and II. of the *Avesta* have come from his hand.[4] 8. ALEXANDRE WESTPHAL[5] (1861–). Professor Westphal enjoys the distinction of occupying the only University Chair in France which is definitely set apart for giving instruction in the *Comparative* History of Religions.[6] It is true that, outside of the Universities, other French institutions make more or less provision for the supply of adequate

[1] See his *L'Histoire des religions, son esprit, sa méthode et ses divisions.* Paris, 1887.

[2] Professor of Iranian Languages and Literature, Collège de France.

[3] *Origine et développement de la religion.* Paris, 1879. Cp. pages 174 and 569.

[4] Oxford, 1880–85. See his *Essais orientaux.* Paris, 1883. Also, his *Études iraniennes.* 2 vols. Paris, 1883.

[5] Professor of the Comparative History of Religions, Montauban, University of Toulouse.

[6] Cp. Appendix. Explanatory Note 64, Chart IV., page 601.

teaching in this department. In the Collège de France, for instance, there is a special Chair which is devoted to the History of Religions; and in the École des Hautes Études there are fourteen Lectureships, which deal with as many different phases in the historical evolution of religious belief. Actual comparisons also of these various Faiths are, of necessity, deliberately and elaborately instituted from time to time.[1] But at Montauban alone has a Chair been established, the occupant of which is directed to concentrate his attention upon this special theological discipline.[2]

9. HARTWIG DERENBOURG[3] (1844–). It is in connection with his lectures on Islam, and the Religions of Arabia, that Professor Derenbourg has proved himself to be an invaluable helper to students of Comparative Religion.[4]

10. GASTON BONET-MAURY[5] (1842–). For more than twenty-five years Dr. Bonet-Maury has been a most diligent author and teacher. His writings abundantly attest the breadth and penetration of his persistent and conscientious scholarship.[6]

11. VICTOR HENRY[7] (1850–). Philological studies have necessarily engaged Professor Henry's attention for the most part, and it is to this domain that his best known works belong; but, alike in the form of translations[8]

[1] Cp. Appendix. Explanatory Note 66, Chart IV., page 601.

[2] See Professor Westphal's *L'histoire des religions et le Christianisme.* Montauban, 1900. Also, *Les sources du Pentateuque.* Étude de critique et d'histoire. 2 vols. Paris, 1888–92. Also, *Jehovah. Etages de révélation. Études de religion comparée.* Montauban, 1903–04.

[3] Professor of Arabic in the École Spéciale des Langues Orientales Vivantes, Paris.

[4] See *La science des religions et l'Islamisme.* Paris, 1886.

[5] Professor of Church History, Faculty of Protestant Theology, University of Paris.

[6] See his *Gérard de Groote, un précurseur de la Réforme au xiv^e siècle.* Paris, 1878. *Arnauld de Brescia, un réformateur au xii^e siècle.* Paris, 1881. *Les origines du Christianisme unitaire chez les Anglais.* Paris, 1881. *Histoire de la liberté de conscience depuis l'Edit de Nantes jusqu'à juillet 1870.* Paris, 1900. *Précurseurs de la Réforme et de la liberté de conscience dans les pays latins du xii^e au xiv^e siècle.* Paris, 1904.

[7] Professor of Comparative Philology, University of Paris.

[8] *E.g.*, Oldenberg's *Die Religion des Veda*, Books VII. to XII. of the *Atharva-Veda*, etc., etc.

and of original contributions,[1] he has published a number of monographs which are deserving of the highest commendation. 12. SYLVIAN LÉVI[2] (1863–). The Religions of India—Brahmanism, Buddhism, Jainism, etc.—have in turn been carefully studied by this erudite investigator; and his students, both at the Collège de France and at the École des Hautes Études, often speak of his lectures with an enthusiastic ardour.[3] 13. ALFRED LOISY[4] (1857–). Abbé Loisy has been brought into a quite uncoveted notoriety through some of his writings having been objected to by his ecclesiastical superiors, and through their having ultimately been placed in the fateful "Index." Suffice it to say here, that his lectures, begun at the École des Hautes Études in 1900, very quickly came to be greatly esteemed by a steadily increasing body of hearers; and it is sincerely to be regretted that, "for the sake of spiritual peace," the Abbé felt himself constrained, four years later, to tender his resignation. His *Rapports de la Bible et de l'Assyriologie* and *Mythes Babyloniens et les premiers chapitres de la Genèse* did much to arouse the laity of France to look for the first time into the merits of various current theories touching a profoundly interesting problem. It was, however, his reply to Professor Harnack's *Das Wesen des Christentums* that brought M. Loisy under the gaze of the world, and under the emphatic condemnation of his Church.[5] So far, the hurling of an ecclesiastic thunderbolt has not checked—in some quarters it has manifestly stimulated—

[1] See his *Vedica* ("Memoires de la Société de Linguistic," vols. ix. and x.). Paris, 1895–97. Also his *Bouddhisme et Positivisme* ("Actes du Congrès international de l'histoire des religions," vol. i.). Paris, 1900.

[2] Professor of Sanskrit Language and Literature, Collège de France.

[3] See his *La science des religions et les religions de l'Inde*. Paris, 1892. Also, *La doctrine du sacrifice dans les Brâhmanas*. Paris, 1898.

[4] Formerly Professor of Oriental Languages and Biblical Exegesis in the Institute Catholique, Paris.

[5] See his *L'Évangile et l'Église*. Paris, 1902. [2nd ed., enlarged, 1903. Translated, London, 1903.] See also his *Autour d'un petit livre*. Paris, 1903.

the resolve of M. Loisy's fellow-countrymen to look into these fundamental religious questions for themselves; for all who think soberly and dispassionately come sooner or later to recognise that there is an authority of knowledge and fact which is absolute and irresistible, which accordingly no man *dare* despise, and whose summons must be obeyed notwithstanding every anathema which human lips may utter.

II. THE PHILOSOPHY OF RELIGION.—The history of Religion, rather than its philosophy, has from the outset chiefly attracted the interest of French scholars. It will be possible, therefore, to restrict to a considerably shorter list the names which fall to be dealt with under the present heading. Perhaps JULES BARTHÉLEMY SAINT HILAIRE ought to be expressly included, seeing that his love of philosophy made him unwilling to rest satisfied with the merely historical details he had collected concerning Brahmanism, Buddhism, and Islam; but since this writer has been referred to already,[1] it will be enough if a single additional work from his pen be specified here.[2] Reference might also fitly be made to CHARLES BERNARD RENOUVIER.[3] Radical often in his political views, M. Renouvier soon became associated with various movements whose peremptory claims prevented his gratifying his decided taste for philosophy. In the later part of his life, however, a larger amount of leisure for literary pursuits was happily secured to him; and two publications, though both are general in character, are well entitled to mention.[4] Both of these authors, however, belong, strictly speaking, not so much to a truly representative list, as to a group of workers whose valuable aid ought not to be overlooked in the preparation of a preliminary statement.

[1] Cp. page 439.

[2] *La philosophie dans ses rapports avec les sciences et la religion.* Paris, 1889.

[3] Publicist and Author.

[4] *Essais de critique générale.* Paris, 1854. [2nd ed., 3 vols., 1876.] Also his *Science de la morale.* 2 vols. Paris, 1869.

14. Paul Alexandre René Janet[1] (1823–). A master in Philosophy, the moral and religious questions which that study involves have been honestly faced by M. Janet. Of his numerous publications, one only need be specified. With M. Gabriel Séailles as collaborator, he has prepared a very useful work, in the second volume of which the Philosophy of Religion is assigned an important place.[2] 15. Frédéric Auguste Lichtenberger[3] (1832–). A native of Strasburg, where he was a Professor of Theology until 1870, political troubles led Dr. Lichtenberger to settle in Paris. To the country which compelled this change of residence a genuine service was rendered, as also to a much wider circle of readers, in a work which appeared a few years later.[4] While with advantage consulting these volumes, students should by no means overlook another work which we owe to this author and his selected collaborators, and which deals in a scholarly way with the History of Religions as well as with the Philosophy of Religion.[5] 16. Louis Auguste Sabatier[6] (1839–1901). The death of this brilliant teacher—in early life a student at Montauban, and then a Professor at Strasburg until the war with Germany—created a blank in theological circles in Paris which will not soon be filled. His sympathies were broad, but his methods were ever those of the exact scholar. His constant appeal, direct and unwavering, was to the facts of history; and by these facts the construction of his scheme of religious thought was conscientiously governed. Unhappily for Comparative Religion, he proceeded almost immediately

[1] Professor of the History of Philosophy, University of Paris.

[2] *Histoire de la philosophie: les problèmes et les Écoles.* 2 vols. Paris, 1887. [Translated, London, 1903.]

[3] Formerly Dean of the Faculty of Protestant Theology, University of Paris.

[4] *Histoire des idées religieuses en Allemagne depuis le milieu du dix-huitième siècle jusqu'à nos jours.* 3 vols. Paris, 1873. [2nd ed., 1887. Translated, and largely recast, in 1 vol., Edinburgh, 1889.]

[5] *Encyclopédie des sciences religieuses.* 13 vols. Paris, 1876–82.

[6] Formerly Professor of Dogmatics, and Dean of the Faculty of Protestant Theology, University of Paris.

from history to philosophy. His most important book belongs to this latter field;[1] it is claimed that all the results which are recorded in it are rigidly "based on Psychology and History."[2] Students of Comparative Religion cannot afford to neglect this author, — whose critical insight and dialectic, whose calm judgment, whose manifest single-heartedness, and withal whose mental independence, constituted him a natural leader among his contemporaries.

III. HANDBOOKS.—In the matter of Handbooks, France has allowed herself to become largely indebted to the Manuals which have been prepared by eminent Dutch scholars. The successive appearance of these foreign publications has speedily been followed by excellent French translations, and these adopted treatises have so well served their purpose that local substitutes for them have not seemed to be specially called for. Thus, in the domain of *Comparative Religion*, PROFESSOR ALBERT RÉVILLE, in addition to his personal and more elaborate contribution to the *History of Religion*,[3] has provided an admirable rendering (from the German) of Scholten's well-known Handbook.[4] In like manner, PROFESSOR VERNES has translated Tiele's "Outlines"[5] and Kuenen's "Hibbert Lectures."[6] As regards the *Philosophy of Religion*, French thinkers have not yet really sought to make this field their own. The outstanding name is doubtless that of the late PROFESSOR SABATIER:

[1] *Esquisse d'une philosophie de la religion d'après la psychologie et l'histoire.* Paris, 1897. [6th ed., 1901. Translated, somewhat abridged, and with Bibliography omitted, London, 1897.]

[2] See also his exceedingly valuable book, *Les religions d'autorité et la religion de l'esprit.* Paris, 1903. [Translated, London, 1904.] Both the original and the translated version have already passed through several editions.

[3] *Histoire des religions.* 5 vols. Paris, 1883–88. Cp. page 189.

[4] *Manuel d'histoire comparée de la philosophie et de la religion.* Paris, 1861.

[5] *Manuel de l'histoire des religions de Tiele.* Paris, 1880. [The Bibliography of the original work is considerably supplemented and improved.]

[6] *Religion nationale et religion universelle de Kuenen.* Paris, 1884.

but this author's work, so brilliant in its promise, was unfortunately never completed.[1]

IV. PERIODICALS.—If in the production of Handbooks France has allowed herself to be surpassed by neighbouring nations, she has long been accorded the distinction of an undisputed leadership in this field, viz., through her ably-edited critical Reviews. In connection with the study of the Science of Religion, France is in this particular exceedingly well off. At the head of these publications stands one which, at the close of its second decade, is still admittedly unrivalled. The REVUE DE L'HISTOIRE DES RELIGIONS[2] is easily the foremost Review of its kind, not in France only, but in the world. Historical in its aim, and seeking chiefly for contributions of that type, it is nevertheless simply indispensable to every student of Comparative Religion. One must mention also the REVUE CRITIQUE D'HISTOIRE ET DE LITTÉRATURE,[3] the REVUE CHRÉTIENNE,[4] the REVUE D'HISTOIRE ET DE LITTÉRATURE RELIGIEUSES,[5] and the REVUE BIBLIQUE INTERNATIONALE.[6] Specialists in Comparative Religion, further, should by no means neglect the ANNALES DU MUSÉE GUIMET,[7]

[1] See his *Esquisse d'une philosophie de la religion.* Paris, 1897.

[2] Bi-monthly Review. 51 vols. Paris, 1880– . [*In progress.*] Editor, M. Jean Réville.

[3] Weekly Review. 76 vols. Paris, 1866– . [*In progress.*] Editor, M. Arthur Chuquet.

[4] Monthly Review. 51 vols. Paris, 1854– . [*In progress.*]

[5] Bi-monthly Review. 9 vols. Paris, 1896– . [*In progress.*] One of its most widely known contributors, of late, has been Abbé Loisy.

[6] Quarterly Review. 13 vols. Paris, 1892– . [*In progress.*] Père Lagrange is the principal Editor, and a constant and notable contributor.

[7] Occasional Publications. 30 vols. Paris, 1880– . [*In progress.*] It should be explained that the ANNALES DU MUSÉE GUIMET is often employed as a collective title, in which case it covers a *series* of publications which, while related indeed, are quite independent of one another. There is (*a*) the ANNALES DU MUSÉE GUIMET strictly so called, and to which reference has just been made. This Periodical is made up of original contributions to the History of Religions, and of translations of important relevant documents. Then (*b*) we have the BIBLIOTHÈQUE DE L'ÉCOLE DES HAUTES ÉTUDES, conducted on somewhat similar lines, but devoting itself to the solution of a group of selected definite problems. Next comes (*c*) the BIBLIOTHÈQUE DE VULGARISATION, which contains briefer and more popular

and the BIBLIOTHÈQUE DE L'ÉCOLE DES HAUTES ÉTUDES.[1]

GERMANY.

While Germany has refrained from lending Comparative Religion the vigorous help which students everywhere have vainly hoped for, that study nevertheless owes a great debt of gratitude to scores of industrious workers in the Fatherland,—to men who, while investigators by preference in other but kindred departments, have rendered assistance of an indirect yet most valuable character.[2] Reference to such authors can most conveniently be made if we separate them into two general groups. And, in order to demonstrate the truth of a statement made in the Appendix,[3]—viz., that Germany possesses already a University equipment out of which she might at once proceed to organise a magnificent staff of instructors in Comparative Religion,—the members of the first of these groups will be enumerated somewhat more fully than would otherwise have been deemed necessary.

I. THE HISTORY OF RELIGION.—Including within the present section those whose philological researches have

expositions. These studies began to appear in 1889, and now constitute fourteen small volumes: they are issued at such dates as happen to prove convenient. (*d*) The REVUE DE L'HISTOIRE DES RELIGIONS. This Journal, while it is an important member of the series of publications now being described, is not controlled and published—as are the three already named—by the directorate of the Guimet Museum. At first, under the editorial management of M. Maurice Vernes, but since 1884 under the supervision of the present Director, it has provided for its readers an immense number of original articles by the foremost experts in many fields, countless reviews of contemporary relevant literature, brief chronicles of the meetings and transactions of literary societies, a compact necrology, etc. etc.

[1] Occasional Publications. 15 vols. Paris, 1892– . [*In progress.*]

[2] It must not be overlooked that Germany has from time to time sent many of her sons to England, Scotland, the United States, and elsewhere; and some of these have been students who, denied the opportunity of following up their favourite researches at home, have proved most welcome accessions to the representatives of Comparative Religion in the several countries to which they have gone.

[3] See Appendix. Note XII., page 515.

made them helpful promoters of this Science, it is quite impossible to name all to whom honourable recognition should be given; but the following selection of scholars can claim, at least, to be fairly representative.

1. JOHANN JOSEPH IGNAZ DÖLLINGER[1] (1799–1890). This vigorous theological champion, who left the Church of Rome in 1871, and was chiefly instrumental in founding the Communion known as the Old Catholics, wrote many books of permanent value. In the present connection, there are two works which deserve mention: the one representing conspicuous learning and insight,[2] while the other is especially notable as being a "first attempt" to portray the various heathen religious systems, together with the heathen philosophy and manners of the period just prior to the advent of Christ.[3] 2. GUSTAV WEIL[4] (1808–1889). From Professor Weil came several volumes which proved of very great service in the study of Islam. The earliest of these books concerned itself with the founder of that Faith; and, being drawn from native sources, it aroused fresh inquiry and study in a dozen different quarters.[5] His subsequent *History of the Caliphs* bore indubitable testimony to his patience and industry.[6] 3. ALOYS SPRENGER[7] (1813–1893). It is hard to be sure of the nationality of a man who was born in Austria, lived for considerable periods as a naturalised British subject in London and Calcutta, taught in a Swiss University, and finally made his home in Heidelberg! We are most concerned however, here, with his monumental work on Mohammed.[8] Moreover, his contributions to our

[1] Formerly Professor of Ecclesiastical History, University of Munich.

[2] *Muhammed's Religion.* Regensburg, 1838.

[3] *Heidenthum und Judenthum.* Regensburg, 1857. [Translated, "The Gentile and the Jew in the Courts of the Temple of Christ." 2 vols. London, 1862.]

[4] Formerly Professor of Oriental Languages, University of Heidelberg.

[5] *Mohammed der Prophet: sein Leben und seine Lehre* ("Mohammed the Prophet: His Life and his Teaching"). Stuttgart, 1844.

[6] *Geschichte der Kalifen.* 5 vols. Stuttgart, 1846–62.

[7] Formerly Professor of Oriental Languages, University of Bern.

[8] *Das Leben und die Lehre des Mohammad.* 3 vols. Berlin, 1861–69. [Vol. i. was issued earlier, in English, at Allahabad, viz., in 1851.]

knowledge of the geography of Arabia deserve special mention. 4. FRIEDRICH ALBRECHT WEBER[1] (1825–1901). In the field of Indian lore, Professor Weber has had but few equals. His pupils, now in many cases themselves University Professors, have carried the fame of his learning into all lands. In particular, not only was much of the Vedic and Jain literature catalogued by him, but it was he also who competently interpreted it to Europe for the first time.[2] Everything Indian appealed to him; and, for many years, *one* of his translated publications was held to be the standard work of its kind.[3] He is perhaps most truthfully described as a Text critic, and his interest centred in Literature rather than in Religion; but, at the same time, our knowledge of Eastern Faiths has been very greatly enlarged through his labours. 5. MARTIN HAUG[4] (1826–1876). An important period of Professor Haug's life was spent in India, where he was instructor in a College at Poona. Hence some of his books, published in that country, appeared first in English.[5] His scholarly work on the Avesta—alike as editor, translator, and commentator—is well known.[6] 6. HEINRICH KARL BRUGSCH[7] (1827–1894). A great traveller, entrusted with special commissions by the German Government (and for this reason a highly privileged visitor to Egypt, Persia, and other Eastern countries), Brugsch was ever a keen and sagacious student. His chief investigations connect him with Egyptology, of which field of inquiry he became a distinguished representative. On this subject alone he produced more than a score of volumes.[8]

[1] Formerly Professor of Sanskrit, University of Berlin.

[2] See his *Indische Studien.* 17 vols. Berlin, 1850–85.

[3] *History of Indian Literature.* London, 1878. [3rd ed., 1892.]

[4] Formerly Professor of Sanskrit, University of Munich.

[5] *Essays on the Sacred Language, Writings, and Religion of the Parsis.* Bombay, 1862. [3rd ed., 1884.]

[6] *Die fünf Gâthâs.* Leipzig, 1858–60.

[7] Formerly Curator of the Egyptian Museum, Berlin.

[8] See, *e.g.*, his *Geschichte Aegyptens unter den Pharaonen.* Leipzig, 1877. [Translated, "History of Egypt under the Pharaohs." 2 vols. London, 1879. 3rd ed., 1 vol., 1891.] Also his *Religion und Mythologie der alten*

7. JULIUS WELLHAUSEN[1] (1844–). As an Orientalist, Professor Wellhausen has made for himself a secure place in the ranks of nineteenth and twentieth-century scholarship; as a Biblical Critic, he has compelled students of the Old Testament and of the History of Israel to examine afresh the foundations upon which their beliefs have hitherto been complacently resting;[2] while as an indirect helper of Comparative Religion he has published more than one able examination and exposition of Mohammedanism.[3] It is true that this worker's field is limited practically to Semitic studies, whilst his advanced theological position has led some to view his investigations with ill-concealed distrust; but the student who values learning, and who preserves his own independence sufficiently to weigh carefully the counsels of an admittedly well-informed leader, will act most unwisely if he neglect to secure the assistance which he may very easily obtain for himself from this quarter. 8. THEODOR NÖLDEKE[4] (1836–). One of the leading authorities on Islam, Professor Nöldeke has been a most welcome contributor to the Reviews and Special Journals of Germany for very many years. His chief publications enjoy a wide circulation, and students of Religion can ill afford to miss them.[5] 9. CASPAR RENE GREGORY[6] (1846–). It is probably a unique distinction which Dr. Gregory enjoys, in that, although an American, he has occupied for many years a representative Chair in a German University. Unsur-

Aegypter ("Religion and Mythology of the Ancient Egyptians"). Leipzig, 1885–88. [N. ed., 1891.]

[1] Professor of Oriental Languages, University of Göttingen.

[2] See his *Geschichte Israels* ("History of Israel"). Berlin, 1878. [Only vol. i. appeared at this date. The book, re-written, was published in 1883 as *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels*. 5th ed., 1899. Translated, Edinburgh, 1885.]

[3] See his *Muhammed in Medina*. Berlin, 1882. *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten* ("Sketches and Memoranda," in Six Parts), IV. and VI. Berlin, 1889 and 1899. Article on "Mohammed" in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

[4] Professor of Oriental Languages, University of Strasburg.

[5] *Das Leben Muhammeds*. Hanover, 1863. See his Article on "The Koran" in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. Also his *Sketches from Eastern History*. London, 1892.

[6] Professor of Theology, University of Leipsic.

passed as a Textual Critic of the New Testament, he has long made it a practice to give a prominent place to the History of Religions, and also to Comparative Religion, in his stated Course of Lectures on Encyklopädie. 10. JOHANN HEINRICH PLATH[1] (1801–1874). After an eventful career, in the course of which political troubles in which he became involved necessitated his travelling and studying for a time in England and Switzerland, Herr Plath ultimately made his home in Munich in 1850. There, associated with the University as a Privatdocent, he devoted the remainder of his life unreservedly to research and authorship. His selection for an important post in the Royal Library, in 1864, proved a fortunate appointment both for himself and for those who chose him for it. Everything that related to Asiatic literature and history—whether Chinese, Persian, Indian, etc.—found in him an ardent and persistent friend: but his special field of inquiry was ever the great world of China, our knowledge of which he steadily and immensely extended. He wrote incessantly for Reviews, and presented many Papers at prominent scientific Conferences; and in this way he not only elucidated many a knotty problem by his personal patient unravelling of it, but his innumerable monographs served as a sort of Clearing House, by means of which the investigators of different countries were made acquainted with what their confrères elsewhere were attempting and accomplishing. Herr Plath merits, therefore, the honour of being, in an absolutely literal sense, a European scholar. His earliest noteworthy book appeared while he was still a Privatdocent in Philology and History at Göttingen.[2] A better known work, and one with which we are here more fully concerned, cost him a vast amount of labour.[3]

[1] Formerly Secretary of the Royal Library, Munich.

[2] *Die Völker der Mandschurei* ("The Peoples of Manchuria"). Göttingen, 1830–31.

[3] *Confucius und seine Schüler: Leben und Lehren* ("Confucius and his Disciples: Life and Teachings"). Munich, 1869–74. See also his *Die Religion und der Cultus der alten Chinesen* ("The Religion and Worship of the Ancient Chinese"). Munich, 1862.

11. Ernst Trumpp[1] (1828–1885). Whilst studying Theology at Tübingen, Herr Trumpp devoted special attention to Classical Philology and Oriental Languages. It was Professor Roth and Professor Ewald who thus early inspired him with a profound and permanent interest in these subjects, and the impulse received at their hands accounts for the conspicuous place which he afterwards came to occupy among writers on Comparative Philology.[2] When the stormy events of 1848 separated him from friends and home, he removed to London, where he maintained himself with difficulty by acting as tutor, etc. In the following year the Church Missionary Society offered him an appointment in India, whither he at once proceeded and entered upon his duties; and it was this circumstance, coupled with the fact that his health was never robust, that gave direction to the whole of his subsequent career. On three successive occasions we find that he was compelled to return to Europe, his health being severely undermined; and thus it came about that in 1864 he removed to Germany, with the intention of devoting the remainder of his life to assorting and utilising the varied literary materials which he had patiently accumulated during his sojourn in the East. Six years later, however, at the invitation of the British Government, he set out a fourth time for India, and there undertook the preparation of an elaborate Edition of the *Sacred Writings of the Sikhs*, a work which was subsequently published at the expense of the Crown.[3] But after a stay of only two years, Herr Trumpp was

[1] Formerly Professor of Oriental Languages and Literature, University of Munich.

[2] See his *Grammar of the Sindhi Language*, compared with the Sanskrit-Prākrit and the cognate Indian vernaculars. London, 1872. Also his *Grammar of the Paštō, or Language of the Afghans*, compared with the Iranian and the North-Indian idioms. London, 1873.

[3] *The Ādi-Granth, or the Scriptures of the Sikhs.* A Translation with accompanying Essays. London, 1877. Also, *Die Religion der Sikhs nach den Quellen* ("The Religion of the Sikhs, according to the Sources"). Leipzig, 1881.

once more compelled to return home. He then settled down in Munich, where in 1874 he was appointed a Professor in the University. Here he lectured for a decade on the Arabic, Persian, and Turkish Languages and Literatures, until unfortunately his sight failed him, and death terminated a life that was rich in fruitful labours. 12. H. JULIUS EGGELING[1] (1842–). In the case of Professor Eggeling we have one who has transferred his field of work from Germany to Scotland. For more than a quarter of a century he has made many helpful contributions (both original and in the form of translations) to our knowledge especially of Brahmanism.[2] 13. EDMUND HARDY[3] (1852–1904). A few years ago, Professor Hardy prepared an excellent sketch of what had thus far been done, in the way of research, in the domain of Comparative Religion.[4] At the beginning of his career, his tastes strongly inclined him towards philosophical studies; but, largely owing to the influence of Professor Max Müller, he turned his attention with an untiring ardour to the study of Religion, and served for a time as Professor of the Science of Religion at Freiburg, Baden. Later on, he became Professor of Comparative Religion at Freiburg, Switzerland; and, whilst he always remained a diligent student and author in connection with topics proper to the History of Religions,[5] he devoted thenceforward a large amount of his time to advancing the interests of Comparative Religion,

[1] Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology, University of Edinburgh.

[2] See his Article on this subject in the *Encyclopædia Britannica.*

[3] Author and Critic.

[4] *Zur Geschichte der vergleichenden Religionsforschung* ("A Contribution to the History of Research in Comparative Religion"). The Articles appeared in the *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft.* [Vol. i. pp. 45–66, 97–135, and 193–228.] Leipzig, 1898.

[5] See his *Der Buddhismus nach älteren Pâli-Werken* ("Buddhism according to the older Pali Authorities"). Münster in Westfalen, 1890. *König Asoka.* Mainz, 1902. *Buddha.* Leipzig, 1903. Also his *Indische Religionsgeschichte.* Leipzig, 1898. [2nd ed., 1904.] In addition, Dr. Hardy was the General Editor of the Münster Series of Handbooks, mentioned in the fourth footnote on page 461.

and to the exposition of its literature.[1] It is very greatly to be regretted that he did not live to complete his magnum opus, "A Dictionary of the Pali Language." 14. KARL GELDNER[2] (1853–). Dr. Geldner's chief contribution to this department has been made in connection with Zoroastrianism.[3] He has supplied us, indeed, with the standard edition of the Avesta. He has lectured and written much, also, on Brahmanism. 15. JULIUS HAPPEL[4] (1843–). Notwithstanding the incessant and distracting claims which are laid upon one who is daily busy among his parishioners, Pfarrer Happel has long been a patient investigator in the domain of the History of Religions. Two at least of his many publications should be named.[5] 16. BRUNO LINDNER[6] (1853–). Whilst conducting special studies in the Avesta, Dr. Lindner has lectured for many years on the General History of Religion.[7] 17. HERMANN SCHELL[8] (1850–). In addition to publishing numerous treatises on Apologetics proper, Professor Schell has delivered many Courses of Lectures on the Science of Comparative Religion, — in this respect occupying, with

[1] See his *Max Müller und die vergleichende Religionswissenschaft* ("Max Müller and the Science of Comparative Religion"). Freiburg, 1882. Also, *Allgemeine vergleichende Religionswissenschaft im akademischen Studium unserer Zeit* ("The General Science of Comparative Religion in the Academic Curriculum of our Time"). Freiburg, 1887.

[2] Professor of Sanskrit, University of Berlin.

[3] See, *e.g.*, his *Studien zur Avesta* ("Studies in the Avesta"). Berlin, 1882. See also his Articles in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (Zoroaster), and in the *Encyclopædia Biblica* (Persian Religion).

[4] Pastor of the Reformed Church in Haubach, Hessen-Darmstadt.

[5] *Das Christenthum und die heutige vergleichende Religionsgeschichte* ("Christianity and the modern History of Comparative Religion"). Leipzig, 1882. See also his *Die altchinesische Reichsreligion vom Standpunkte der vergleichenden Religionsgeschichte* ("The Religion of the Ancient Chinese Empire, from the Standpoint of the History of Comparative Religion"). Leipzig, 1882.

[6] Professor of Sanskrit, University of Leipsic.

[7] See his elaborate survey of this field, incorporated in Zöckler's *Handbuch der theologischen Wissenschaft in encyklopädischer Darstellung* ("Handbook of Theological Science in Encyclopædic Form). 3 vols. Nördlingen, 1883–84. [3rd ed., 4 vols., Munich, 1889–90.]

[8] Professor of Christian Apologetics, University of Würzburg.

Professor Hardy, something of an exceptional position among his professional colleagues in Germany.[1] This action will to some seem the more notable, inasmuch as the Theological Faculty at Würzburg is representative exclusively of Roman Catholicism. 18. KARL BUDDE[2] (1850–). While giving his strength almost wholly to Old Testament studies, Professor Budde has thrown much light, incidentally, upon Faiths with which the Hebrews chanced to be brought into contact.[3] 19. ALFRED WIEDEMANN[4] (1856–). This diligent worker's name is inseparably associated with investigations in Egyptology. Almost every aspect of this theme — whether textual, historical, or (in a general sense) critical — has engaged his attention, and has been illumined by his painstaking researches.[5] 20. HERMANN OLDENBERG[6] (1864–). A versatile scholar, Dr. Oldenberg has rendered peculiar assistance in two directions. His field, like Weber's, is India; and the Religions to which he has devoted most time are Early Brahmanism and Buddhism. In the latter subject, in particular, he is everywhere acknowledged to be a master. He has rendered specially helpful service in his carefully prepared editions of numerous Pali texts.[7]

II. THE PHILOSOPHY OF RELIGION.—In a country where,

[1] Cp. Appendix, pages 512 f., and Explanatory Note 68, page 602. See also page 461.

[2] Professor of Theology, University of Marburg.

[3] See his *Religion of Israel, to the Exile.* New York, 1899.

[4] Professor of Egyptology, University of Bonn.

[5] See his *Aegyptische Studien.* Bonn, 1889. Also his *Die Religion der alten Aegypter.* Münster in Westfalen, 1890. [Translated, "The Religion of the Ancient Egyptians." London, 1897.] Also his *Die Todten und ihre Reiche in Glauben der alten Aegypter.* 1900. [Translated, "The Realms of the Egyptian Dead." London, 1901.]

[6] Professor of Comparative Philology, University of Kiel.

[7] See his *Buddha: sein Leben, seine Lehre und seine Gemeinde.* Berlin, 1881. [2nd ed., enlarged, 1890; 3rd ed., enlarged yet further, 1897; 4th ed., 1903. Translated, "Buddha: His Life, Doctrine, and Order." London, 1882.] See also his *Die Hymnen des Rigveda* ("The Hymns of the Rigveda"). Berlin, 1888. *Die Religion des Veda* ("The Religion of the Veda"). Berlin, 1894. *Die Literatur des Alten Indien* ("The Literature of Ancient India"). Stuttgart, 1904.

in every University, the staff of philosophical teachers is invariably a strong one, and where a large proportion of these instructors give regular Courses of Lectures on the Philosophy of Religion,[1] it becomes exceedingly difficult to select a few outstanding and genuinely representative names. Such an attempt, happily, is not at present necessary; for this Manual is not called upon to chronicle the achievements of workers in a department which, for the most part, lies wholly beyond the boundaries of Comparative Religion.

The study of the Philosophy of Religion took its rise in Germany, where it has long been highly esteemed, and cultivated with the greatest diligence and success. Other countries have followed, indeed, the example which has thus been set for them, and they too to-day can point to some brilliant exponents of an important new attempt at constructive work in theology; but the lead which Germany secured at the outset, and the prominence given to this subject in all the Universities of the Empire, make it difficult for the scholars of other nationalities to compete with confrères who, as a rule, are working under much more favourable conditions than those that obtain elsewhere. Accordingly, Germany may be said to have made this field peculiarly her own. Her Professors exhibit, indeed, quite frequently—and for reasons already explained,[2] not unnaturally—a tendency to indulge in somewhat hasty generalisations; but the chief exponents of this discipline in Germany are distinctly on their guard against this danger, and are strenuously seeking to avert it by a conscientious and increasing employment of the historical method.

21. HERMANN LOTZE[3] (1817–1881). Professor Lotze's name is by many identified too exclusively with his Psychological and Physiological researches. Here he was, beyond question, a valuable pioneer and path-finder: but it was in Philosophy proper that he accomplished, after all, some

[1] See Appendix. Note XII., page 513. [2] *Ibid.*

[3] Formerly Professor of Philosophy, University of Göttingen.

of his most memorable work.[1] His "Outlines" of the Philosophy of Religion[2] was first translated in the United States; a few years later, another translation of it was prepared in England. 22. RUDOLF VON ROTH[3] (1821–1895). One who was honourably distinguished, not only in the rôle of a Sanskrit scholar, but among investigators in the Science of Religion, was the late Professor Roth. Many think of him to-day chiefly as the joint-editor of a great Sanskrit Dictionary which has made his name and learning household words everywhere.[4] But his knowledge of the literature of India enlisted strongly his interest in its Religions; and in that connection, touching the Veda in particular, he rendered prolonged and magnificent service.[5] For many years he delivered regular series of lectures on the Science of Religion, dealing in a comprehensive way with the whole subject. 23. KUNO FISCHER[6] (1824–). It has often been said that Zeller in Berlin, and Fischer in Heidelberg, have imparted to Philosophy—Ancient and Modern respectively—a new life and a new meaning. But Professor Fischer, especially of late, has turned his acute and playful genius towards a deliberate examination of "Die christliche Philosophie"; and certainly he has never lacked a large and expectant audience. It is anticipated that some of these lectures will shortly be published. 24. OTTO PFLEIDERER[7] (1839–). For over a quarter of a century Professor Pfleiderer has occupied his present Chair, and exercised a remarkably widespread influence. His studies have taken him into many fields; but Religion,

[1] See his *Mikrokosmos*. Leipzig, 1856–64. [4th ed., 1884–88. Translated, 2 vols., Edinburgh, 1885.]

[2] *Grundzüge der Religionsphilosophie*. Leipzig, 1882. [2nd ed., 1884. Translated, London, 1892.] Cp. page 472.

[3] Formerly Professor of Oriental Languages, University of Tübingen.

[4] Böhtlingk and Roth, *Sanskrit Wörterbuch*. 7 vols. St. Petersburg, 1852–75.

[5] See his *Zur Literatur und Geschichte des Vedas* ("The Literature and History of the Veda"). Stuttgart, 1846.

[6] Professor of Philosophy, University of Heidelberg.

[7] Professor of Theology, University of Berlin.

in its fundamental and philosophical aspects rather than in its dogmatic statements, has always possessed for him a transcendent interest. Profound at many points, but daring and unconventional always, his lecture courses have long attracted a large body of keen and thoughtful students. In England and Scotland, also, he has made his influence felt; for he has served as Lecturer on both the Hibbert and Gifford foundations. He is probably the most prominent German representative of this discipline that one can name to-day.[1] 25. GEORG CHRISTIAN BERNHARD PÜNJER[2] (1850–1885). Had this young scholar not been cut off at the very beginning of his career, he promised to become one of the most eminent leaders in this field. As it is, his best known work is simply a masterpiece.[3] The critical faculty which he exhibited in the manuscripts he prepared for the earlier numbers of a Review which he founded in 1881, made him from the outset a marked man.[4] Professor Pfleiderer, in the Preface to the second edition of his "Religionsphilosophie," pays a graceful compliment to Dr. Pünjer's work,—only one volume of which had at that time been published,—stating that it was "on a more comprehensive plan than mine, and often fuller." 26. HERMANN SIEBECK[5] (1842–). Dr. Siebeck's lectures relating to the Philo-

[1] See especially his *Die Religion, ihr Wesen und Geschichte* ("Religion: Its Essence and History"). Leipzig, 1869. [N. ed., 1878.] *Religionsphilosophie auf geschichtlicher Grundlage.* 1 vol. Berlin, 1878. [2nd ed., in 2 vols., 1883–84; 3rd ed., 1896. Translated, "The Philosophy of Religion on the Basis of its History." 4 vols. London, 1886–88.] *The Philosophy and Development of Religion.* 2 vols. Edinburgh, 1894. *Evolution and Theology, and other Essays.* New York, 1900. In connection rather with historic investigations, see *Das Christusbild des urchristlichen Glaubens.* Berlin, 1903. [Translated, *The Early Christian Conception of Christ: Its Value and Significance in the History of Religion.* London, 1905.]

[2] Formerly Docent in Theology, University of Jena.

[3] *Geschichte der christlichen Religionsphilosophie seit der Reformation.* 2 vols. Braunschweig, 1880–83. [Only vol. i. has been translated, "History of the Christian Philosophy of Religion since the Reformation." Edinburgh, 1887.] See also his *Grundriss der Religionsphilosophie* ("Outlines of the Philosophy of Religion"). Braunschweig, 1886.

[4] The *Theologischer Jahresbericht.* See page 462.

[5] Professor of Philosophy, University of Giessen.

sophy of Religion have proved especially helpful. He has also supplied students with a most useful textbook.[1]

27. GEORG AUGUST WILHELM RUNZE[2] (1852–). A few years ago, Professor Runze publically announced a Course of Lectures on the Science of Comparative Religion; but, while those who enrolled their names were not a little aided and encouraged in their inquiries, the subject apparently did not appeal to any considerable number of students. It is to be hoped that Dr. Runze will persevere with his experiment. In the meantime, he is wise in continuing to invoke the aid of the press.[3] He has recently prepared an excellent little handbook on the Philosophy of Religion.[4] But this list of authorities must not be unduly prolonged.[5]

[1] *Lehrbuch der Religionsphilosophie.* Tübingen, 1893.

[2] Professor of Theology, University of Berlin.

[3] See his *Studien zur vergleichenden Religionswissenschaft* ("Studies i the Science of Comparative Religion"). 3 vols. Berlin, 1889–97.

[4] *Katechismus der Religionsphilosophie.* Leipzig, 1901.

[5] AN APPENDED LIST. [Cp. corresponding footnote, page 429.] 28. EDUARD ZELLER, *Ueber Ursprung und Wesen der Religion* ("The Origin and Essence of Religion"). Originally appeared in the "Theologische Jahrbücher" in 1845. Now found in vol. ii. of his *Vorträge und Abhandlungen.* 3 vols. Leipzig, 1865–84. 29. FRIEDRICH SPIEGEL, *Avesta, die heiligen Schriften der Parsen* ("The Avesta, the Sacred Writings of the Parsis"). 3 vols. Leipzig, 1853–63. [An edition of the Text, with a German translation. Followed by a Commentary on the Text, in 2 vols., 1864–69.] See also his *Einleitung in die traditionellen Schriften der Parsen* ("Introduction to the Traditional Scriptures of the Parsis"). 2 vols. Leipzig, 1856–60. Also, yet two other works, viz., his *Eran, das Land zwischen Indus und Tigris* ("Iran, the Land between the Indus and Tigris"). Berlin, 1863; and his *Eranische Alterthumskunde* ("Antiquarian Lore of Iran"). 3 vols. Leipzig, 1871–78. 30. RUDOLF KREHL, *Die Religion der vorislamischen Araber* ("The Religion of the pre-Islamic Arabians.") Leipzig, 1863. Also his *Das Leben und die Lehre des Mohammed* ("The Life and Teaching of Mohammed"). Leipzig, 1884. 31. ADOLF BASTIAN, *Ideale Welten nach uranographischen Provinzen in Wort und Bild* ("Ideal Worlds, according to ancient Cosmographies, in Word and Picture"). 3 vols. Berlin, 1892. 32. RUDOLF EUCHEN, *Der Wahrheitsgehalt der Religion* ("The Abiding Truth of Religion"). Leipzig, 1901. 33. BERNHARD STADE, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel* ("The History of Israel"). 2 vols. Berlin, 1885–88. 34. ROBERT FALKE, *Buddha, Mohammed, Christus.* Gütersloh in Westfalen, 1895. [2nd ed., enlarged, 1898–1900. A careful and elaborate comparison of the three Religions indicated. Conservative in tone. 35. HUBERT GRIMME,

III. HANDBOOKS.—As in the case of France, Germany is to a large extent dependent as regards Handbooks upon the scholarly publications of Holland. In the department of the *History of Religion*, T. F. W. Weber promptly translated Tiele's widely circulated Compend,[1] whilst Professor Chantepie de la Saussaye sent his own more elaborate work directly to the German press.[2] One must name, also, the admirable Swiss Handbook which Professor Orelli has supplied.[3] Germany has, however, lately begun to issue a local series of Histories; though compressed perhaps within too brief a compass, they have proved to be excellent alike in spirit and contents.[4] In the department of the *Philosophy of Religion*, one need not hesitate to name—as standing out, beyond all comparison, foremost among their competitors—two eminently helpful publications. The one is the product of the mature workmanship of PROFESSOR PFLEIDERER;[5] the other is the no less distinguished contribution of the late PROFESSOR

Mohammed. 2 vols. Münster in Westfalen, 1892–95. Also his *Mohammed.* München, 1904. 36. EMIL AUST, *Die Religion der Römer* ("The Religion of the Romans"). Münster in Westfalen, 1899. 37. WILHELM BOUSSET, *Das Wesen der Religion dargestellt in ihrer Geschichte* ("The Essence of Religion as exhibited in its History"). Halle, 1903. Broad, acute, and suggestive. 38. ERNST TROELTSCH, *Die Absolutheit des Christentums und die Religionsgeschichte* ("The Absolutism of Christianity and the History of Religion"). Tübingen, 1901. 39. PAUL WURM, *Handbuch der Religionsgeschichte.* Stuttgart, 1904. Compact, conveniently arranged, and up-to-date. 40. THOMAS ACHELIS, *Abriss der vergleichenden Religionswissenschaft* ("A Sketch of the Science of Comparative Religion"). Leipzig, 1904. An excellent specimen of the well-known Göschen group of Primers.

[1] *Kompendium der Religionsgeschichte.* Berlin, 1880. [2nd ed., Prenzlau, 1887. 3rd. ed., Breslau, 1903.]

[2] *Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte* ("Handbook of the History of Religion"). 2 vols. Freiburg, 1887–89. [2nd ed., 1897. 3rd ed., 1905.]

[3] *Allgemeine Religionsgeschichte* ("A General History of Religion"). Bonn, 1899.

[4] *Darstellungen aus dem Gebiete der nicht-christlichen Religionsgeschichte* ("Expositions from the Domain of the History of the non-Christian Religions"). 15 vols. Münster in Westfalen, 1890– . [*In progress;* possibly a few other volumes may be added.]

[5] *Religionsphilosophie auf geschichtlicher Grundlage.* Cp. page 459.

PÜNJER.[1] An important Danish Handbook, which has come to have a very wide circulation in Germany, must also be mentioned.[2]

IV. PERIODICALS. — Although Germany is prolific in scientific Periodicals of all kinds, a noticeable gap still exists in so far as the Science of Religion is concerned. Unquestionably the acknowledged excellence and the wide circulation of the *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* has had much to do with this conspicuous omission; but a lack of sufficient interest in the general subject which that Journal so ably represents is also responsible in some degree for this regrettable result. The desirability of possessing a national Review of this type has at last, however, been fully recognised; and the need has happily been met by the founding of the ARCHIV FÜR RELIGIONSWISSENSCHAFT.[3] For the rapidly growing Literature of this subject, the student is strongly advised to consult the invaluable THEOLOGISCHER JAHRESBERICHT,[4]—where, under the headings which cover the subjects in which he is specially interested, he will always find a condensed but full statement of the very latest information which scholarly research can procure.

AMERICA.

In a country in which the study of the Science of Religion has made phenomenally rapid strides, and in which the number of younger men at present engaged in this inquiry is so large and so rapidly growing, the task of selecting adequate representatives of the Science is by no means an easy one. Five names have already been

[1] *Geschichte der christlichen Religionsphilosophie seit der Reformation.* Cp. page 459.

[2] Harald Höffding, *Religionsphilosophie.* Leipzig, 1901. [Translated, London, 1905.]

[3] Quarterly Review. 7 vols. Leipsic, 1898– . [*In progress.*] Editors, Dr. Albrecht Dieterich and Dr. Thomas Achelis.

[4] Annual Review. 23 vols. Berlin, 1881– . [*In progress.* Vol. xxiii. covers the year 1903.] Editors, Dr. Gustavus Krüger and Dr. Walther Köhler.

mentioned,[1]—a fuller enumeration than that allotted to any other nationality; but had even ten names been placed in that honourable list, the disparity would in no sense have misrepresented the measure of interest which the advanced scholarship of the United States has of late exhibited in the promotion of this new department of research. No doubt America enjoys the advantage of the erudition of some who, appreciating the rare opportunities which are now open to students in the New World, have transferred their home across the sea; but native talent is certainly not being outdistanced in this worthy and stimulating rivalry. In accordance with the method already followed in the case of Great Britain,[2] it is proposed, in describing what has been and is now being done in the United States, to enter somewhat fully into details.

I. Comparative Religion. — It will be shown, later, that America has done a great deal to promote our knowledge of the History of Religions, and that her more intrepid leaders have not hesitated to make excursions into the difficult domain of the Philosophy of Religion. But as regards Comparative Religion proper, America has not omitted to send many a diligent worker, within the last quarter of a century, into that field also.

1. James Clement Moffat[3] (1811–1890). Professor Moffat must be accorded the merit of having directed attention to this study at a time when, in the United States, the interest taken in it was relatively slight. His manner of dealing with his theme was markedly painstaking and conscientious, but it represents the new discipline only in its rudimentary stages. The epoch-making discoveries of the next two decades were wholly unforeseen, and they have modified very materially the opinion of scholars. This fact being borne in mind, students will do well to make themselves acquainted with the volumes which

[1] Cp. pages 197–202.

[2] Cp. pages 416 f.

[3] Formerly Professor of Church History in the Theological Seminary, Princeton.

contain Dr. Moffat's carefully weighed conclusions.[1] 2. PHILIP SCHAFF[2] (1819–1893). The range of Professor Schaff's learning was extraordinarily wide; and, in the course of his fruitful life as a teacher, he occupied successively with high distinction several of the Seminary's Chairs. It was in his lectures on Theological Encyclopædia that he dealt, concisely yet always very luminously, with this particular discipline.[3] 3. CHARLES MELLEN TYLER[4] (1832–). This name belongs, perhaps more justly, to a group of teachers whose work will be referred to in a moment; indeed, nearly the whole of Dr. Tyler's literary contributions are representative rather of the Philosophy of Religion.[5] Still, as an instructor, he has shown himself to be possessed of special aptitudes for promoting the study of Comparative Religion; and it is to this task that he devotes a considerable portion of his teaching hours each week. 4. SAMUEL HENRY KELLOGG[6] (1839–1899). This industrious and well-informed writer published, in addition to other valuable books, two volumes which are concerned directly with Comparative Religion. The former places Buddhism in deliberate comparison with Christianity, and carries out its purpose with fulness and skill;[7] while the latter, though within very circumscribed limits, and not wholly impartial as regards its theological point of view, seeks to give the reader a survey of the field as a whole.[8] 5. SAMUEL IVES CURTISS[9] (1844–1904). Allusion has

[1] See *A Comparative History of Religions.* 2 vols. New York, 1871.

[2] Formerly Professor of Church History in the Union Theological Seminary, New York.

[3] See his *Theological Propædeutic.* New York, 1893.

[4] Sage Professor of the History and Philosophy of Religion, Cornell University.

[5] See, *e.g.*, his *Bases of Religious Belief, Historic and Ideal.* New York, 1897.

[6] For many years a Missionary in India, and for a time Professor in the Western Theological Seminary, Allegheny, Pa.

[7] *The Light of Asia and the Light of the World.* London, 1885.

[8] *A Handbook of Comparative Religion.* Philadelphia, 1899.

[9] Formerly Professor of Old Testament Literature and Interpretation, Chicago Theological Seminary.

already been made to the work which, in the Semitic branch of these studies, Professor Curtiss was so enthusiastically carrying forward at the time of his death.[1] He tells us that he found, "among people nominally Mohammedan, sacrificial customs and religious ideas which seem to have survived through all the changes which have occurred since biblical times, and to bear witness to the enduring character of the religious system common to all the Semitic races of antiquity." His recent book,[2] which has provoked very general and favourable comment, does not contain more than the barest sketch of the studies and discoveries—in Syria, Palestine, and the Sinaitic Peninsula—which this ardent explorer conducted during the last four years of his life; and it is sincerely to be hoped that the memoranda which he has left behind him may before long be edited by some competent hand. His method, so well illustrated in these researches, was emphatically the method which Comparative Religion everywhere commends and employs.

6. JOHN HENRY BARROWS[3] (1847–1902). No doubt Dr. Barrows will for many years be remembered, chiefly because of all that he cleverly planned and achieved, while seeking to ensure the wide and permanent usefulness of the Chicago Parliament of Religions. It is easy to fancy one still hears him speak, in his ornate and impressive way, as the eye rests upon words which he employs in the Preface to his story of that unique and historic Congress: "It is my inspiring duty to bring before my readers a most varied and stately procession of living scholars, reformers, missionaries, moral heroes, delvers in the mines of the soul, seekers after Truth, toilers for humanity."[4] But while it was agreed that there should be no publicly instituted comparison of the many Faiths which for seventeen days confronted each other upon the same platform, there was,

[1] See Appendix. Note V., pages 491–492.

[2] *Primitive Semitic Religion To-day.* Chicago, 1902.

[3] Formerly President of Oberlin College, Ohio.

[4] *The World's Parliament of Religions*, vol. i. p. viii. 2 vols. Chicago, 1893.

in point of fact, a ceaseless and conscious comparison going on in the mind of every interested listener; and the material for effecting this comparison afresh has been admirably preserved in the carefully edited *Proceedings* of the Parliament. It was, however, as stated Haskell Lecturer on Comparative Religion at the University of Chicago, as Barrows Lecturer on the Christian Religion in India and Japan,[1] as Lecturer on Comparative Religion at Oberlin College, and as Ely Lecturer at Union Seminary, N.Y.,[2] that Dr. Barrows had begun to make those popular presentations of the latest results of research—in a field new and fascinating, yet ever exacting and difficult—which were so unexpectedly terminated by his death. 7. FRANCIS ROBERT BEATTIE[3] (1848–). Whilst lecturing regularly and writing largely on topics pertaining to the Philosophy of Religion,[4] Professor Beattie has also taken occasion many times to discuss and elucidate the principles of Comparative Religion; and, in a work recently published, he has assigned to this department its legitimate and determinative place.[5] 8. CHARLES CUTHBERT HALL[6] (1852–). President Hall delivered in India, during the winter of 1902–03, the third course of Barrows' Lectures on the Christian Religion.[7] It is expected that these studies, which dealt with "Christian Belief interpreted by Christian Experience," will shortly be issued from the press. Although avowedly an advocate of the claims of the Christian Religion, Dr. Hall's sympathy and insight quite won the hearts of his hearers. As a

[1] See his *Christianity the World-Religion.* Chicago, 1897.

[2] See *The Christian Conquest of Asia.* New York, 1899.

[3] Professor of Apologetics and Systematic Theology in the Presbyterian Theological Seminary, Louisville, Kentucky.

[4] See, *e.g.*, his *Christianity and Modern Evolution.* Richmond, Va., 1903.

[5] *Apologetics, or the Rational Vindication of Christianity.* 3 vols. Richmond, Va., 1903–06. [Vol. i. deals with Fundamental Apologetics, including the Philosophy of Religion; vol. ii., after giving an outline survey of Comparative Religion, devotes itself to an exposition of Christian Apologetics; while vol. iii., under the title of Practical Apologetics, illustrates the application of Christian principles to the problems of modern life.]

[6] President of Union Theological Seminary, New York.

[7] Cp. Appendix. Explanatory Note 14, Chart IV., page 594.

Lecturer, he succeeded men who had made a very wide and favourable impression upon their eager Eastern auditors. Yet the *Indian Witness*, when reviewing Dr. Hall's undertaking, declared that "Nothing finer in the line of Apologetics, especially as regards the last three lectures of the present series, has ever been heard in India." It is not surprising, therefore, though the honour is one which is likely to be very rarely awarded, that Dr. Hall has been reappointed to fill this Lectureship. 9. GEORGE AARON BARTON[1] (1859-). Professor Barton has published a book which, while radical in some of its conclusions, presents a good illustration of the manner in which the comparative method may effectively be employed in the prosecution of critical inquiries in Religion.[2]

II. THE HISTORY OF RELIGION.—It is within this portion of the field that the distinctive activity of America, thus far, has undoubtedly revealed itself. Nevertheless it is not here —and still less is it within the realm of Comparative Religion —that the United States has made its most notable contribution to the literature of the Science of Religion. It will be shown in a moment that, as regards the more outstanding names, the names of scholars of international repute, the majority belong rather to the department of the Philosophy of Religion. This is not to be wondered at, when one recalls that the latter field naturally rallies to itself the older, maturer—and, accordingly, best known —thinkers of which any country can boast. At the same time, it is because the United States has not been lacking in investigators who have dealt honestly with the often tedious and intricate questions which belong to the field now under review, that so many have been enabled to treat effectively, and often even brilliantly, those more abstruse problems which belong to a realm that manifestly lies in advance of it.

[1] Associate Professor of Biblical Literature and Semitic Languages, Bryn Mawr College, Pa.

[2] *A Sketch of Semitic Origins, Social and Religious.* New York, 1902.

10. WILLIAM DWIGHT WHITNEY[1] (1827 – 1894). A student of Bopp and Weber (Berlin), and of Roth (Tübingen), an eminent Sanskritist, a member of many Learned Societies, and a tireless editor and author, Professor Whitney is everywhere remembered to-day as the ruthless critic of Max Müller.[2] But he performed also much constructive work, chiefly philological, for which he has earned the gratitude of many hundreds of students.[3] In connection with the study of the History of Religion, he wrote many acute and stimulating Essays.[4] 11. DAVID JAMES BURRELL[5] (1844–). Without pretending to furnish a scientific treatment of his theme, Dr. Burrell has written a little book which presents a series of rapid, vivid, popular sketches—thoughtful withal—which have served a useful purpose.[6] 12. CHARLES ROCKWELL LANMAN[7] (1850–). A busy author and editor, Dr. Lanman's studies have connected his name chiefly with the progress of Vedic researches; but Hinduism and Buddhism, likewise, have been subjected by him to close and critical examination.[8] 13. GEORGE FOOT MOORE[9] (1851–). Professor Moore not only possesses a very high conception of the importance of this study, but he demands a correspondingly high standard of attainment on the part of his students. At Andover Theological Seminary, but especially during the occupancy of his present post, he has worked with marked and unwearied success in the interest of a study to which

[1] Formerly Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology, Yale University.

[2] See *Max Müller and the Science of Language.* A Criticism. New York, 1892. Cp. Appendix. Note XIV., page 522.

[3] See, *e.g.*, *The Life and Growth of Language.* New York, 1875.

[4] See, *e.g.*, *Oriental and Linguistic Studies.* 2 vols. New York, 1873–75.

[5] Pastor of the Marble Collegiate Church (Dutch Reformed), New York.

[6] *The Religions of the World.* Philadelphia, 1888.

[7] Professor of Sanskrit, Harvard University.

[8] See *The Beginnings of Hindu Pantheism.* Cambridge, Mass., 1890.

[9] Professor of Biblical Literature and the History of Religions, Harvard University.

Harvard to-day is lending a strong and helpful impulse.[1] 14. DAVID GORDON LYON[2] (1852–). The Religion of the Babylonians and Assyrians is dealt with very thoroughly by Professor Lyon, whose work is magnificently aided and supplemented by the rare collections contained in Harvard's Semitic Museum.[3] 15. GEORGE WILLIAM KNOX[4] (1853–). The title of the Chair which Professor Knox occupies would suggest that the foremost place is allotted by it to the Philosophy of Religion, and this assumption seems to be well founded. At the same time, a "Survey of the Ethnic Faiths" is one of the special departments into which a very full course of study is judiciously subdivided. Dr. Knox received his present appointment too recently to permit of his having, as yet, written much concerning his chosen field of inquiry; but his experience as a Professor in Japan, and the eager and diligent investigations in which he is at present engaged, make his friends expectant and confident touching those contributions to the literature of the subject which he has already begun to publish.[5] 16. EDWARD WASHBURN HOPKINS[6] (1857–). For more than twenty years, Dr. Hopkins has been a close student of Indian Civilisation and Religions; and, as a consequence, several notable books have come to us from his pen. It will suffice if we mention but two of them.[7] He lectures also, occasionally, on Comparative Religion. 17. MORRIS JASTROW, JUN.,[8] (1861–). Besides editing the important Boston series of "Handbooks on the History

[1] Cp. Appendix. Explanatory Note 12, Chart IV., page 593.

[2] Hollis Professor of Divinity, Harvard University.

[3] Cp. page 397.

[4] Professor of the Philosophy and History of Religion in the Union Theological Seminary, New York.

[5] See, *e.g.*, *The Direct and Fundamental Proofs of the Christian Religion.* New York, 1903. See also his *Imperial Japan: The Country and its People.* New York, 1905.

[6] Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology, Yale University.

[7] *Religions of India.* Boston, 1895. *The Great Epic of India: Its Character and Origin.* New York, 1901.

[8] Professor of Semitic Languages, University of Pennsylvania.

of Religions," Dr. Jastrow has himself prepared one of the most useful volumes in this group. It is to-day the standard authority on the subject of which it treats.[1] 18. GEORGE STEPHEN GOODSPEED[2] (1860–). In addition to the instruction given directly through his University Chair, Dr. Goodspeed has long wielded the pen of a ready and engaging writer. He has lately published a capital exposition of a markedly difficult theme. It is a book that, occupying a prominent place among modern historical Manuals, is entitled to special mention here. The close relationship of Israel with Babylonia, and the profound influence which the latter exerted over the former, lead the author to institute a most helpful comparison between their respective histories and beliefs.[3]

III. THE PHILOSOPHY OF RELIGION.—Under this heading there might appear a long list of names, borne by men whose critical acumen and bold constructive skill have won for them fitting recognition and gratitude wherever the English language is spoken. But it is proposed, in accordance with the general aim of this Bibliography, to present only a condensed and summary statement. At the same time, the list will include, along with representative thinkers of the older Schools, a few of those younger investigators whose work is especially full of promise for the future. Indirectly, all of these inquirers have lent valuable aid in promoting, more or less fully, the interests of Comparative Religion.

19. SAMUEL HARRIS[4] (1814–1899). Perhaps we may be thought to begin at too early a date, when we place first on this honourable roll the name of Samuel Harris. But those

[1] *The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria.* Boston, 1898. [An entirely revised, illustrated, and much enlarged edition has been prepared in German, and will not be translated. *Die Religion Babyloniens and Assyriens.* 2 vols. Giessen, 1904–06.] See also *The Study of Religion.* New York, 1901.

[2] Professor of Comparative Religion and Ancient History, University of Chicago.

[3] *A History of the Babylonians and Assyrians.* New York, 1902.

[4] Formerly Professor of Systematic Theology, Yale University.

who entertain this misgiving can very easily have it removed.[1] The statement which several reviewers penned when the two volumes mentioned in the footnote were first published, viz., that he who took the pains to master thoroughly these two books would be saved the trouble of perusing a multitude of others, is in large measure true even yet. Hence the fact of their comparatively early appearance, a circumstance which at the outset might seem to be rather unpromising, adds only to the demonstration of their genuine and conspicuous merit. 20. GEORGE PARK FISHER[2] (1827–). Professor Fisher, who has devoted the labour of many years to the study and teaching of Church History, has naturally been led to portray with special exactness the career of Christianity. But he has also been compelled, in the course of his investigations, to deal with the problem of Christianity's origin, and likewise with the fact of its continual contact and enforced relationship with various other Faiths.[3] Thus he has gradually been led into a still wider field, in which he has conducted many researches with conspicuous success.[4] 21. CHARLES CARROLL EVERETT[5] (1829–1900). In addition to various publications which Dr. Everett himself prepared for the press, a little book of special interest in the present connection appeared shortly after his death.[6] Its title quite truthfully suggests that, according to this author, Religion is traceable ultimately to those psychological factors which enter into man's very constitution. 22. LYMAN ABBOTT[7]

[1] See *The Philosophic Basis of Theism.* New York, 1884. Also the companion and supplementary volume, *The Self-Revelation of God.* New York, 1887.

[2] Emeritus Professor of Ecclesiastical History, Yale University.

[3] See, *e.g.*, *The Supernatural Origin of Christianity.* New York, 1865. Or, *The Beginnings of Christianity.* New York, 1877.

[4] See *The Grounds of Theistic and Christian Belief.* New York, 1883. [New and revised ed., 1902.] Also, *Manual of Natural Theology.* New York, 1893.

[5] Formerly Bussey Professor of Theology, Harvard University.

[6] *The Psychological Elements of Religious Faith.* New York, 1902.

[7] Author and Editor.

(1835–). Dr. Abbott's career has been so varied—at the Bar, in the pulpit, on the platform, in the Editor's chair—yet everywhere so strenuous and transparently sincere, that it is not singular if his prolonged and acute thinking, stimulated (and in a measure controlled) by his theological studies, has led him to grapple resolutely with some of the profounder problems of Religion. A warm admirer has written of him—certainly not without grounds, yet perhaps in too sweeping a eulogy: "He is without question the most important religious leader in America at the present time. No other man reaches so many persons with scholarly thought, devout spirit, and spiritual insight as does Lyman Abbott, whose style with voice and pen are so simple, earnest, and inspiring as to be a uniform delight. What Emerson was in Philosophy, Lyman Abbott is in Religion." The fact is indisputable that the clearness of thought and terseness of phrase which are characteristic of the writer, add greatly to his influence as a teacher. His theological position, quite frankly and consistently maintained, is that of an advanced liberal.[1] 23. GEORGE TRUMBULL LADD[2] (1842–). By preference a student of Psychology, it is through that very gateway that Professor Ladd has been led into a clearer apprehension of the importance of a scientific study of man's spiritual beliefs and aspirations. Accordingly, he has thought and written much on the Philosophy of Religion, on which topic, moreover, he has delivered a special course of lectures in India. It is to him also that we are indebted for a translation of Lotze's Philosophy, a work which includes within it one volume that is devoted to this particular subject.[3] 24. WILLIAM JAMES[4] (1842–). Here we encounter a writer who has won for himself distinguished honour among those who have been selected to deliver one of the special courses of *Gifford*

[1] See his *Evolution of Christianity*. Boston, 1896. Also, *The Life and Literature of the Ancient Hebrews*. Boston, 1901.

[2] Professor of Philosophy, Yale University.

[3] *Lotze's Outlines of Philosophy*. 6 vols. Boston, 1887. Cp. page 458.

[4] Professor of Philosophy, Harvard University.

Lectures.[1] Ever vivacious and stimulating, a thorough believer in the application of the scientific method, and yet fully conscious of the frequent inadequacy of the profoundest philosophical inquiry, Professor James' work is warmly commended to the attention of students of Comparative Religion. 25. FRANCIS LANDEY PATTON[2] (1843–). Of rarely analytic insight, not in the least misled by plausible but specious argument, accustomed to go with swift directness to the heart of whatsoever matter may chance to be under discussion, President Patton never fails to prove a singularly successful leader in fields which, like that of the Philosophy of Religion, demand the possession (if possible) of just such qualifications. Unfortunately his conclusions have not yet been published in systematic form, although his Addresses and Review Articles have been simply legion; but he has lectured for so many years on the relations of Philosophy and Science to Religion, and on the Philosophy of Theism, that few are so capable as he to prepare a standard treatise covering this whole wide arena of debate. It is sincerely hoped that now, relieved of the burdens incident to his holding the Presidency of a great University, he may at last find time to devote himself to an undertaking which he would be certain to accomplish with distinction to himself, and with unspeakable advantage to others who are working along with him in a most exacting field of inquiry. 26. GRANVILLE STANLEY HALL[3] (1846–). Dr. Hall has been an enthusiastic student and teacher of Psychology for more than thirty years; and, placed at the head of a University which devotes itself almost exclusively to research, he has successfully impressed upon successive groups of post-graduates the importance of

[1] *The Varieties of Religious Experience.* London, 1902. Cp. page 570. Over ten thousand copies of this book were sold within one year from the date of publication.

[2] President of Princeton Theological Seminary, New Jersey. President Patton's Chair is devoted to giving instruction in the Philosophy of Religion.

[3] President of Clark University, Worcester, Mass.

gaining a closer and more reliable acquaintance with the Psychology of Religion. He has founded and edited *The American Journal of Psychology*, whose pages will never be consulted without profit by any advanced student of Religion.[1] 27. BORDEN PARKER BOWNE[2] (1847–). During an equal length of time, Professor Bowne has devoted his attention to the examination of questions which belong to the Philosophy of Religion. One of his earlier books has been very widely circulated;[3] but, in his *Deems Lectures* for 1902, he presents the Theistic argument in a revised and fuller form, and in a way which has won him many additional friends and disciples.[4] It is quite a treat, when perusing a work of this type, to find it to be so competently and pleasantly written; it is sure, therefore, to find entrance and a welcome in quarters from which, had it been a laboured and ponderous survey, it would have been practically excluded. 28. JOSIAH ROYCE[5] (1855–). Professor Royce is another of those instructors in Philosophy who happily contrive to make their discussions interesting. There is a perceptible flavour of originality about all his work. In his *Gifford Lectures* the genius of the subtle thinker, brought into view when he is dealing with some of the central questions of Philosophy, is very finely exhibited.[6] 29. GEORGE ALBERT COE[7] (1862–). Professor Coe is representative of a new group of investigators who are beginning to be much in evidence. These pioneers, while specially interested in the Psychology of Religion, are making notable contributions towards the Philosophy of Religion as a whole. Their inquiries have already attracted

[1] Cp. page 551. See also *The American Journal of Religious Psychology and Eduction*, which President Hall launched in 1904. Cp. page 479.

[2] Professor of Philosophy, Boston University.

[3] *The Philosophy of Theism.* New York, 1887.

[4] *Theism.* New York, 1903.

[5] Professor of the History of Philosophy, Harvard University.

[6] *The World and the Individual.* 2 vols. New York, 1900–01. Cp. page 571.

[7] Professor of Moral and Intellectual Philosophy, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.

wide attention, and have aroused no little expectation among studious observers everywhere.[1] 30. WILLIAM ADAMS BROWN[2] (1865–). A recently published volume has brought Professor Brown into clearer prominence among American scholars.[3] While professing merely to collect into a single view the testimony of others—beginning with St. Paul, and coming down the ages to the most recent verdict of Professor Harnack—touching the theme upon which he himself so effectively writes, he has very adroitly laid bare its pre-suppositions and implications. It is in this connection that his own constructive ability has revealed itself. The next book that may come from his pen will certainly not have to wait for those who will accord to it a prompt and hearty welcome.[4]

IV. HANDBOOKS.—As regards the *History of Religion*, an admirable American series of volumes has been begun under the editorial supervision of PROFESSOR JASTROW, JUN.[5] Professor Chantepie de la Saussaye of Leyden has contributed an account of "The Religion of the Ancient Teutons"; but the remaining six volumes—dealing with India, Babylonia and Assyria, Persia, Israel and Islam, together with an "Introduction to the History of Religions"—will be the work of expert native scholarship. One must

[1] See *The Spiritual Life: Studies in the Science of Religion.* New York, 1900. Also, *The Religion of a Mature Mind.* Chicago, 1902. Cp. page 288. See also Appendix. Note XXIV., pages 547 f.

[2] Professor of Systematic Theology in the Union Theological Seminary, New York.

[3] *The Essence of Christianity.* New York, 1903.

[4] AN APPENDED LIST.—[Cp. corresponding footnotes, pages 429 and 460.] 41. William A. Shedd, *Islam and the Oriental Churches: Their Historical Relations.* Philadelphia, 1904. 42. *The Encyclopædia of Missions.* 2 vols. New York, 1891. [N. and completely revised ed., in one vol., 1904.] 43. William De Witt Hyde, *From Epicurus to Christ.* New York, 1904. 44. Raymond St. James Perrin, *The Religion of Philosophy.* A comparison of the chief Philosophical and Religious Systems of the world. Written from a radical standpoint. New York, 1885. [N. and revised ed., entitled "The Evolution of Knowledge." New York, 1905.] 45. Ross Winans, *One Religion: Many Creeds.* Baltimore, 1870. [3rd ed., 1905.]

[5] *Handbooks on the History of Religions.* 7 vols. Boston, 1895– . [*In progress.*] Cp. page 199.

mention, also, the very able account of a single historical Faith which has been prepared for us by PROFESSOR A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON.[1] The appendices included in this volume, and which constitute fully half its bulk, contain the results of much careful and fruitful research.

It may be useful to specify, in addition, three undertakings which aim admittedly at reaching a much less exacting standard. Yet, while written for an entirely different group of readers, each has a distinct value of its own. The first of these projects — international in its appeal, non-American in authorship for the most part, but projected and completed under American auspices — consists of a series of Articles which, prepared by authoritative expounders of the chief World-Religions, were originally written for the pages of the *North American Review*. These sketches, which differ considerably in quality, have now been collected into a volume of some 300 pages. The book will abundantly repay the reader, because it possesses much real merit.[2] The second publication to which reference may be made was prepared under the editorial care of PROFESSOR EDMUND BUCKLEY.[3] As in the last-mentioned instance, many hands assisted in producing this portly volume. On its title-page we read that it contains "A Course of Lessons, historical and scientific, on the various Faiths of the World, prepared by a corps of specialists in Asia, Europe, and America." But in this case a very large proportion of the work was entrusted to local scholars; and they certainly, like their confrères, have discharged their responsibilities in a capable and painstaking manner.[4] Finally, there is now appearing a series of little books which, while written confessedly in the interest of world-wide Missions, is well fitted to serve a purpose much wider than that which its projectors modestly contemplated. These handy little

[1] *Zoroaster: The Prophet of Ancient Iran.* New York, 1899.
[2] *Great Religions of the World.* New York, 1901. Cp. page 478.
[3] Docent in Comparative Religion, University of Chicago.
[4] *Universal Religion.* Chicago, 1897.

volumes vary considerably in worth; but in the comparisons instituted between Christianity and the various other Faiths which they vividly and concisely describe, in their brief but well-selected bibliographies, and in sundry other features, they cannot fail to deepen greatly a popular and intelligent interest in the advancing study of Religions.[1]

Comparative Religion in the United States is not as yet represented by any adequate Handbook. Had PROFESSOR KELLOGG lived to return from India, it is probable that he would have undertaken to prepare a book of this sort, but on considerably broader lines than those which marked the little volume to which reference has already been made.[2] As regards the *Philosophy of Religion*, it will suffice to mention two outstanding works,—the one, a careful revision by PROFESSOR FISHER of a Handbook which he first issued twenty years ago;[3] the other, an equally careful revision by PROFESSOR BOWNE of his earlier "Philosophy of Theism."[4]

V. PERIODICALS.—No Review of the first rank, devoting its strength to an exposition of the Science of Religion, has thus far appeared in America. This fact is hardly surprising, seeing that any attempt to found such a Journal would probably have proved to be financially an unfortunate experiment. Such a step, hitherto, would manifestly have been premature. The time is now come, however, when it would seem that such action cannot much longer be postponed. In the meanwhile, a beginning at least has been made. An admirable publication, entitled THE NEW WORLD,[5] unfortunately too short-lived, made provision in

[1] *The United Study of Missions Series.* 4 vols. New York, 1901– . [*In progress.*]

[2] *A Handbook of Comparative Religion.* Philadelphia, 1899. Cp. pages 222 and 474.

[3] *The Grounds of Theistic and Christian Belief.* New York, 1883. [N. ed., 1902.]

[4] *Theism.* New York, 1903.

[5] Quarterly Review. Complete in 9 vols. Boston, 1892–1901. Editors, Dr. Charles C. Everett and others.

each number for the discussion of some central problem in Religion. Those who possess the few volumes which were printed, do not need to be advised to value them very highly. Another American Review of this type, and one which happily has had a more prosperous career, is THE OPEN COURT.[1] This Journal bears upon its title-page the statement that it is "devoted to the Science of Religion, the Religion of Science, and the Extension of the Religious Parliament Idea"; and it has from the outset maintained its ideal with an unflagging zeal. It is inclined to be radical in many of the positions which its contributors from time to time defend; but, as a thorough-going supporter of the doctrine that Religion must ever rest upon an intelligent faith, it is a genuine ally of all who love Truth, and one whose services ought ungrudgingly to be recognised and acknowledged. A complete set of the volumes of this Journal constitutes a veritable storehouse of facts, arguments, and suggestions; and the student of Comparative Religion would be exceedingly unwise who, if its acquisitions can conveniently be made accessible, should deprive himself of its help. Honourable mention must also be made of THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.[2] By far the oldest Magazine in the United States, the vigour and authority of this Review were never more conspicuous than to-day. All great questions which engage the public mind are carefully expounded in its pages; moreover, they are dealt with by selected leaders of scholarly opinion, representative of many nationalities, but animated alike by breadth and independence of view. A number of papers culled from one or two of its recent volumes, and related somewhat closely to Comparative Religion, have been issued in book-form, as has already been stated.[3] In contrast with *The North American Review* there stands THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF RELIGIOUS

[1] Monthly Review. 18 vols. Chicago, 1887– . [*In progress.*] Editor, Dr. Paul Carus.

[2] Monthly Review. 178 vols. New York, 1815– . [*In progress.*] Editor, Colonel George B. M. Harvey.

[3] Cp. page 476.

PSYCHOLOGY AND EDUCATION,[1] which has barely yet completed its first year of publication. Its prospectus described its chosen field as comprising "the psychology of conversion, religious pathology, inspiration and revelation, confession, faith, prayer, death, sin and degeneration, sacrifice and renunciation, worship, healing, . . . vows, oaths," etc. It is engaged in carefully collecting, collating, and publishing all information of a reliable character which it can obtain in reference to the topics just specified. Its central aim is to promote the study of all sorts of religious phenomena; and it means to seek out the required data with the same patient and systematic thoroughness which have made possible the advances that have lately been chronicled in the domain of the physical sciences. Every thoughtful observer must wish that Dr. Hall and his corps of able collaborators may reap abundant success as the reward of undertaking the admittedly difficult experiment which they have so courageously initiated. One should specify, perhaps, yet another Periodical, viz., BIBLIA,[2] "a Journal of oriental research in Archæology, Ethnology, Literature, Religion, and History." Those who have regularly employed it as an aid are those who most fully appreciate its merits.

N.B.—No reference has been made in this Bibliography to the various national standard ENCYCLOPEDIAS. In each case, of course, Religions are surveyed more or less completely,—alike singly, and in their relations to one another. Such assistance cannot wisely be ignored. By consulting these works, moreover, the reader will be enabled to amplify his knowledge of the Literature of each particular field in which he is interested, and thus oftentimes to carry forward his researches under the guidance of authorities who have risen to international pre-eminence in countries other than his own.

[1] Issued three times each year. 1 vol. Worcester, Mass., 1904– . [*In progress.*] Editor, Dr. G. Stanley Hall.

[2] Monthly Review. 17 vols. Meriden, Conn. 1888– . [*In progress.*]

Should it appear strange to any reader of this chapter that certain volumes with which he is acquainted—works of unquestionable value, and which have lent more or less direct help in promoting the interests of this new study—have nevertheless been passed by without mention, it can only be repeated that no attempt has been made to compile a *complete* Bibliography. Such an undertaking, within the limits of the present treatise, was plainly impracticable; and, besides, it was not necessary. The writer's aim has been a much more modest one, viz., to make a deliberate *selection* of books, which, culled from every available source, would be likely to prove the most useful to serious and ambitious students in an important field of inquiry.

APPENDICES

NOTES

NOTE I. (page 8)

The Literature of Comparative Religion

Some idea of the extent of the field now covered by the Science of Religion may be obtained from a survey of its Literature. More than thirty years ago, the late Professor Max Müller declared that already there was "no lack of materials"[1] with which the student of that Science might at once begin to occupy himself. The Professor then proceeded to make reference to the books, of varied character and worth, which even in that early day were available for this purpose; and it will be remembered that he succeeded in compiling a catalogue, the ample dimensions of which proved not a little surprising to the majority of those who were listening to his lectures.

But during the last twenty years—especially during the last ten years, and pre-eminently during the last five years—the Literature of the Science of Religion has grown at a truly appalling pace. It has advanced, without exaggeration, by leaps and bounds; and it threatens soon to exceed all measurable limits. Much that is being written on this subject is, it is true, ephemeral, and may be neglected without appreciable loss. No theme has attracted to itself so persistently the pen of the ardent amateur; and the late Professor Tiele more than once expressed anxiety lest these undisciplined efforts to lend help might contrive ultimately to injure the Science whose interests they aimed to serve. It is not yet forgotten how this distinguished Dutch scholar, in a paper read at the Parliament of Religions held in Chicago, deprecated the employment of "the brilliant talents of some writers," who bid fair to bring this new study "into fashion, and to cause it to fall a prey to dilettanti,—a state of things that is to be considered fatal to any Science, but especially to one that is still in its infancy."[2] At the same time, a con-

[1] *Introduction to the Science of Religion*, chap. ii.

[2] John H. Barrows, *The World's Parliament of Religions*, vol. i. p. 586. Cp. Note XXIX., pages 556–557.

siderable proportion of this Literature must be admitted to be of the very first importance. It is scholarly, discriminating, and suggestive. It has served the purpose, moreover, of distinctly widening the whole outlook of the Science of Religion; for it had led inquirers into domains of research—some of which fields are themselves, as yet, only in the initial stages of their history—which have not hitherto been supposed to be germane to this subject.[1]

The present treatise, however, confining itself exclusively to a survey of Comparative Religion, has a much more limited Literature to examine than if it had to deal with the immensely wider field of the Science of Religion. Within the narrower circle of its purview, the number of available authorities with which every student is bound to acquaint himself is amazingly small. In this respect Comparative Religion stands in striking contrast with the more preparatory department of the History of Religions on the one hand, and with the more advanced domain of the Philosophy of Religion on the other. The intense interest which is at present manifesting itself in connection with the study of the historical development of Religion is significant of the times: it is a token that is full of promise, and the impulse which has begotten it has even already proved fruitful in securing results of the very highest value. As regards the other dominant tendency to which reference has been made, very encouraging progress has been achieved in the way of specialised philosophical studies within recent years; but one detects unfortunately a disposition — unmistakably manifest in some quarters — to wander off into unauthorised theorising. Such aberrations, emphatically, are not entitled to be called Philosophy. No multiplication of books, though bulky in size and written by men of wide and varied learning, can redeem these alleged "Studies" from deserved disrepute. All such unworthy work, accordingly, must be closely watched; and, whenever the occasion demands it, it must be sternly exposed and persistently repressed. For apparently it has not yet often enough been repeated that the student who attempts to construct a Philosophy of Religion, without having first obtained *through actual comparison* a knowledge of the constituents which are common to all Religions, is in great danger of indulging in idle speculation; and speculation is the very antipodes of science.

Whilst, however, the number of existing books which deal directly with Comparative Religion is thoroughly disappointing,[2]

[1] Cp. Chapters VIII. and IX.

[2] Speaking generally, it may be said that, in the Catalogues of the great National Libraries of the world to-day, there has not been recorded as yet a single entry under this title! It is true indeed that, in nearly every instance, the books found in these immense Collections are indexed by Authors and not by Subjects; hence, of course, the caption "Comparative

—and, especially so, when one recalls the rapid increase of kindred historical and philosophical publications,—this Science has no reason to be ashamed of the quality of the volumes which are at last beginning to enrich its Literature. Authors working within this distinctly-defined domain are, unhappily, not very numerous; but almost without exception they are genuinely studious men, they are willing to carry on their investigations without recognition or reward, and they have shown themselves capable of rendering the Science of their choice devoted and fruitful service. Moreover, they have apparently begun to fire the imagination of onlookers in different parts of the world; and hence the advances which have actually been secured, and of which some account is now about to be chronicled, may be regarded as prophecies merely of still better results which must shortly be attained. It is to be remembered also that scores of books, belonging strictly to other branches of inquiry, are constantly making to Comparative Religion indirect contributions which are of exceeding value.[1]

A statement containing an annotated list of the publications which constitute the present Literature of Comparative Religion —using that designation here, perforce, in its wider signification [2] —will be found in Chapter XII.

NOTE II. (page 9)

Professor Menzies' Comments on Comparative Religion *versus* The History of Religions

The occupant of the Chair of Biblical Criticism in the University of St. Andrews, in his excellent Manual on the *History of Religion*, says on page 2: "The Science of religion . . . has already passed beyond its earliest stage, as a reference to its earlier and its later names will show. 'Comparative Religion' was the title given at first to the combined study of various religions. What had to be done was to compare these systems. The facts about them had to be collected,"—and so on, in a

Religion" need not be sought for. [A very notable exception must be mentioned, viz., G. K. Fortescue's *Subject Index of the Modern Works added to the Library of the British Museum in the Years 1881–1900* (3 vols., London, 1903); but this magnificent aid to research represents the completion of a very recent undertaking). Nevertheless, for the reason just explained, access to these Catalogues supplies to the beginner very little help; he must still depend mainly upon the wider knowledge of those who have made themselves acquainted with what has actually been published. It is in part to furnish such information that the present Manual has been written. Cp. page 402.

[1] Cp. Chapters VIII. and IX. [2] Cp. page 7.

series of sentences which describe admirably what Comparative Religion to-day is striving to do. He immediately adds, however: "But recent works on the religions of the world, regarded as a whole, have been called 'histories'"; and then he goes on to commend the fruitful industry of Professor Chantepie de la Saussaye and Professor Tiele.

This statement can hardly be accepted as an adequate representation of the facts of the case. It seems at least to imply that, now that the era of scientific "histories" has arrived, the need of Comparative Religion, as a separate department of investigation, has become a secondary matter. It is true that Professor Menzies makes the remark: "Work of this [comparative] kind is still abundantly necessary, . . . and will long occupy many workers"; but the impression conveyed to most readers will not fall short of being an opinion that Comparative Religion has already had its day.

To speak more accurately, those earlier volumes to which the Professor refers were not treatises on Comparative Religion at all, though no doubt they were sometimes put forward under that misleading claim: their authors were hardly in a position to fill so exacting a *rôle*. And as to the implication that the valuable "histories" of Religion, now rapidly coming from the press, may in a measure supersede the necessity for Comparative Religion, it is emphatically they which have made the demand for Comparative Religion a hundredfold stronger than ever. A comparison of things—be they Minerals or Religions—which are not first of all studied in their historical development, is no more than a pretence; and it is because students of Comparative Religion to-day utterly repudiate such folly, and insist that the sources shall be scrutinised in their historical relations, that they are no longer refused the status of accredited Scientists. It is clear that, logically, the study of the history of Beligions must *precede* the study of the comparison of Religions. Reverse this order, and immediately one's whole undertaking, no matter how patient and how elaborate, is robbed of all real value.

It would seem also that Professor Menzies has somewhat misinterpreted the call which, in the department of research in Religion, is emphatically the most clamant to-day. On page 3 of the volume already referred to, he says: "The use of the term 'history' indicates that the study has passed into a new phase, and that it now aims at something more than the accumulation of materials, and the pointing out of resemblances and analogies, namely, at arranging the materials at its command, so as to show them in an organic connection. This, it cannot be doubted, is the task which the Science of Religion is *now* called to attempt." That is to say, the phrase "Science of Religion" being here used to cover what other instructors mean by the Philosophy of Religion,

Dr. Menzies concludes that students henceforth should especially devote their energies to securing a solution of those problems which have emerged in *that* particular field of inquiry. Many, beyond all question, will feel constrained to think differently. Professor Tiele himself, one of the authorities directly appealed to, has voiced the current feeling more faithfully when he writes: "The time has long since passed when people fancied they could philosophise about religion without caring for its history. The relation between the philosophy and the history of religion was eloquently and cogently expounded some years ago, in this very city of Edinburgh, by Principal John Caird in the last of his Croall Lectures. . . . Of the absolute indispensability of historical studies, I need not remind you."[1] Nor is there need usually to remind Professor Menzies of this fact,—one upon which he has frequently laid due emphasis, but which, in the present instance, has surely been allowed to remain too much in the background.

The Science of Religion *began* with the study of history. It is *now* busy—and, for a long time to come, must continue to be busy—with the work of systematic comparison. Yet further, most teachers are firmly convinced that the present continuous publication of books dealing with the Philosophy of Religion is premature, and is therefore something to be regretted. The period for issuing such works is indeed drawing near; and a few writers, anticipating the times, have already supplied us with volumes of this sort which possess a first-rate value. But the study which (of all others) will most inform such authors, and impart to their investigations the quality of permanent importance, is that rapidly emerging Science which, as yet imperfectly understood and all too meagrely utilised, has very fitly been denominated "Comparative Religion."

NOTE III. (page 20)

Unidentified Factors in Religion

Sir Philip Magnus, in an address delivered at Oxford in 1903, had occasion to dwell upon some of the notable results which had recently accrued from the applications of Science to various lines of Industry. Referring to the continuous record of improvements that had crowned and stimulated this action, he remarked that "it was only during the last few decades that the search into the mysteries of nature had been rewarded by the discovery of *entirely new forces*, of agencies apparently unknown as regards their applicability to the methods of construction and the pro-

[1] *Elements of the Science of Religion*, vol. i. pp. 16 and 17.

cesses of manufacture. The marvellous growth of Industry during this period was directly due to the inventions which the progress of Science had rendered possible; and there was no reason to doubt that the future would reveal *new powers*, far more wonderful and unexpected than the past has yet disclosed."

No one who heard these words, and who recalled at the same time the equally surprising results which have followed upon the employment of scientific methods in the study and exposition of Religion, could doubt that they held true of a sphere far other than the one with which they were associated by the speaker. Take as a single example the investigations which are being conducted at present by the Society for Psychical Research. Some regard these efforts with indifference, while others view them with unconcealed derision; but the diligence and zeal of Sir Oliver Lodge and his confrères are not likely to be much disturbed by any such rash and mistaken estimates. Aerial telegraphy, only a few years ago, was deemed a mockery or even an audacious imposture; but the Marconigram of to-day is an additional contribution of Science to the great storehouse of indisputable *facts*.

The twentieth century has begun well, well indeed, as regards its activity in the world of material forces; but there are mental and religious factors in man, co-extensive with the race, which are as yet practically unknown. Emerson puts it suggestively when he writes: "Behold these outrunning laws, which our imperfect apprehension can see tend this way and that, but [which do] not come full circle. Behold these infinite relations, —so like, so unlike; many, yet one. . . . *He ought*. [Man] knows the sense of that grand word, though his analysis fails to render account of it. . . . The sentiment of virtue is a reverence and delight in the presence of certain divine laws. . . . These laws refuse to be adequately stated. They will not be written out on paper, or spoken by the tongue. They elude our persevering thought; yet we read them hourly in each other's faces, in each other's actions, in our own remorse."[1] Perhaps to the testimony of Emerson, just quoted, one may be permitted to add the suggestion of an honoured living ecclesiastic: "We can only know in part the laws and forces of the spiritual world; and it may be that every soul that is purified, and given up to God and to His work, releases (or awakens) energies of which we have no suspicion."[2] We must strive to understand better the worker of these physical miracles which are occurring daily around us; we must strive to understand better *man* himself. And if towards regions at present unfamiliar and seemingly remote we

[1] *Divinity School Address*. Delivered at Cambridge, Mass., July 15, 1838. [N. ed., London, 1903, pp, 27–29.]

[2] Bishop Paget, Oxford.

continue to press our way; if we are willing to go on patiently conducting researches, and recording and comparing our results,—the discoveries of the future vouchsafed to us in this field also, not less than in those more ordinary domains in which Science is ceaselessly busy, will doubtless prove to be "far more wonderful and unexpected than the past has yet disclosed."

NOTE IV. (page 21)

Lord Kelvin on the Idea of Creative Power

Early in the year 1903, at University College, London, Rev. Professor George Henslow delivered a lecture in connection with a special course entitled "Christian Apologetics." The address could not in any sense be called an "official" utterance of the University, seeing that it was given (in accordance with an express announcement) under the auspices of the students' local Christian Association; but inasmuch as the President of University College occupied the Chair, and a somewhat heated controversy broke out immediately in the newspapers touching some opinions which Lord Kelvin allowed himself to express, the occasion has become linked with an episode of more than ordinary importance. At the close of the lecture, Lord Kelvin was invited to propose a vote of thanks. In the course of discharging this task, the speaker stated that he wished to make "a personal explanation." While he felt himself to be in perfect sympathy with Professor Henslow in so far as the fundamentals of his lecture were concerned, he could not say that, with regard to the origin of life, Science "neither affirmed nor denied" creative power. [As a matter of fact, Professor Henslow, when using the words to which exception was taken, was merely quoting from a book which had been recently issued by the Rationalist Press Association; he was not giving utterance to a deliberate judgment of his own.] For, Lord Kelvin continued, Science does positively affirm creative power. Science compels us to accept, as an article of belief, the existence of that creating and directive power, in which and by which men live. Modern biologists are coming round, more and more, to the belief that there is a hidden irresolvable, vital principle. There is an *unknown* object which is put before us by Science; and, in thinking of that object, we must all be agnostics. We know God only through His works; but we are absolutely forced by Science to admit, and to believe with absolute confidence in, a directive power,—in an influence distinctly distinguishable from physical, dynamical, electrical forces. Cicero had denied that the universe could have come into existence by a fortuitous concourse of

atoms; but there is no middle ground, no resting place, between absolute scientific belief in creative power on the one hand, and the acceptance of the theory of a fortuitous concourse of atoms on the other. There is a mysterious spiritual influence abroad in the world; and Science itself is fully conscious of this force, although it cannot adequately explain it.[1] As already stated, a keen discussion was conducted for several weeks in the press,—largely stimulated by the following very interesting letter which Lord Kelvin addressed to the Editor of *The Times*:—

SIR,—

In your report of a few words which I said in proposing a vote of thanks to Professor Henslow for his lecture "On Present-Day Rationalism" yesterday evening, in University College, I find the following: "Was there anything so absurd as to believe that a number of atoms, by falling together of their own accord, could make a crystal, a sprig of moss, a microbe, a living animal?" I wish to delete "a crystal," though no doubt your report of what I said is correct. Exceedingly narrow limits of time prevented me from endeavouring to explain how different is the structure of a crystal from that of any portion, large or small, of an animal or plant, or the cellular formation of which the bodies of animals and plants are made; but I desired to point out that, while "fortuitous concourse of atoms" is not an inappropriate description of the formation of a crystal, it is utterly absurd in respect to the coming into existence, or the growth, or the continuation, of the molecular combinations presented in the bodies of living things. Here scientific thought is compelled to accept the idea of Creative Power. Forty years ago, I asked Liebig, walking somewhere in the country, if he believed that the grass and flowers which we saw around us grew by mere chemical forces. He answered, "No; no more than I could believe that a book of botany, describing them, could grow by mere chemical forces."

Every action of human free will is a miracle to physical and chemical and mathematical science.

Yours faithfully,

KELVIN.

15 Eaton Place, London, S.W., May 2.

When "a Prince of Science" speaks thus—one who is perhaps the foremost Scientist in Great Britain, and whose high authority in the realm of inquiry he represents is nowhere called in question—the significance of such utterances cannot easily be exaggerated.

[1] The foregoing statement has been condensed from the report which appeared in *The Times*, London, May 2, 1903. See also *Christian Apologetics*. London, 1903. This volume contains the complete series of Addresses to which Professor Henslow's lecture was an important contribution.

NOTE V. (page 77)

The Origins of Judaism

Whilst the diligent comparative studies of the last twenty years have firmly established the fact that many of the origins of Judaism can confidently be traced, entire agreement as to the sources, and as to their relative influence, has not yet been reached. The subject is a complex one, and demands the exercise of unlimited patience. The discoveries of scholarship thus far do not warrant the utterance of dogmatic statements, either affirmative or negative, touching a score of intricate problems which they have inevitably raised; but it is to meet and (if possible) to remove these difficulties that students of Comparative Religion are resolutely bending their energies to-day.

One or two specimens of the diversity of opinion that has prevailed touching the sources of Judaism will best serve to make clear how exceedingly puzzling is this quest. The late Sir William Jones, for example, declared it to be his conviction that "Moses drew his narrative, through Egyptian conduits, from the primeval fountains of Indian literature." This view, it scarcely needs to be stated, is now everywhere discarded. It was never endorsed by the verdict of competent opinion. Though Sir William was an excellent Sanskrit scholar, he allowed himself in this instance to be unduly influenced by his partiality for studies which, after all, were one-sided and limited. To take, however, the case of some well-known and influential teachers of our own times, Professor George Adam Smith of Glasgow affirms it to be his belief that the Religion of Israel began just as other Semitic Religions began, viz., in Polytheism; and that Monotheism, which has long been held to be an original and distinctive feature of Judaism, became a reality only during a later stage in Jewish history. Professor Hugo Winckler of Berlin has often told his students that not only the Book of Genesis, but almost every part of the Old Testament, reveals Babylonian influence. Professor George A. Barton of Bryn Mawr, Pa., in a recent learned work,[1] holds that Jehovah (Yahwe) was the God of the Kenites, a deity whom (under materially modified conceptions) Moses subsequently introduced amongst the Hebrews. At first this sounds very startling—not to say, perhaps, distasteful; but the author is able to cite considerable evidence on behalf of his opinion, some of it carrying the weight of the authority of Professor Budde of Marburg, Professor Stade of Giessen, and the late Professor Tiele of Leyden. Again, Professor Samuel Ives Curtiss of

[1] *A Sketch of Semitic Origins.* New York, 1902.

Chicago, in a book which has everywhere been welcomed by the thoughtful,[1] specifies in detail the grounds of his belief that the Hebrew Religion grew up gradually out of primitive Semitism. Dr. Curtiss is at pains to emphasise his conviction that this development was influenced, indeed, in various ways, by the direction of the Spirit of God; but he is equally emphatic in his contention that it was the law of a natural growth which contrived to mould and make it what it was. "The most spiritual conceptions of the Old and New Testaments have been gradually evolved from ancient Semitic conceptions, under the guiding and controlling power of God. God must be predicated in this evolution if we take into account the fact that, among no branch of the Semitic peoples (if we count out ancient Israel) have they been able to rise to spiritual conceptions of deity and worthy ideas of morality." In a suggestive article, published in a recent review,[2] this same eminent scholar declares that "we have Old Testament examples where the *form* of the narrative has [plainly] been borrowed from old Semitic ideas, although the *truth taught* has not been dominated by them." And, after making certain citations from Scripture, he goes on to remark: "Such is a class of passages which are not adequately explained by affirming that they are anthropomorphic; they are really more than that, for they betray conceptions of God *at a stage* when His omniscience and omnipresence were not apprehended in any such sense as other writers apprehended them." The article in question is worthy of careful perusal; and it will be found to contain abundant illustrative quotations from the Old Testament, all of which are brought forward to "show how certain institutions [observed religiously among the later Hebrews] go back to [purely] human conceptions of God."[3] Concerning such theories, however, enough has already been said. Did space permit, a great many kindred opinions might be cited,—and opinions which would be found to be endorsed by names of commanding weight, names no less familiar and representative than those which have already been specified.

In the meantime, a number of definite conclusions are gradually being reached.

Archæology, as will be made more clear subsequently,[4] has of late rendered simply invaluable assistance in helping to unravel this mystery. It has overturned, and completely buried with its spade, many a venerated tradition. Some quite unex-

[1] *Primitive Semitic Religion To-day.* Chicago, 1902.

[2] *The Biblical World*, p. 129. Chicago, February 1902.

[3] See Dr. Curtiss' posthumous Article on "The Origin of Sacrifice among the Semites" in *The Expositor*. London, December 1904. Also, Thomas G. Selby, *The God of the Patriarchs*. London, 1904.

[4] See pages 273–282.

pected results have been disclosed by it, and have also been firmly established. Through its aid the veracity of the Genesis-record has, at various points, been independently confirmed. A great deal is hoped for from the investigations of PROFESSOR HERMAN V. HILPRECHT of Philadelphia, whose recent "find" embraces the great library of the Temple of Bel at ancient Nippur. The University of Pennsylvania, under whose auspices these explorations have so energetically been carried forward, has secured through its four expeditions[1] a Babylonian library of nearly 30,000 Tablets. These ancient writings, together with over 20,000 Inscriptions which have also been acquired, date from a period long prior to the days of Abraham; and Dr. Hilprecht has reason to believe that, when he secures the Tablets which are buried beneath those he has already excavated, he will obtain important records which date from at least 7000 B.C. PROFESSOR LEWIS B. PATON of Hartford says: "As a result of these discoveries, the oldest human civilisation lives anew before our eyes. The history of ancient Babylonia from 4000–2280 B.C. is made as familiar as the history of Greece or Rome. A flood of light is also thrown upon the Bible; for we are shown the political and social conditions that prevailed throughout Western Asia in the age that *preceded the beginning* of the Hebrew nationality. We see the circumstances that made the migration of Abram a necessity, and understand why the civilisations of Canaan and of the ancient Hebrews were so leavened with Babylonian elements." From that centre, as a starting-point, the races of mankind scattered far and wide, carrying with them the stories of the Creation, the Garden, the Tree of Life, the Serpent, the Flood, etc. etc.[2]

ANTHROPOLOGY[3] also, within recent years, has compelled a revision of many beliefs which were once universally held. The antiquity of man, for example, has been carried back thousands of years. Moreover, the persistent varieties of human types are found to be traceable to the remotest historic ages. But, neglecting these items in the meantime, it can safely be said that, "in the recovered literary treasures of the East, we find that a noble conception of God prevailed ages before the date which until recently was assigned for the Creation of Adam."[4] Scholars are not yet agreed as to the exact contributions which Egypt made to the Religion of Israel; but, "graven in the hard syenite of the obelisk of Thothmes III., dating from a time long antecedent to the birth of Moses, we may yet read that Egyptian

[1] 1888–1889, 1889–90, 1893-1896, and 1898–1900. Cp. page 279.

[2] Cp. Morris Jastrow, *The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*. Boston, 1898,—especially its second ed., *in German*, Giessen, 1904–06.

[3] Cp. pages 257 f.

[4] See an Article in *The Evangelist*. New York, March 14, 1901.

King's petition for light and guidance, and in words that recall Solomon's prayer at his accession to the throne of Israel."[1] In like manner, "the Penitential Psalms, dug up beside the Euphrates, parallel the cry of David: 'Create in me a clean heart, O God'; while the gypsum slabs of Nineveh yield a version of the Genesis-story"[1] which shows a remarkable likeness to our own.

And he who keeps himself informed as to what ASSYRIOLOGY is teaching to-day, knows that its foremost representatives are practically a unit in maintaining that Babylonia was the quarry out of which no inconsiderable section of the Old Testament was originally extracted. Under the guiding hand of God, the Hebrew race no doubt monotheised and spiritualised the religious materials which they found already available; but the materials themselves, far from being new, were the familiar possessions of an earlier age. The novelty of the situation consisted in the altered meaning which was attached to old beliefs and venerated rites, rather than in the introduction of a creed and cultus that were entirely strange, altogether foreign in their origin, and abrupt and revolutionary in their consequences.

NOTE VI. (page 79)

BABEL UND BIBEL

PROFESSOR DELITZSCH, when delivering one of his recent and widely circulated *Lectures*, referred in the following terms to the measure of time and effort which students have long been devoting to the Old Testament: "Of these silent intellectual labours, the world has as yet taken but little notice. Yet this much is certain: when the sum-total and ultimate upshot of the new knowledge shall have burst the barriers of the scholar's study and entered the broad path of life—when it shall have entered our churches, schools, and homes—the life of humanity will be more profoundly stirred, and be made the recipient of more significant and enduring progress, than it has received hitherto from all the discoveries of modern physical and natural science put together. At any rate, the conviction has steadily and universally established itself, that the results of the Babylonian and Assyrian excavations are destined to inaugurate a new epoch, not only in our intellectual life, but especially in the criticism and comprehension of the Old Testament; and that, from now throughout all the future, the names of *Babel* and *Bibel* will remain inseparably linked together."

[1] See an Article in *The Evangelist*. New York, March 14, 1901.

NOTE VII. (page 81)

Hammurabi and Moses

Of immense value, not only because of the light it incidentally throws upon the advanced standard of Babylonian civilisation at a very early day, and also because it demonstrates that an elaborate and written legal document was not beyond the capacity of a people who lived in so remote a past, is the monumental pillar which was recently found at Susa.[1] This discovery, however, is perhaps especially noteworthy because of its possible relation to the history of the Hebrews. Hammurabi has been identified with "Amraphel, King of Shinar," who is referred to in Genesis xiv. 1. His dates have been placed approximately between 2297 and 2254 B.C.;[2] that is to say, he lived some eight hundred years before Moses. On that polished shaft, to study which many a special pilgrimage has lately been made to Paris, the likeness of King Hammurabi is depicted as he is in the act of receiving from the Sun God, "the Judge of heaven and earth," the laws which he was afterwards to publish broadcast throughout his dominions. Not only so; in the substance of the legislation in question, in the phrasing of many of its sentences, in the class of actions which are condemned, etc., there is a closeness of resemblance between the Babylonian Code and the later Hebrew Code which at first excites surprise, and then inevitably awakens the idea that the latter body of statutes was to some extent dependent upon the former. In the earlier Law Book we read: "If a man destroy another's eye, his own shall be destroyed. If a man dash out another's teeth, his own teeth shall be dashed out." In Deuteronomy xix. 21 we read: "Life shall go for life, eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, foot for foot"; and a score of similar comparisons have been instituted with a like result. Thus, at many points, the latter Code seems to be an echo—often faint, yet instantly suggestive—of the Code by which

[1] Once known as Persepolis, in Elam. It was the ancient capital of Persia.

[2] So Professor George S. Goodspeed thinks; see *A History of the Babylonians and Assyrians*, p. 109. New York, 1902. Mr. C. H. W. Johns, Cambridge, fixes this period of forty-three years between 2285 and 2242 B.C.; see *The Oldest Code of Laws in the World*. Edinburgh, 1903. See also his *Babylonian and Assyrian Laws, Contracts, and Letters* (Edinburgh, 1904), and his Article on "The Code of Hammurabi" in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, vol. v., pp. 584 f. See also William St. Chad Boscawen, *The First of Empires*, London, 1903; Robert F. Harper, *The Code of Hammurabi, King of Babylon about 2250 B.C.*, 2 vols., Chicago, 1904; Hugh Winckler, *Die Gesetze Hammurabis* ("The Laws of Hammurabi"), Leipzig, 1904; and two Articles in *The Interpreter* (pp. 52–65, 133–145), London, January and February 1905.

it was preceded. There exist, indeed, marked differences which separate these two great systems of legislation from each other. PROFESSOR SAYCE has very properly drawn attention to these dissimilarities, and has laid strong emphasis upon them.[1] He has shown, for example, that the provisions contained in the Mosaic Statutes seem intended for a people much more backward in civilisation than those evidently were for whom Hammurabi had to legislate. But to admit this conclusion, and to admit also that the Hammurabic Code deals exclusively with civil enactments, whereas the Hebrew Code is distinctively religious in its purpose, is perhaps merely an explanation why the two schemes do not resemble each other more closely than is actually the case. Their aim was different, and so they themselves differed; but herein we find no proof that they were entirely unrelated. We know, on the other hand, that the Babylonian Code was framed in that very region whence Abraham is represented to have come. It might also, quite easily, have been known to Moses: it was not only ancient in his day, but it was in actual force in countries within which (or contiguous to which) he lived for longer or shorter periods. There is nothing impossible, therefore, in the suggestion that the Mosaic Lawgiver may have made deliberate use of it; whereas a good deal can be said in support of the view which maintains that he unquestionably did use it.

NOTE VIII. (page 82)

AN INTERESTING IMPERIAL LETTER

The following communication was addressed by the Emperor William II. of Germany to Admiral Hollmann touching Professor Friedrich Delitzsch's Lectures on "Babel und Bibel," delivered before the Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft, Berlin.[2]

"*February* 15, 1903.

"MY DEAR HOLLMANN,—

"My telegram to you will have removed any doubts you may still have entertained regarding the concluding passage of the Lecture. That passage was quite clearly understood by the audience, and had therefore to remain as it was. I am very glad, however, that this part of the subject-matter of the second Lecture has again been resuscitated by your inquiry; and

[1] More especially in a Public Lecture on *The Laws of Babylonia*. Delivered at Oxford, October 21, 1903.

[2] Permission to use this translation, which appeared in *The Times*, London, on February 21, 1903, has kindly been granted by the Proprietors of that Journal.

I gladly take this opportunity to define my attitude once more, after having again read the passage through.

"At an evening party of ours, Professor Delitzsch had an opportunity of conversing with Her Majesty the Empress and with Superintendent Dryander for several hours, and of entering into details, while I maintained the passive attitude of listener. Professor Delitzsch, unfortunately, on this occasion abandoned the *rôle* of a mere historian and Assyriologist, and trenched upon the sphere of theological and religious conclusions and hypotheses which were very nebulous or daring. When he came to deal with the New Testament, however, it soon became clear that, with regard to the person of the Saviour, he held such extreme views that I not only could not follow him, but was bound to recognise a standpoint diametrically opposed to my own. He does not admit the Divinity of Christ; and therefore he alleges, carrying the argument back to its bearings upon the Old Testament, that that book does not contain any revelation referring to Christ as the Messiah. Here the Assyriologist and the man of research and writer of history ends; and the theologian, with all his bright and dark sides, begins. In this field I can only urgently advise him to advance step by step with very great caution, and in any case to ventilate his theses solely in theological writings and among his colleagues, but not to inflict them upon us laymen,—or, above all, upon the Oriental Society; that Society is not the tribunal to judge of such things. We excavate, and we read what we find, and we publish it for the benefit of science and history, but not as a contribution to the foundation or the championship of hypotheses regarding religion, as advanced by one among many scholars.

"As a matter of fact, the theologian in Delitzsch has run away with the historian, and the one capacity only serves to set off the other. I think it a pity that Delitzsch did not stick to his original programme as set forth by him last year. That programme was to institute comparisons on the basis of the discoveries made by our Society, and in accordance with scientifically warranted translations of the inscriptions, with a view to ascertaining how far these things illustrate the chronicles of the people of Israel,—that is to say, how far they throw light upon historical events, manners and customs, traditions, politics, legislation, etc. In other words, the idea was to investigate the problem how far the unquestionably mighty and highly developed civilisation of Babylon was reciprocally connected with the Israelites; how far it was capable of influencing them, and even of impressing its stamp upon them. And thus it might have been possible, so to speak, to vindicate their honour after a fashion—speaking from the purely human point of view; *i.e.*, to restore the reputation of the Babylonians, who are, doubtless, depicted

in a very crude, repulsive, and one-sided way in the Old Testament.

"That was Professor Delitzsch's original intention,—at least, as I understood it,—and it was a very comprehensive field, and one that interested us all. It was a field the exploration, illumination, and explanation of which are bound to interest us laymen, and to inspire us with the profoundest gratitude to Delitzsch. But he ought to have stuck to this. Unfortunately, in his ardent zeal, he overshot the mark. As might have been expected, the excavations have brought to light information which bears upon the religious domain of the Old Testament. The fact that it was so ought to have been duly chronicled by him, and he might have called attention to coincidences where they occurred and have explained them, while leaving his audience to draw all the purely religious conclusions for themselves. In that case, his Lecture would have commanded the entire interest and sympathies of the lay public. Unfortunately, he did not do this. He dealt with the question of revelation in a very polemical manner; and he more or less denied revelation,—in fact, he thought that he could trace revelation to purely human elements. That was a grave mistake; for in adopting this course he touched, in the case of many of his audience, their profoundest and most sacred convictions.

"I will not inquire whether he had, or had not, justification for what he said; that is for my present purpose quite immaterial, since the assembly was not composed of theologians, but of laity of all classes and of both sexes. What he did was to upset many a cherished conception, or even mental picture (*Gebilde*), with which these people link ideas that are sacred and dear to them; he indubitably shook, if he did not remove, the foundations of their belief. That is an achievement which only a mighty genius should venture to attempt, but for which the mere study of Assyriology is not enough to qualify any one. Goethe has dealt with this subject in a passage where he expressly points out that people, when they are dealing with a large and general public, ought to be careful not to demolish even 'pagodas of terminology.' The excellent Professor, in his zeal, rather forgot the principle that it is really very important to make a careful distinction between what is appropriate to the place, the public, etc., and what is not. As a theologian by profession, he can state, *in the form of theological treatises*, theses, hypotheses, and theories as well as convictions, which it would not be proper to advance in a popular lecture or book.

"Now I should like to revert once more to my *personal* standpoint with regard to the doctrine or theory of revelation, in the form in which I have repeatedly expounded it to you, my dear Hollmann, and to other gentlemen. I distinguish between

two different kinds of revelation,—one *continuous*, and to some extent historical; and one purely *religious*, a preparation for the appearance of the Messiah.

"1. With regard to the first kind of revelation, I have to say that there is to my mind not the slightest doubt that God constantly and continually reveals Himself in the human race,—which is His own, and which He has created. He has 'breathed His breath into man'—that is to say, He has given man a part of Himself, a soul. He follows with fatherly love and interest the development of the human race; in order to lead it, and advance it further, He 'reveals' Himself,—now in this, now in that, great sage, whether it be Priest or King, whether it be among Heathens, Jews, or Christians. Hammurabi was one of these; and so were Moses, Abraham, Homer, Charlemagne, Luther, Shakespeare, Goethe, Kant, the Emperor William the Great. These He has sought out; and of His grace He has judged them worthy to perform, in accordance with His will, glorious and imperishable achievements for their peoples, both in the spiritual and in the physical sphere. How many a time did my grandfather expressly and emphatically maintain that he was only an instrument in the hand of the Lord! The works of great spirits have been bestowed by God upon the peoples, in order that they may model their development upon them, and may continue to feel their way through the confused labyrinth and the unexplored pathways of their earthly lot. God has certainly 'revealed' Himself to divers persons in divers ways, corresponding to the position of a nation and the standard of civilisation it has attained; and He still does so in our day. For just as we are most overwhelmed by the grandeur and might of the glorious character of the creation when we contemplate it (and, as we contemplate, marvel at the greatness of God which it reveals), as surely may we recognise with gratitude and admiration, in everything really great and glorious which an individual or a nation does, the glory of the revelation of God. He thus acts directly upon us and among us.

"2. The second kind of revelation, the more strictly religious, is that which leads up to the appearance of our Lord. From Abraham onwards it is introduced slowly; but with prescient vision, infinite wisdom, and infinite knowledge, or else mankind would have been lost. And now begins that most marvellous operation, the revelation of God. The seed of Abraham, and the nation developed therefrom, regarded with iron consistency *the belief in one God* as their holiest possession. They were obliged to cherish and foster it. They were disintegrated during the captivity in Egypt; Moses welded together the separate fragments for the second time, and they have always persisted in their endeavour to preserve their 'monotheism.' It is the direct intervention of God which makes it possible for this people to emerge

once more. And so the process continues through the centuries until the Messiah, foretold and announced by prophets and psalmists, at last appears. This was the greatest revelation of God in the world. For He appeared in the Son HIMSELF: Christ is God, God in human form. He delivered us; He inspires us; He attracts us to follow Him; we feel His fire burn in us, His compassion strengthen us, His displeasure destroy us; though, at the same time, we feel that His intercession rescues us. Assured of victory, relying on His word alone, we endure labour, scorn, wretchedness, distress, and death; for we have in Him the revealed word of God, and God never lies.

"That is my view upon this question. For us Evangelicals, in particular, the Word has through Luther become our all; and, as a good theologian, Delitzsch ought not to forget that our great Luther has taught us to sing and to believe, 'the Word they must allow to stand!' It is to me self-evident that the Old Testament contains a number of passages which are of the nature of purely human history, and are not 'God's revealed word.' There are purely historical descriptions of events, of every kind, which are accomplished in the political, religious, moral, and spiritual life of the people of Israel. For example, the act of the giving of the Law on Mount Sinai can only symbolically be regarded as inspired by God, inasmuch as Moses was obliged to resort to the revival of laws—which perhaps had long been known, possibly they originated in the codex of Hammurabi—in order to draw and bind together the structure of his people, which in its composition was loose and hardly capable of offering any resistance to outside pressure. The historian may be able (by aid of the sense, or the words of the text) to establish at this point a connection with the laws of Hammurabi, the friend of Abraham. The link would perhaps be logically correct; but this would never invalidate the fact that God prompted Moses, and to this extent revealed Himself to the people of Israel.

"It is therefore my opinion that our good Professor had better in future avoid the introduction and treatment of the subject of religion, as such, in his Lectures to our Society. On the other hand, let him certainly give an account of anything that brings the religion, morality, etc., of the Babylonians into connection with the Old Testament. The conclusion which I draw from the whole matter is as follows:—

"(*a*) I believe in one God, Who is one in substance. (Ich glaube an einen, einigen Gott.)

"(*b*) In order to set God forth, we men require a form, especially for our children.

"(*c*) This form has hitherto been the Old Testament, as at present handed down to us. This form will certainly undergo considerable alteration under the influence of research and of inscrip-

tions. That does not matter; and another thing which does not matter is that much of the nimbus of the chosen people will disappear. The kernel and the contents will always remain the same,—God and His dealings.

"Religion was never a product of science: it is an effluence of the heart and being of man, arising from his relations with God.

"With cordial thanks and kindest regards,

"Always your faithful friend,

"WILLIAM I.R.

"*P.S.*—You may make the widest use of this letter. Whoever so desires may read it."

NOTE IX (page 125)

THE FELLOWSHIP OF HERETICS

The open accusation of heresy—nay, even the conviction that one is suspected of being tainted by it—can never be lightly regarded by any man. Even in the case of the most conscientious offender, a sense of unspeakable bewilderment and distress must for a time rise superior to a sense of satisfaction that the soul has been honest towards itself and loyal towards God. But among disinterested and intelligent observers, especially during recent times, the impression produced by such a charge is entirely different. The epithet "Heretic" no longer carries with it necessarily that imputation of reproach which used invariably to be associated with it. The change which has been wrought in popular sentiment touching this matter has become peculiarly marked during the last century. There is now a widespread disposition to "hear the other side" before concurring in any judgment which established authority may have been led to promulgate. The pendulum of opinion swung often at first, it must be admitted, through much too wide an arc,—for conclusions were sometimes reached which were demonstrably *ex parte* and extreme; but it oscillates more regularly, and within its own quite definite limits, to-day.

This result, however differently it may be viewed, was inevitable. Of the influences which have contributed to bring it about, there are four in particular which deserve mention. (1) The earlier method was plainly too drastic. During a period of despotic rule, alike in Church and State, it was not singular that the strong should oppress the weak. In those days, the heretic was punishable with death; and not only so, but the explicit injunctions of Scripture were cited in support of a procedure which was sometimes as vindictive as it was pitiless

and rash. From the purely ecclesiastical point of view, heresy was deemed to be "a sin of the deepest dye"; every heretic was "a peril to the peace of God"; and no such intruder could possibly be admitted to the Kingdom of Heaven. (2) The earlier method was plainly ineffective. It seemed a short and easy way of getting rid of a disturber, to send him to the stake or to prison; but the seat of the difficulty still remained untouched. Religion, after all, is a matter of conscience. External means of suppression may counsel silence on the part of the alleged offender, may encourage duplicity, may secure conformity, may even contrive to lead some to deny their faith; but he who is in real alliance with God will never be permanently moved by any of these things. On the other hand, the blood of the martyrs has ever proved to be the seed of the Church. (3) The spirit of later times has been increasingly tolerant of opinions in which avowedly it does not concur.[1] (4) The alleged "Heretic," in innumerable instances, has been able ultimately to demonstrate the truth of his contention. In other words, it now appears that Orthodoxy is the doxy of its own age merely,—or even the doxy of a single Sect, changing with each successive stage in its history. Instead of its possessing a definite, absolute, and abiding value, it is itself growing. With the natural expansion of knowledge, it also is becoming more fully enlightened. Hence honest men do not now dread a charge which may ultimately be shown to be groundless, and which carries practically no weight until it has been carefully examined and established. And even should the accusation prove to have been valid, the Church and the World, in the future as in the past, will often be gainers through the fact that a rebuke has unwittingly been incurred, viz., in exacter definitions of creed, in broader interpretations of Scripture, and in a more worthy regard for men who have the candour and courage to state and defend convictions which are likely to cost them dear.[2]

[1] Cp. pages 364–367.

[2] The immense debt which the Church owes to heresy, both directly and indirectly, has never been sufficiently recognised and acknowledged. Heresy brings disaster to those Churches only which are asleep: a living Church will courageously face error and unmask it. On the other hand, were not Luther and Calvin, were not Buddha and Christ, were not all the great religious Reformers of whom history speaks, the most conspicuous heretics of the respective periods in which each of them lived? It is almost a permissible exaggeration to affirm that, *without* the emergence of heresy, one cannot hope to witness any real advance in the authorised creed of the Church. No man dare lightly begin to unsettle the faith of others; but so long as conscience speaks, so long as honest conviction refuses to be made afraid, opinions which are at variance with generally accepted theological beliefs are certain to find utterance in every age. This result is inevitable, and therefore it should not evoke reproof or even surprise. The really important factor in the situation is the readiness or unreadiness of the Church to improve to the full the possibilities of a great opportunity; for

It was not to be expected that the precursors of Comparative Religion, in an age when liberality of thought—and especially liberality of theological thought—was conspicuously absent, would escape continuous secret censure and much open vigorous blame. Reference has already been made to the reception which was accorded to John the Baptist, the Forerunner of Christ, when he began to preach the doctrines of a new Gospel.[1] Many were indignant; others, who neither stormed nor scoffed, maintained a stolid and significant silence. But, by and by, the hope of this intruder's enemies was gratified; for John was arrested, imprisoned, and ultimately beheaded. And it was not the fault of numerous "men of ill-will" that many of the forerunners of the Science of Comparative Religion did not suffer a similar fate. Almost all those whose names have been mentioned in Chapter V.[2] —the Gnostics, Origen, Roger Bacon, Akbar, John Spencer, and the rest—were reputed to be heretics, and had their relation to orthodoxy openly challenged. Like all other pioneers, they had countless prejudices and obstacles to overcome; but certainly the experiences which some of them had to face were particularly trying. It was admittedly a period of experiment, and experiments necessarily involve many failures. Moreover, these courageous pathfinders were at a disadvantage when compared with John the Baptist, in that they had not been specially designated to discharge the task they undertook. They appeared to many to be not only most exasperating innovators, but self-elected disturbers of the peace. Accordingly, they were oftener called Radicals than Reformers; their proposals were generally met with a cold or mocking scorn; and they were continuously and openly charged with taking part in "Godless" speculations which boded dire penalties for all who either indulged in or permitted them.

These investigators, unfortunately for themselves, were ahead of their time. Their announcements seemed strange and even preposterous, when, for the most part, they were merely abrupt and premature. Their chief offence, after all, was that they forced the pace beyond the limits of endurance of an instinctive conservatism; and they had to pay, in consequence, the inevitable price. This mistake, unhappily, is of frequent occurrence still;

her ability to deal competently with such occasions when they arise would not only immensely increase the influence of the Church itself, but would accomplish tenfold more for the discovery and establishment of truth than the most subtle heresy could achieve in its tendency to undermine and subvert it.

[1] See page 120.

[2] See pages 123 f. It is of interest to remark that, in the case of Alexander Ross, when the second edition of his *Pansebeia* appeared in the year following his death, it contained an Appendix whose contents were described as follows: "The Revelation of certain notorious advances of Heresie, with seventeen Portraits of those who excelled the rest in rashness, impudence, and lying."

and, even to-day, it often proves to be a dangerous miscalculation. In Chapter VI. it will be shown that the reproach of heterodoxy was levelled not only at the Prophets and Pioneers of this Science, but equally at its Founders and Masters. All know that the late Professor Tiele did not escape censure; that, in a peculiarly effective and persistent form, this charge was directed against the late Professar Max Müller;[1] and that a similar wrong has had to be endured by many of the successors of these two intrepid leaders. Of course, the hurling of offensive epithets, no matter how successfully aimed, will never deter the serious student in this field from continuing to prosecute his researches; for it has been shown that, while naturally restricted in number by the severe conditions which hamper them, these scouts of a wide-spreading movement have not been confined within the boundaries of any special period, or limited to the representatives of any special nationality. They have been found at work both within the pale of the Church, and—as might have been anticipated, to a considerably larger extent—outside of it. But surely it would be a deplorable thing if Theology, alone among the Sciences, should persistently and deliberately handicap all such as are honest inquirers among her disciples,—damping their ardour through the dread of that silent stigma, or perhaps that open rebuke, which oftentimes has been her only reward for those who have served her faithfully! Undoubtedly the risk of raising the "Heresy" cry has led many of the ablest students of Theology to withdraw beyond her borders, and to carry on their studies in some contiguous field, where the results reached could count upon securing a more dispassionate verdict. De Gubernatis has felt himself constrained to pen the following sentences: "When we shall be able to bring into Semitic studies [and, it may here be added, into Comparative Religion studies] the same liberty of scientific criticism which is conceded to Ayran studies, we shall have a Semitic mythology. For the present, faith, and a natural sense of repugnance to abandon the beloved superstitions of our credulous childhood, and (more than all) a less honourable sentiment of terror for the opinion of the world, have restrained men of study from examining Jewish history and tradition with entire impartiality and severity of judgment."[2] This indictment and its implications will be hotly resented by many; nevertheless it contains truth enough to give the inquisitors pause, and to suggest that the time has now come when reverent investigations in Theology should be viewed in a broader and more confident and more charitable spirit. Ordinary progress in any study demands the

[1] Many will remember the storm of dissent which was aroused by the invitation that Dean Stanley addressed to the Professor, when requesting him to lecture in Westminster Abbey in 1873.

[2] *Zoological Mythology.* 2 vols. London, 1872. Cp. pp. 410–412.

recognition of the right of intellectual liberty, but the recognition of that right is perhaps most of all essential when one is striving to make advance in the study of Comparative Religion. And it is largely through the instrumentality of Comparative Religion that this greatly desiderated result is slowly being accomplished. Certainly Max Müller and Tiele became liberalised in their theology as their investigations proceeded; it could not possibly have been otherwise with scholars whose life-work consisted in tracing and estimating the beginnings, the achievements, the hopes, and the defects of the various great Religions of the world. In the end, however, Christianity was not deprived by their verdict of its previously alleged pre-eminence among the many systematised Faiths by which it was shown to be surrounded; but the origin and growth and aims and shortcomings of the non-Christian Religions were for the first time distinctly grasped, dispassionately weighed, and vividly and adequately described,—to the unspeakable advantage of all who might thereafter wish to examine and study them.[1]

NOTE X. (page 139)

Some Additional British "Pioneers"

Limits of available space require that these notes should be confined within the narrowest possible limits. At the same time, it is hoped that they may prove helpful, as a sort of general index, to such students as propose to enter upon a wider course of reading.

1. Edward Brerewood. This learned author, who was appointed Professor of Gresham College, London, in 1596, was a born antiquary. Always busying himself in the attempt to throw light upon vexed and intricate questions, he produced one little book which not only passed through several English editions, but was translated into Latin and French.[2] For its day, it was certainly a most promising compend. 2. John Selden. A master and voluminous writer in the domain of Law, Selden turned his attention by and by to the study of Theology. Here likewise he soon exhibited the skill of an Expert. Among the books he published, there was one which deserves special mention here.[3] In it he gives an account of the gods of the Syrians, and of their relation to the Jehovah of the Old Testament. Though distinctly in line with the investigations of Comparative Religion,

[1] Cp. pages 344–359.

[2] *Enquiries touching the diversity of Languages and Religions through the chief Parts of the World.* London, 1614.

[3] *De Diis Syriis Syntagmata Duo.* London, 1617.

and valuable because of the emphasis it lays upon the necessity of making direct appeal to history, this work contributed only very slightly to the advancement of our Science. 3. LORD HERBERT OF CHERBURY. Naturally fond of travel, and enjoying unusual opportunities of observation through his official connection with the State, Lord Herbert gave much thoughtful consideration to various fundamental questions of profound religious interest. Possibly he examined them with too much personal aloofness, and regarded them largely as merely literary and historical problems. Be that as it may, he contended stoutly, in one of his books, that there were certain primary elements or factors which were common to all Religions.[1] This contention led other thinkers to embark upon inquiries which might serve either to confirm or refute what was then held to be a somewhat radical thesis; but the author's own investigations were at best very partial, and certainly left much to be desired. 4. WILLIAM WOLLASTON. A philosophical writer, with a special fondness for theology, Wollaston printed a book whose genuine merits entitle it also to be mentioned in this Note.[2] A twentieth-century reader will not fail to see that it exhibits many of the defects which were inseparable from a strongly deistical atmosphere. The volume was issued privately two years before it was published; even when it appeared in 1724, Wollaston deemed it advisable to conceal the fact that he was its author. 5. THOMAS BROUGHTON. From this Cambridge divine and author we have received a work which rendered much useful service in its day.[3] 6. JOHN EVANS. We encounter here a voluminous writer, who, as the result of immense industry, succeeded in placing more than forty volumes to his credit. One of his books, in its original form a mere pamphlet, is of special interest in this connection. It passed through fifteen editions in England, and was reprinted at Boston in 1807.[4] 7. RICHARD TURNER. Dr. Turner was the author of many valuable text-books. Among others, he prepared a work giving an account of the origin and doctrines of the various heretical sects of the early Christian world. It merits fully the praise that is due to a careful compilation.[5] 8. SIR WILLIAM JONES. We have here a name which must by no means be omitted. While Judge on the bench of the High Court at Calcutta, as for many years previously, Sir William was an ardent orientalist. His conclusions were often too speculative, and hence they could be accepted only with a certain amount of

[1] *De Religione Gentilium, errorumque apud eos causis.* Amsterdam, 1663. [2nd ed., 1700. Translated, London, 1705.]

[2] *The Religion of Nature Delineated.* London, 1724.

[3] *Historical Dictionary of all Religions.* 2 folio vols. London, 1742.

[4] *Sketch of the Denominations of the Christian World.* London, 1795.

[5] *An Heretical History, collected from the original Authors.* London, 1778.

caution; but as founder of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and as a competent Sanskrit scholar, his numerous contributions towards the solution of various religious problems ensure that his memory will always be held in high and sincere regard. 9. CHARLES BUCK. A British Congregational Minister, Mr. Buck has given us a work which passed through many editions.[1] It is inclined, however, to be narrow in spirit, and somewhat sermonic in treatment. 10. WILLIAM HURD. This painstaking worker has supplied us with a book which, notwithstanding its pretentious title, contains a considerable amount of really admirable matter.[2] 11. JOHN BELLAMY. The work of this writer, although compacted within very circumscribed limits, is fairly entitled to the same appreciative estimate which has just been awarded to the author previously mentioned.[3] 12. WILLIAM JONES. The pastor of a Baptist Congregation, formed in London by residents who were for the most part Scotsmen, Mr. Jones showed himself to be in no wise averse to entering the arena of theological debate. He has given us a book which displays, often very conspicuously, both learning and acuteness.[4] 13. JOHN BELL. A representative of the Roman Catholic faith, this investigator produced two works which are eminently deserving of mention.[5] 14. JOSEPH NIGHTINGALE. During the course of a varied and controversial career —first as a Methodist local preacher, then as a Unitarian minister, and finally returning to his earlier allegiance—Nightingale's pen was seldom idle. His *Portraiture of Methodism*, published in 1807, naturally gave very great offence. One of his books, upon which he expended much labour but whence came scanty reward, is entitled to a place in this catalogue.[6] 15. SIR J. GARDNER WILKINSON. In this early traveller and explorer we have a

[1] *A Theological Dictionary*, containing Definitions of all Religious Terms; a comprehensive view of every article in the System of Divinity; and an impartial account of all the principal Denominations which have subsisted in the Religious World from the Birth of Christ to the Present Day. 2 vols. London, 1802. [Enlarged and improved, 2 vols. in one, Philadelphia, 1824. New eds., London, 1833 and 1841.]

[2] *A New Universal History of the Religious Rites, Ceremonies, and Customs of the Whole World.* Newcastle-on-Tyne, 1812. [An earlier version of this volume appeared the previous year; but the place of publication and the date are omitted, while the words "View of all" are used instead of "A New Universal History of" in the book's general title.]

[3] *The History of all Religions.* London, 1812. [2nd ed., 1813.]

[4] *A Dictionary of Religious Opinions*, or a concise account of the various Denominations into which the Profession of Christianity is divided, including a view of the ecclesiastical government and order of worship peculiar to each Sect. London, 1817. [New ed., 1821.]

[5] *New Pantheon, or Historical Dictionary of the Gods, Demi-Gods, Heroes, and Fabulous Personages of Antiquity.* 2 vols. London, 1790. *Wanderings of the Human Intellect; or, A Dictionary of the Various Sects.* Newcastle, 1817.

[6] *The Religions and Religious Ceremonies of all Nations.* London, 1821.

representative precursor of those indefatigable workers who have become the wizards of modern Archæology. Egypt was the field which Sir Gardner specially made his own, and it is not hard to imagine the intense interest he succeeded in creating in that land and its history by the publication of those volumes which are now inseparably linked with his name.[1] 16. Horace Hayman Wilson. Originally a Surgeon practising in India, Mr. Wilson became before long a distinguished Sanskrit scholar. Secretary for a time of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, he was appointed Boden Professor of Sanskrit at Oxford in 1833. He proved himself to be a diligent and painstaking author.[2] Although his contribution to the coming Science was less direct than that made by most of those who have already been mentioned, his sketches of the religious Sects of the Hindus (see Vol. I. of his *Works*), proved to be a revelation and an inspiration to a very large circle of readers.

The writings which have been enumerated in this Note—and the list might have been considerably extended—represent, of course, talents and results which are vastly unequal. They are a unit, however, in tending to show that, very early, a few at least accepted the doctrine of the universality of Religion, its sameness in essence everywhere, and the desirability of applying to it the methods of a more exact and intelligent study.

NOTE XI. (page 140)

Precursors of Comparative Religion in France

In addition to the two workers whose early investigations have been singled out for special commendation, there are several others whose names must not be overlooked. A very few words, however, must suffice in which to draw attention to the results, often very imperfect, which these Pioneers succeeded in accomplishing.

1. Pierre Jurieu. A bulky volume, bearing a very formidable title, was published by this scholar at the beginning of the eighteenth century.[3] In accordance with a practice which was not infrequent at that period, and which was suggested by the spectacle of dire pains and penalties being inflicted upon indiscreet authors, the book appeared anonymously. Starting with an account of theological beliefs prior to Moses and to the giving of the Law, the writer passes in review the various specifications

[1] *The Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians.* 3 vols. London, 1837. [2nd Series, 2 vols., 1841. New ed., revised, 3 vols., 1878. Revised and abridged, 2 vols., 1890. Cp. Chapter XII., page 424.]

[2] See his collected *Works.* 12 vols. London, 1862–77.

[3] *Histoire critique des dogmes et des cultes, bons et mauvais, qui ont été dans l'Église depuis Adam jusqu'à Jesus-Christ.* Amsterdam, 1704.

of that Law, and then deals with the numerous forms of idolatry which are mentioned in the Old Testament. The horizon of outlook is restricted, and deliberately limited, to matters which fall "dans l'Église." It will be seen, therefore, that the inquiry instituted by this investigator was exceedingly narrow in its range; the comparative method was indeed employed, but its use was meagre, and was rather suggested than practised; in a word, the whole performance, while elaborate, is not very satisfying. The volume marks, however, a significant beginning, and it is not a little engaging to observe the manner in which the author approaches and attempts to achieve his task. 2. BERNARD PICART. At the outset it was proposed to include this author among those whose works, more distinctly representative, have been dealt with in Chapter V.; for admittedly Picart—aided by his collaborator, M. Jean Frédéric Bernard—produced a series of volumes which will invariably awaken and reward the interest of all who carefully examine them.[1] The illustrations supplied are very numerous, and are often full-page (or even double-page) in size; it was this part of the undertaking that Picart personally executed, and it was for the interpretation of his drawings that he secured Bernard's most helpful co-operation. Yet ultimately there appeared to be sufficient reason for placing this work in the Appendix, rather than in the text, of the present treatise. If one take into account the early date at which so great an enterprise was begun, and the immense mass of material which plainly had to be accumulated and assorted before the task could be completed, the skill and diligence of M. Picart deserve the very highest praise. In many respects these weighty volumes will long prove valuable for reference, besides possessing great interest when viewed as a step in an important historical evolution. But the work is much too diffuse; in so far as the exposition of Religion is concerned, it exhibits often a manifest lack of the scientific instinct; and it limits itself too exclusively to the details of mere ceremonial. 3. ANOTHER LITERARY UNDERTAKING which we owe to M. Bernard—not as part-author indeed, in this case, but as publisher—is noteworthy, equally with its predecessor, because of its early appearance, and because it contains so many illustrations.[2] It is made up of two earlier works which are here printed together. The one was written by M. JEAN BAPTISTE

[1] *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses de tous les peuples du monde, représentées par des figures dessinées de la main de B. Picart, et autres, avec une explication historique, et quelques dissertations curieuses.* 9 folio vols. Amsterdam, 1723–43. [Translated in part, "The Ceremonies and Religious Customs of the Various Nations of the Known World." 6 folio vols. London, 1733–34.]

[2] *Superstitions anciennes et modernes: préjugés vulgaires qui ont induit les peuples à des usages et à des practiques contraires à la religion.* 2 folio vols. Amsterdam, 1733–36. [2nd ed., 1739–43.]

THIERS, and was entitled "Traité des superstitions qui regundent les Sacremens." It dealt also with ecclesiastical ceremonial. It appeared in Paris in 1679, and again (in an enlarged form) in 1697. The other section of Bernard's reprint consisted of "L'histoire critique des practiques superstitieuses qui ont seduit les peuples et embarrassé les savans." This treatise was the outcome of an inquiry conducted by PÈRE LE BRUN, who issued his book anonymously at Rouan in 1702; it re-appeared after his death, in a more complete form, at Paris in 1732. Of this dual publication, considered as a whole, it must be said that, while it contains a good deal of useful material, its contributions to our knowledge need always to be carefully sifted. Its spirit is not very critical. 4. CHARLES DE BROSSES. From the pen of this well-known writer we have received a book which, while it is very circumscribed in its outlook, deserves at the same time appreciative mention.[1] This volume is of special interest, inasmuch as it introduced the use of the term "Fetishism," and began the employment of it in its modern and definitely limited meaning. 5. HENRI GRÉGORIE. Though living in troublous times, accustomed to take a hand in current political agitations, and elevated before long to the post of "constitutional Bishop" of Blois, this vigorous worker found time to write several important books. Among these publications, there was at least one which should find a place in this list.[2] It is far from being faultless, for the age in which it appeared was not favourable to the framing of final and dispassionate judgments; but it supplied at least a useful stepping-stone toward the heights that lay above it. 6. JOSEPH DE MAISTRE. Of French extraction, but not of French birth,—for he was born in Savoy, and yielded faithful allegiance throughout his life to the King of Sardinia,—Count de Maistre remains one of the most distinguished writers in the entire history of French prose. His sympathy with French ideals also, in most respects at any rate, was sufficiently marked to permit of the inclusion of his name within the present group. It was while he was representing Sardinia as Envoy at St. Petersburg (1802–1817) that he prepared a volume which has long enjoyed an international reputation. Unfortunately, although it had almost been completed before the author's death, it never received his final revision. It was published, together with "Un traité sur les sacrifices," some seventeen years later, in Belgium. It is a book that will well repay every student of Religion, provided it be read with due discrimination.[3] 7. EDGAR QUINET. This learned and

[1] *Du culte des dieux fétiches.* Paris, 1760.

[2] *Histoire des sectes religieuses.* 2 vols. Paris, 1814. [N. ed., 6 vols., 1828–45.]

[3] *Les soirées de Saint-Petersbourg, ou entretiens sur le gouvernement temporel de la Providence.* Bruxelles, 1838.

brilliant and prolific author has given to the world a book which, because of its breadth of view and the sympathetic treatment of its subject, is entitled to a word of special commendation."[1] There is found in it, indeed, a certain pantheistic colouring; but there rings throughout it the notes of genuine charity and of transparent impartiality,—notes which greet us, during those early days, perhaps for the first time. In a series of vivacious and suggestive studies, one Religion after another is rapidly examined and interpreted; and the reader is soon persuaded that he is being conducted by a guide who not only knows his ground, but who thoroughly enjoys every moment of his chosen occupation. 8. J. P. Guillaume Pauthier. As an instance of the kind of work which was soon to be initiated elsewhere, and under more favourable conditions, mention should be made of the task which M. Pauthier completed by the middle of the nineteenth century.[2] This volume covered (*a*) Le Chou King, (*b*) Le Sse Chou, (*c*) Les lois de Manou, and (*d*) Le Koran de Mahomet; it provided also, in connection with each of the Sacred Books just named, not only a translation of the original text, but an ample Introduction and copious Notes. Six years later, aided by M. Pierre Gustave Brunet, a second volume was added, with contents as follows:—(*a*) Livres sacrés des Indiens, (*b*) Livres religieuses des Bouddhistes, (*c*) Livres religieuses des Parsis, (*d*) Livres religieuses des Chinois, and (*e*) Livres religieuses des divers peuples. This enlarged publication, now entitled "Les livres sacrés de toutes les religions sauf la Bible," has fulfilled for many readers the purposes of a useful and compact Manual, and it may still be consulted with advantage by those who are in search of a brief but competent survey of the chief non-Christian Religions.

As regards early epoch-making investigations within the domain of a *single* Religion, all will cheerfully acknowledge that French Pioneers have done substantial and inspiring work in connection with the study of Zoroastrianism. Only two of these Precursors will be mentioned here. 9. Abraham Hyacinthe Anquetil-Duperron. This noted orientalist and traveller gave European scholarship a splendid lead in a work whose history will always quicken a genuinely romantic interest.[3] We possess to-day many translations of the Avesta, several of which are superior to that of Anquetil-Duperron; yet with *this* early rendering of it into French, especially as it stands associated with an undertaking which was distinguished by indomitable energy and pluck, we would be extremely loath to part. 10. Eugène Burnouf. The bearer of an illustrious name, and an

[1] *Du génie des religions.* Paris, 1842.
[2] *Les livres sacrés de l'Orient.* Paris, 1852.
[3] *Zend-Avesta.* 3 vols. Paris, 1771.

investigator of acknowledged eminence as a Sanskrit scholar, M. Burnouf will always be specially remembered by students of Comparative Religion because of his attainments in Pali and Zend philology, and because of the light he has thrown upon some of the fundamental religious beliefs of the ancient Persians.[1] It was he, perhaps, who really inaugurated the serious philological study of the Avesta.

NOTE XII. (page 143)

Germany's General Attitude towards Comparative Religion

Condensed into the briefest possible statement—reduced even to the dimensions of but two words—Germany's attitude towards Comparative Religion has long been one of *studied aloofness*. The subject has not been overlooked, nor have the printed accounts of investigations which have been conducted in other countries been left unread, but German scholarship has intentionally abstained from taking any action in the matter.[2]

Reference has already been made to the magnificent service which Germany has rendered in connection with studies which are preparatory and supplementary to Comparative Religion.[3] This fact will receive additional emphasis when we come to deal with the topics selected for Chapters VI.[4] and VII.[5] The History of Religions, for example, while never enlisting for itself that concentration of energy which both Dutch and French savans have willingly devoted to it for many years, has claimed very considerable attention in Germany. Yet even this study has seldom been elevated to a place of more than secondary importance. It has not appealed successfully for that measure of recognition which would concede to it the establishment of separate University Chairs; it has been regarded too exclusively as a transitional subject,—as a convenient and easy stepping-stone to something else. If that "something else" had been Comparative Religion, the world would have had little reason to complain; on the contrary, that study would have gained—by means of the insight, thoroughness, and patience for which German scholarship has so justly become noted—an immense forward impulse. But the contemplated higher discipline has been something entirely different from Comparative Religion.

[1] See his *Zendavesta*. Paris, 1829–43. *Commentaire sur le Yaçna*. Paris, 1833. *Introduction à l'histoire du Bouddhisme Indien*. Paris, 1844.
[2] Cp. Appendix. Explanatory Note 68, Chart IV., page 602.
[3] See pages 140 f. [4] See pages 196–197. See also pages 448 f.
[5] Cp. Appendix. Note XIX., pages 537 f.

The German investigator collects most diligently the facts of the religious consciousness; but he is willing to face and accomplish this task, not that he may afterwards busy himself in making a scientific *comparison* of these facts, but that he may proceed (with the least possible delay) to introduce them into the foundations of a religious philosophy.

The explanation of this procedure can very easily be furnished: the national preference of German scholars has led them to conduct their investigations in those quarters which more strongly appeal to them. Nevertheless, such action is based upon a grave misapprehension. As has already more than once been pointed out,[1] no one is in a position to frame a competent Philosophy of Religion until he has made himself master of those results which have been gathered from the study of Comparative Religion. Yet in Germany to-day, while a student may hear—in every University, and during every semester—one or more Courses of Lectures on the Philosophy of Religion, there are only one or two Universities where a man can attend (and that only occasionally) a Course of Lectures on Comparative Religion! One's wonder at this fact is distinctly lessened upon reading the Lecture which Professor Harnack delivered in Berlin a short time ago,[2] but one's regret is in no wise diminished. Moreover, so long as Germany postpones the founding of separate Chairs for imparting instruction in the History of Religions, she will never do herself credit in any attempted Comparison of Religions. She may continue to declare that she resents the intrusion, within this domain, of men who manifestly can offer no claim to scholarly recognition; but she will never get rid of these intruders—when unfortunately they appear, here as elsewhere—by merely sneering at them. There is a much more excellent way, and it would also prove to be a much more effective way: the German Universities should open to these men, or to others more worthy than they, the gateways to a fuller and maturer knowledge. Certainly until this step has been taken—and as yet, on the testimony of the Germans themselves, there seems to be no sign of its coming—the outlook for Comparative Religion in that Empire cannot be said to be very promising.

The regret which these facts awaken is all the deeper, because theological scholars in Germany enjoy a greater freedom for research, and employ more unhesitatingly and impartially the historical method, than can be said with truth of their confrères in other countries. Candour is a virtue which is directly encouraged by all genuine scientific inquiry: it is especially worthy, and

[1] See pages 9–12. Also Appendix. Note II., pages 485 f.

[2] *Die Aufgabe der theologischen Facultäten, und die allgemeine Religionsgeschichte* ("The Task of the Theological Faculties and the General History of Religion"). Berlin, 1901.

desirable, within the domain of theology; and, in Germany, such candour is not only invited, but expected and applauded. It is permissible for the investigator to think aloud; and accordingly he often succeeds in this way in setting other minds to think also, besides securing for his own views due correction and proportion. It is true that some, for lack of knowledge—greedy of novelty, and despising instruction—unhappily go astray; but for the vast majority, that theological atmosphere is always the most wholesome which is most fully charged with the ozone of intellectual honesty. Besides, fearlessness and truthfulness must surely lie at the very root of all genuine religious progress.

There are many, therefore, who are hoping that before long Germany may turn over a new leaf, as regards her whole attitude towards Comparative Religion. The time seems opportune. Moreover, there is no country in the world which is equally well fitted to enter, and without delay, upon the task of imparting systematic instruction in this department. The accumulation of historical material, at a dozen central points, is already more than ample; but there is need of the skilled hand and the practised eye and a discriminating insight, if the contemplated task is to be discharged with that thoroughness and sympathy which it demands. A Professor of the University of Berlin recently remarked: "But Germans decline to lecture upon subjects which admittedly they cannot master; and none of us desire, therefore, to see a Chair of Comparative Religion established in this country." It might fairly be rejoined that, even in Germany, few occupants of Chairs in any of the Faculties know all that they might know about the subjects upon which they *do* lecture; and yet they carry on their work with results which are eminently satisfactory to the Ministry of Education and to practically all of their students. Suffice it to say here, that outside of Germany the objections which have often been advanced against the study of Comparative Religion have been met and successfully overcome. That this enterprise is confronted by serious obstacles, some of which are exceedingly stubborn, has been manifest from the outset. But in Holland, in France, in America and elsewhere, these difficulties have served only to increase the determination of specialists to surmount them; and in large part, even already, they have begun to disappear. Where, however, can one find the University equipment—in individual scholars, in the aggregate of a highly trained staff, in libraries, etc.—equal to that which Germany possesses to-day? It is true that, in several of its Universities, one or two of the Professors are occupying themselves with certain questions which the study of Comparative Religion has raised. These investigators, however, for the most part, are not members of the Theological Faculty; possibly they have never seriously studied theology; they merely feel that *some*

one should take account of the problem which the existence of various Religions involves, and should honestly seek to solve it. Yet each of the Universities to which these isolated workers belong possesses a group of teachers who devote themselves to giving instruction in philology, history, philosophy, geography, literature, diplomatics, etc.—many of them experts in their special department, and some of them scholars of international reputation. Why not make an energetic effort to combine these forces—organising them at first flexibly, but afterwards more systematically—with a view of promoting directly the interests of Comparative Religion? Sooner or later, portions of the work would be sure to be undertaken by men who, alike by preference and special training, had sought and secured Professorships in the Theological Faculty.[1] London University has practically decided to adopt this course,[2] and Oxford University may be counted upon to follow the same line at no very distant date. But to return to the case of Germany: it is certain that, in the meantime, the outlook of Comparative Religion in that country would be immensely advanced if the resources which it already possesses were effectively combined and utilised. Much might be done in this connection by a larger employment of the historical and comparative methods. Students might first be made acquainted with the local origins of Religion in its various distinctive types, in its chequered developments, in its subjection to outward governing conditions, etc.; and then they could be trained to discover and discriminate between fundamental agreements and differences. Already there exists a national scientific Review,[3]—an admirable organ through which considerable interchange of opinion is at present maintained, but whose influence and usefulness would at once be immeasurably enhanced by the adoption of the step which is here being advocated. Thus it would not be long before the reproach at present attaching to Germany—viz., that her investigators in this department are still largely dependent upon the scholars of other countries for their books and critical apparatus—would quickly be removed. It can afford no ground for pleasant reflections among citizens of the Fatherland, that meanwhile all the foremost publications dealing with Comparative Religion—found in considerable numbers in German book-stores, and occasionally cited in German classrooms—bear perforce foreign names upon their title-pages. The ablest Textbook, thus far, hails from Holland. The ablest Review has still to be imported from France. Even in the local "Theologischer Jahresbericht," an authority of admittedly high rank, the section which deals with this department of study has long been conducted by a non-

[1] Something has been done even already. Cp. pages 456, 460, etc.
[2] See pages 381–382.
[3] *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft.* Cp. Chapter XII., page 462.

German editor. And yet, quite possibly, Germany has been in possession of the key to the whole situation all the time, if only she had been willing to seek for it and use it! In any case it is certain that, if she would consent to throw her marvellous energy and persistency into this cause—a cause that is at once so urgent and so worthy—not only would she enrich greatly and stimulate the diligent labours of others, but she herself would reap invaluable benefits also.

NOTE XIII. (page 157)

The Period of Preparation, 100–1850 A.D.

If one seek to set down, in the form of a summary statement, the reflections which are suggested by a careful review of the Period in question—a Period within which, during all its successive centuries, a gradual preparation was being made for the advent of Comparative Religion—there are three impressions, in particular, which seem to be worthy of being recorded and remembered:—

1. The Inauguration of a new Science was not contemplated at the outset. — One of the most characteristic features of Comparative Religion has been its gradual and unfolding growth. Its whole historical career has been, in a marked degree, an evolution. It has reached that fuller stage of expansion which distinguishes it to-day, and of which abundant details will be given in the remainder of this treatise, as the result of a steady and orderly development. At the outset, there was no intention of inaugurating a new Science. The relevant facts which were known at that time were very few in number, and did not seem suggestive of any close inter-relationship; and, at that early day, no man dreamed that these fragmentary materials would so soon be prodigiously augmented. The aim of the first students in this field was simply to place certain similarities of belief side by side, to compare them carefully, and then to seek to determine their real agreements and differences.

An illustration may be used to make the situation more clear; for, in point of fact, Comparative Religion has gradually enlarged its borders very much after the manner in which the world's great political dominions have slowly but steadily expanded. Take, for example, (*a*) *The Roman Empire.* Beginning with a single city—equally without ambition to grasp, or possible hope of attaining, the immense power which it was one day permitted to wield—this insignificant centre grew by gradual accretion until its circumference embraced almost the whole known world. Thus, within a comparatively short period, the Mediterranean

became a Roman lake, and the imperial standards were to be seen everywhere along its sloping shores. Or take the case of (*b*) *The British Empire*. Compare it as it existed in the days of Queen Elizabeth with its vastly increased size to-day. Yet this world-wide domain has reached its present dimensions, not because any Dynasty or Cabinet determined to make so huge an area its own, but because little by little—at first scarcely noticed in Britain itself, and afterwards in spite of frequent reluctance and even occasional protest—one addition after another has been made to its steadily enlarging territories. Meanwhile, of course, the annual revenue that is necessary to defend these widely separated dominions has mounted up into the millions. Moreover, the possibility of domestic and foreign complications arising through the magnitude and diversity of these possessions has been immensely augmented. In a word, the responsibilities of the present situation have become so multiplied, and often so critical, that, could they have been foreseen, no sane man would have welcomed them; certainly no Empire would ever have been willing to work day and night, and century after century, to secure the honour of courageously meeting and discharging them. But, wholly independent of any definitely formulated plan, and quite apart from any attempt to realise the vision of some audacious dream, the whole gigantic structure has slowly grown to its present impressive proportions. Or a more recent illustration may be found in the steady expansion of (*c*) *The American Republic*. In extent of territory, at least, it must now be accounted an Empire. Starting with but thirteen States in 1776, it for a long time enlarged its borders very gradually; but to-day its flag flies over half of the North American Continent, and may be seen floating over various important Islands lying at a considerable distance from the mainland, both in the Atlantic and in the Pacific. Yet this expansion has been a growth that was not premeditated; it has been the result of a gradual advance, from stage to stage. Part of it, at any rate, would have been forcibly stopped, could it have been honourably declined. Some of the additions which have been made to the Union were secured by means of purchase,—as in the case of Louisiana (1803) and Alaska (1867); and it is commonly understood that the Danish West Indies will, by and by, be acquired in the same way. Other parts of the growing fabric have been secured by right of conquest, or by means of purchase and conquest combined. Florida was ceded to the Republic in 1820. Thus the original area of a few Federated States has steadily increased. Silently, like the universal Providence of God, or like the ceaseless movement of the heart "which keeps on beating even when its possessor is asleep," this great transformation has been gradually wrought,—a transformation of which Washington had no glimpse, but which for the twentieth century

has changed the whole look and outlook of the world, in all its complicated commercial and political interests.

And it was after the same manner, though in a smaller and less conspicuous domain, that Comparative Religion had its beginning. It also set out with no definite programme. It outlined to itself no comprehensive scheme of conquest. On the contrary, not troubling itself much concerning its future, it had at the outset no commanding goal in view. There have always been certain stations, not far above it, which it has been sedulously ambitious to reach; and upon the scaling of these lesser heights it has concentrated all its energies in the meantime. Its sole quest has been for *facts*, facts which it could press into useful service, facts therefore which it invariably greeted with a welcome, although some of them were unquestionably of relatively trivial importance; and it has been faithful to its vow that it would follow the guidance of these facts, whithersoever they might lead it. Its conquests, therefore, will not dissolve and disappear. Empires that have arisen and become great *have passed away*, because it has been overlooked that human authority cannot be permanently maintained when the demands of truth and right begin to be ignored. And existing Empires as well, though more imposing than any of their predecessors, must incur a similar fate if they fall into a similar mistake. In so far, however, as this new Science shall continue to build itself up upon a demonstrably historical basis, its foundations will never be endangered through the lapse of time, but will rather gain increased stability and permanence with every added year.

2. THE VERY GENIUS OF COMPARATIVE RELIGION NECESSITATED THAT IT SHOULD ADVANCE SLOWLY. — In the admirable volume which Dr. Thomas Smith has contributed to the World's Epoch-Makers series, he remarks that "the progress of mathematical science, as probably of all other sciences, has been partly slow and continuous, and partly rapid and brilliant; now by slow and quiet walking—the snail's pace, if you like—and now by a notable bound."[1] The statement is true, and is very easily verifiable; but its truth is pre-eminently illustrated in the history of Comparative Religion. The dividing line between the two orders of progress may be said to be found, approximately, at the beginning of the nineteenth century; but even beyond that separating mark the rate of advance in this Science has been regular rather than rapid. In the earlier period, however, in the one which is at present under consideration, the successive stages of development were undeniably slow. Of those who at first made response to the appeal that they should lend this new enterprise their assistance, many proved faithless, or at best followed afar off. Of course, some who gave heed to this call were

[1] *Euclid: His Life and System*, p. 89. Edinburgh, 1902.

mere curiosity hunters. They were attracted by the novelty of the thing, and so they remained friendly for a time. But they were not men in whom one could awaken any deep or permanent interest; thoughtlessly they had come, and as thoughtlessly they drifted away. Others, however, students of a more serious mould, were attracted also; and of these, various little groups became enthusiastic disciples of the new (but still embryonic) Science. Like John the Baptist, these Heralds had often to preach in a dreary wilderness; they too received their answer in a series of empty echoes; and they too had to feel well content if they succeeded in reaching and influencing at least a few. Upon the vast majority, the summons of these modern Prophets produced apparently no impression whatever,—or else it served only to awaken, and lend impulse to, a violent and unwavering opposition. Either the message and the messenger were alike forgotten, or else both were remembered in the spirit of the avenger.[1]

In the case of the *History of Religions*, the experience of its Pioneers has been different. After a long struggle against overwhelming odds, the advance made in that department within recent years has been conspicuously rapid. The work is in itself less exacting, and the conditions that surround it are no longer unfavourable; hence its literature is increasing at a constantly growing pace.[2] But when one undertakes to *compare* carefully the results which various historians have been collecting from every quarter, anything like rapid progress is entirely out of the question; and celerity of advance, in the very nature of the case, cannot be looked for. The investigator is here confronted with one of those instances in which the proverb, "The more haste, the less speed," is manifestly justified. What is needed is the judicial mind, the sympathetic temper, and an unwearied patience; and he who labours after this manner will never imagine that his work can be accomplished quickly. It would be well if such students of this Science as are over-eager and impulsive would lay to heart a remark which the late Professor Tiele was never tired of making,—a remark which applies in its fullest force to the domain of the Philosophy of Religion, but which has also its special pertinency in the present connection, viz.: "A search after a solution of these abstract fundamental questions would better be left to those *few*, who add a great weight of knowledge to philosophical talents. . . . It is not required of *every* student of the Science of Religion that he should be an Architect. Yet though his study be confined within the narrow limits of a [relatively] small section,—if he does not lose sight of the chief purpose, and if he applies the right method,—he too will contribute not unworthily to the great common undertaking."[3]

[1] Cp. Note IX., page 501. [2] Cp. Note I., page 483.
[3] *The World's Parliament of Religions*, vol. i. p. 589. Chicago, 1893.

Besides the genius of the study itself, there are numerous historical and other causes which have very seriously impeded the advance of Comparative Religion. The chief of these reasons, however, have been enumerated elsewhere.[1]

3. DEFECTIVE WORK IS BY NO MEANS NECESSARILY UNIMPORTANT WORK. — The impression must not be carried away that the results achieved by these Prophets and Pioneers were so imperfect and meagre, that, practically speaking, they were not worth what they cost. It ought never to be said, or even imagined, that, like certain other disciples, these men "toiled all the night, and have taken nothing."[2]

That these earliest gropings after a Science of Comparative Religion were often very rudimentary, and were invariably defective, cannot be denied. Even the very best work that was accomplished was inferior, when measured by the standards of to-day. Nevertheless these attempts, though unsuccessful, were far from being fruitless. "Astronomy and chemistry might have been elevated to their present high position by other and more satisfactory means; but, as a matter of actual fact, it was in astrology and alchemy respectively that they had their beginning."[3] And likewise the primitive failures that were made in the study of Comparative Religion, though very disappointing when considered in themselves, were nevertheless the means which have opened up to us the possibilities we enjoy in that immense field to-day. Mark also how prodigious an advance was made—alike in grasp and sympathy, in insight and courage, in resolution and perseverance—between that period when men were only commencing to feel their way along a narrow and dangerous path, and the time (to be reviewed in Chapter VI.) when scientific methods began to be universally recognised and adopted! At the outset, when the foundations of this Science were being prepared, little more was accomplished than a formal registration of facts, slowly and sparsely collected. No very enthusiastic interest was taken, or could be taken, in such purely routine proceedings. Yet all the drudgery of this unrewarded and exacting labour had to be carried on through successive generations. For the time being, it was *the* work to be done,—an indispensable service, something without which all else would have been practically valueless. By and by, however, things began to improve; and these brave Pioneers—but for whose persistency we of to-day would certainly be greatly the losers—were quick to take advantage of these altered and more favourable conditions. Thus it was that they succeeded in promoting still further the cause for which they had so long laboured, and in carrying it forward yet another stage towards its distant consummation.

[1] See pages 106–117. [2] Luke v. 5.
[3] Thomas Smith, *Euclid: His Life and System*, p. 31.

It was with the hope of making these facts more widely known, and of paying a fit tribute to some scholarly but too often forgotten men, that the retrospective study presented in Chapter V. was attempted. Immediately following upon the inauguration of Christianity, an illustrious band of Apostles and Fathers began reverently to uprear the structure of a notable Faith; and, in Chapter VI., reference will be made to the Founders and Masters of Comparative Religion—whether still living or already numbered with the dead—who were the earliest actual builders of that important new Science. But, *prior* to the Apostles' day, a large number of other men more or less consciously prepared the way for the coming of Christianity,—men who count, indeed, in the Christian movement, but of whom and of whose personal contribution to its advent we unfortunately possess all too little information. It has been a satisfaction, therefore, to place upon record the names and services of some of those less conspicuous workers, who, with untiring industry, prepared the way for the advent of a Science which has become of late so vigorous and so progressive. They were men whose task compelled them to toil beneath the surface; and so they were seldom seen, and little thought about, by their naturally indifferent contemporaries. Even in our own day, strange as it may be, they are far too little known and esteemed by those even who are directly indebted to them for their self-denying labours. Yet, emphatically, "they laboured not in vain."

NOTE XIV. (page 163)

Was Professor Max Müller the Founder of Comparative Religion?

A claim to possess the distinction of having founded the Science of Comparative Religion is one which Professor Max Müller himself never advanced. Yet, as this plea is still occasionally put forward[1]—quietly yet firmly, and more persistently and widely in connection with this particular leader than in any similar instance—the fact deserves to be noted, and honestly dealt with.

If the word "Founder" be employed in that broad and general sense which has already been defined in Chapter VI.,[2]—*i.e.* if it be not too rigidly interpreted, but be used to cover a whole corps of workers, each of whom may have pursued his investigations quite independently of the others,—then Professor Max Müller has certainly a right to a place in this distinguished group. That he was *one* of the founders of Comparative Religion

[1] Cp. page 151. [2] Cp. pages 164–165.

—nay, that he was one of its best known and most influential founders—cannot possibly be denied by anyone who is acquainted with the facts of the case. This new Scheme would have lost much, indeed, if it had not enjoyed the indefatigable assistance which the Oxford Professor so long and cheerfully lent to it; it would have lost more, beyond all question, than it could have suffered through any other misfortune that might have overtaken it.

At the same time, as Dr. Thomas Smith says of Euclid, so it may quite truthfully be repeated of Max Müller: "We claim not for him that he knew [so very] much, but that he handed down to his successors the means of knowing vastly more than he ever knew. He was not the giant to see afar; rather he was the block on which others stood, so that the sphere of their view might be extended far beyond his own."[1] This estimate, no doubt, honourable though it is, would not have been satisfactory to Professor Max Müller; for he distinctly addressed himself to a consideration of some at least of the great problems with which Comparative Religion has to deal. Regretting that others had not anticipated him in seeking to perform this service, he wrote: "It becomes, therefore, the duty of those who have devoted their life to the study of the principal religions of the world, in their original documents, . . . to take possession of this new territory in the name of true Science."[2] The tentative labours which he accordingly undertook were, beyond question, enthusiastically and courageously faced. Nevertheless, one is shut up to the conclusion that Professor Max Müller did infinitely more for this new discipline as one of its Prophets and Pioneers than he was ever privileged to do for it as one of its Founders and Masters.

Whenever, therefore, it is seriously asserted that the late Oxford Professor was *the* Founder of the Science of Comparative Religion, as though the world owed its present possession of this field to *his* unique insight and industry, the claim must resolutely be resisted: the sketch already given of the preparation for the advent of this new Science, especially during the period lying between 1800 and 1850, effectually disposes of this singular hallucination.[3] On the other hand, one must pause before going so far in the way of counter-assertion as did the late Professor Whitney of Yale University: his too disparaging estimate of Professor Max Müller's abilities and services can be accounted for by reasons which lie wholly outside of his argument. The severity of his indictment overreached itself, and accordingly overshot its

[1] *Euclid: His Life and System*, p. 89.

[2] *Introduction to the Science of Religion.* London, 1873. [N. ed., 1882, p. 35.]

[3] Cp. pages 132 f.

mark.[1] The late Professor Tiele better voiced the prevailing concensus of opinion, when—in his quiet and courteous way, in a paper which was read at the Chicago Parliament of Religions[2]—he very plainly dissented from assigning to Professor Max Müller honours to which he was not fairly entitled, honours which he had himself expressly disclaimed, and honours which (awarded more than once also to the Leyden Professor) Dr. Tiele had openly disavowed likewise. In a later utterance, he cheerfully concedes that his Oxford contemporary had "powerfully contributed" towards the uprearing of a new and important Science; but he takes occasion to add that the work actually accomplished by him was, of necessity, elementary in its character. "As the foundation of the new Science had only just been laid, he [Max Müller] could but submit the plan of the building to his readers and hearers. . . . [His "Introduction to the Science of Religion"] dealt with the preliminaries rather than with the results of the Science, and was an apology for it more than an initiation of it."[3]

NOTE XV. (page 176)

The Max Müller Memorial Fund

Two permanent Memorials of this distinguished scholar have already been established at Oxford, and both of them are likely to preserve his memory undimmed through successive generations.

The one, a richly decorated Celtic Cross cut out of white granite, stands in Holywell Cemetery. It has been upreared by those who, learning to know this tireless worker in the genial relations of his own domestic circle, knew him most intimately and loved him best. Surrounding the grave, and marking out its boundaries, there have been laid three granite cope-stones. On the dressed surface of the shorter of these stones, running parallel to the inscribed base of the Memorial Shaft, there appear three simple words, "Wie Gott will." Many pilgrims seek out this tomb each year, and pause for a moment to read its brief record of Name and Work and Faith, in reverent tribute to one who was both their teacher and their friend.

The other proof that Max Müller will always be remembered and honoured, alike in the city and land which he chose to make his home, is found in a gift which a few of his admirers have

[1] Cp. page 468.

[2] Barrows, *The World's Parliament of Religions*, vol. i. p. 586. Chicago, 1893.

[3] *Elements of the Science of Religion*, vol. i. p. 2. Edinburgh, 1897–99.

united in presenting to the University. In the interest of those who may desire to know the conditions upon which the benefits of this Fund have now become available, the following paragraphs are quoted from an official publication:—

"Whereas a sum of about £2400[1] has been raised by subscription, and it is the wish of the subscribers that it shall be applied to the creation of a Fund to be held by the University in trust, for the promotion of learning and research in all matters relating to the history and archæology, the languages, the literatures, and the religions of ancient India, the Univerity decrees,—

"That the said sum of £2400 be accepted, and the thanks of the University be given to the subscribers.

"That the said sum be applied to the creation of a Fund to be administered under the following regulations:—

"1. The Fund shall be called the 'Max Müller Memorial Fund.'

"2. The income of the Fund shall be applied to the promotion of learning and research in all matters relating to the history and archæology, the languages, the literatures, and the religions of ancient India.

"3. The administration of the income of the Fund shall be entrusted to seven persons, who shall be the Vice-Chancellor, the Boden Professor of Sanskrit, the Laudian Professor of Arabic, the Warden of All Souls' College, one person to be nominated by the Board of the Faculty of Arts (Oriental Languages), and two persons to be chosen by co-option to serve for five years.

"4. All the powers of the administrators of the Fund may be exercised by a majority of those present and voting at a meeting duly summoned, provided that four of the administrators at least be present.

"5. The accounts of the Fund shall be audited and published in each year with the other University accounts.

"6. These regulations shall be subject to alteration from time to time by Convocation, provided that the object of the Fund as defined in regulation 2 is adhered to."[2]

Through the foresight and generosity of these unnamed Benefactors,[3] Oxford University has now been brought more fully into touch with modern research elsewhere in the wide domain of Religion; and its students in future will pursue their investigations, in one branch at least of this Science, under considerably improved conditions.

[1] Increased shortly afterwards by the addition of another £100.

[2] *Oxford University Gazette.* December 8, 1903.

[3] The subscribers included King Edward, the Emperor of Germany, the King of Sweden and Norway, the Crown Prince of Siam, and a large number of Indian Princes.

NOTE XVI. (page 217)

Some Important Implications of the Revelation Theory

The Revelation theory, if true, would certainly possess the merit of presenting a delightfully simple explanation of the origin of Religion. In its extreme form—for it varies greatly in its different modes of statement—it involves (in addition to others) the following consequences:—

1. The existence to-day of but one Religion.—What that single Religion is will depend, of course, entirely upon the particular witness whom we may chance to summon. A Hindoo, a Jew, or a Mohammedan will instantly declare, and with manifest conscientiousness, that *his* Faith is undoubtedly the "one" Faith, and that the divine Revelation upon which it rests constitutes its strong and unanswerable vindication. Each will say, and with equal sincerity, that the claims put forth in the name of other Religions—which likewise have their temples, their altars, their priesthood, etc.—cannot possibly be sustained; for these alien Faiths, whether they be only a little better than the crude gropings of Fetishism, or whether they express themselves in the lofty speculations of philosophical genius, are merely the outcome of human inventiveness, and hence are utterly vain. The champions of yet other ancient religious systems stand ready to bear similar testimony. It surprises no one, therefore, that representatives of the Christian Faith, alike Roman Catholics and Protestants, speak after quite the same manner; or that they aver that there is only *one* Religion to-day, and that that Religion is Christianity. All other "so-called" Religions are regarded as being merely shadows of the real. Even the Jews, through whom our Christianity has come down to us, are held to be practically indistinguishable from other unbelievers; they too need to be soundly converted. Accordingly, we are assured by a distinguished Episcopalian, speaking in the commercial capital of the New World: "There is only one true religion. In others there may be truth; but if so, it is the truths they contain from God's external revelation (and not the religions themselves), that make them helpful. . . . If we be true men, there will be no compromise,—no surrender of a claim which presents Christ as without an equal, and Christianity as without a rival. The moment that position is abandoned, our battle with paganism (ancient or modern) is lost."[1] Or hear a noted Congregationalist, speaking from one of the most conspicuous pulpits in the Old World: "'Not worthy to be compared,'—that is what I say when an attempt is made to put Christianity amongst the com-

[1] Dr. Morgan Dix. Trinity Parish Church, New York.

parative religions. I hold Christianity to be a distinct revelation. Mohammedanism, Confucianism, Buddhism, and the like are religions that stand within the same sphere, and may be regarded (in this respect or that) as good or better or best. But when Christianity is the subject talked of, there can be, in my opinion, no useful attempt made at comparison. One rushlight may be compared with another, but no rushlight can be compared with the Sun."[1] What could be more simple! All Religions are divided into two groups, viz., the true and the false; and to the first category Christianity alone is admitted.

An effective answer to this pretentious claim can very easily be given. In all known Religions there is truth, whatever may be its measure; hence no Faith has any warrant to proclaim that it enjoys the exclusive possession of that commodity.[2] Moreover, all "revealed" Religion presupposes, and rests upon, Natural Religion; therefore the distinction currently drawn between these two modes of enlightenment, a distinction which is rather conventional than real, must never be taken to represent the operation of methods which are mutually antagonistic and even contradictory.[3] Yet further, it can be shown that the "false" or the "unknown" God of some non-Christian people is in truth often identical with that Supreme God, "revealed in Jesus Christ," whom Christians more intelligently worship. In a word, it is ever the *same* Divine voice that speaks in every human heart;[4] and all that any Religion achieves is to give man directions as to how he may best obey this silent but imperative summons. An eminent Scottish theologian has described the situation very compactly in the following forceful words: "The higher religions . . . did not *originate* the belief in high gods with power over nature, nor the belief in the lesser spirits which busy themselves with man's affairs. They did not *originate* the belief in a life after death, nor was it left to them to appoint sacred seasons in the year, or to consecrate the spots to which worship has always clung. All these beliefs are prehistoric; and what remained for the great religions was, not to bring them forward for the first time, but to surround them with a new kind of authority, and to establish (as a matter of positive ordinance or revelation) what had formerly grown up without any ordinance, by the unconscious work of custom. It was not left for any of the great founders to plant religion in the world as a new thing, but only to add to the old religion new forms and new sanctions."[5]

[1] The late Dr. Joseph Parker. The City Temple, London.

[2] Cp. page 538.

[3] Cp. page 539.

[4] Cp. pages 239–240 and 335–340.

[5] Allan Menzies, *History of Religion*. London, 1895. [N. ed., 1901, pp. 61, 62.] Consult Alfred E. Garvie, Article on "Revelation," Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, vol. v. Edinburgh, 1904. Cp. also Professor Davidson's opinion, quoted on page 530.

2. The existence to-day of but one Bible.—As before, this statement is equivalent (in the judgment at least of many) to a declaration that the Christian Scriptures alone deserve to be perused by the enlightened worshipper. But who first promulgated this view, and gave to it first the weight of official authority? Was it not men who, in many cases, had never seen—and frequently had never even heard of—those other numerous Scriptures which to-day are so easily accessible to all who desire to study them? In Christian communities where the Sacred Books of the East were already known, it was uniformly declared that they were quite unworthy of consideration. So far, at any rate, as their alleged Divine content was concerned, it was added that, if they were later in date than the Sacred Books of the Christians, they were probably based upon the latter; whereas, if they were earlier than the Christian Sacred Books, and accordingly forestalled some of the teaching which the Jewish Scriptures contained, the writers of them must have had access to important early information, conveyed through some Divine revelation which thus far scholars have not been able to trace. In a word, this attitude of mind recalls nothing more vividly than the order issued by the Caliph Omar for the destruction of the priceless Alexandrian Library: "The contents of these books are either in accord with the teaching of the Koran, or they are opposed to it. If in accord, then they are useless, since the Koran itself is sufficient; and if in opposition, they are pernicious, and must be destroyed." Moreover, this dictum suggests the ease with which men who—alike in ancient and modern times, and who have been not less moved by distinctly conscientious scruples than the majority of Christians—have sometimes mistaken violence for reason, and mere blind prejudice for quickness of perception and a singularly profound knowledge of spiritual things.

The truth is, that "scholars" should not be held accountable for a view which they, of all men, are certainly the least likely to endorse. It is not those who have most carefully studied the Sacred Books of non-Christian peoples, but those who have studied them least, who are chiefly responsible for existing attempts to asperse and disparage them. Such misguided action was not surprising fifty years ago, but it is neither worthy nor intelligent to-day. It overlooks, besides, that, while Christians are certain to take exception to statements which they find in various Scriptures other than their own, the very same attitude must be conceded to be equally reasonable on the part of non-Christians who, trained under entirely different conditions, encounter many "difficulties" as *they* in turn peruse those Sacred Books which are so revered to-day by the disciples of Jesus of Nazareth.

3. AN INDEFENSIBLE VIEW OF INSPIRATION.—Here we find ourselves using a term which admits of a great variety of meanings. According to the situation which the Revelation theory demands, the primitive Prophets and Apostles were (in effect) automata; the words which Moses and St. Paul employed, and through which much necessary information and exhortation were conveyed, were "given" to these teachers in a wholly extraordinary manner. The ordinary operation of the faculties, in all inspired persons, was supposed to be overborne; and thus grew up the doctrine of Verbal Inspiration. The human element, in the "inspired" written productions of these men, became so crushed and atrophied that it practically disappeared, whereas the supernatural element was introduced in the largest possible proportions.

Lest it should be supposed that this presentation of the case is a gross caricature—for to many to-day, who breathe a freer theological atmosphere, it will seem impossible to interpret it in any other way—one or two citations from authoritative sources will not be without value. Thus Professor Paterson, speaking recently at Edinburgh, says: "The old view of the Bible was that it is a storehouse of supernaturally revealed truths, and that it speaks with Divine authority in all its parts and on all subjects. Whether the matter belonged to the sphere of science, or secular history, or religious doctrine, it was settled by any declaration of Scripture which was not inconsistent with other parts of the acknowledged scriptural system; and it was settled as decisively by the voice of Genesis or Ezekiel as by the testimony of Christ or St. Paul."[1] Or take the still later testimony of Professor Driver, who sums up the situation thus: "The Bible cannot in every part, especially not in its early parts, be read precisely as it was read by our forefathers. We live in a light which they did not possess, but which it has pleased the Providence of God to shed around us; and if the Bible is to retain its authority and influence among us, it must be read in this light,—and our beliefs about it must be adjusted and accommodated accordingly."[2] And as evidence that the older view, notwithstanding these modern protests, is still calmly persistent, take the following citation from an author who, out of kindness, will be allowed to speak anonymously: "The writer is but the instrument; God alone is responsible for every statement contained in the Scriptures. He is as much their author as Mr. John Morley is the author of the *Life* of Mr. Gladstone; and Mr. Morley is equally responsible for that book, whether he wrote it all himself, or whether he never wrote a line but simply dictated it to another.

[1] *Inaugural Address* at Edinburgh University, pp. 5 and 27. Edinburgh, 1903.

[2] *The Book of Genesis*, p. lxii. London, 1904.

Inspiration means that God moves a man to write, infuses the ideas He wishes expressed, and chooses even suitable words, though not interfering with the style peculiar to each author."[1]

In what sense, then, it may be asked, is the Christian Bible inspired? The question is an exceedingly interesting and important one; but its examination, in the present connection, would be entirely irrelevant. It is not the purpose of this Note to broach a discussion which can be properly elaborated only in a theological treatise. Both of the theologians just referred to go into the matter, elsewhere, quite fully; they deal with it briefly in the two publications which have already been cited.[2] Let it suffice here to say, with Professor Driver, in another of his books: "None of the historians of the Bible claim supernatural enlightenment for the *materials* of their narrative; it is reasonable, therefore, to conclude that these were derived by them from such human sources as were at the disposal of each particular writer,—in some cases, from a writer's own personal knowledge; in others, from earlier documentary sources; in others, especially in those relating to a distant past, from popular tradition. It was the function of inspiration to guide the individual writer in the *choice* and *disposition* of his material, and in the use of it for the inculcation of *special lessons*."[3] In short, in the light of numerous incontestable facts, the view of inspiration which is implied in the Revelation theory must be completely given up. That Moses and St. Paul and others, like the Scriptures which they penned, were the vehicles of a Divine revelation, there is overwhelming reason to believe; but undeniably each preserved his own individuality, and the natural control of his faculties, when he proceeded to expound the unfolding law of God. The free yet concurrent action of divine and human factors in man—whether this combination exhibits itself in profound spiritual yearnings, in the composition of Sacred Books, or under various other phases—constitutes a problem of exceeding complexity. Any alleged "simple" solution of the difficulty, therefore, if likely to prove valid, can count upon being greeted with a welcome. Yet it should always be viewed, for a time at least, with caution; for, as a familiar adage puts it, "Great things have always appeared simple to those who know comparatively little about them."

[1] _____ _____ ——. Oxford, 1903.

[2] See also William Sanday, *The Oracles of God.* London, 1891. [5th ed., 1894, pp. 72–75.] Also his *Inspiration: The Early History and Origin of the Doctrine of Biblical Inspiration.* London, 1893. [3rd ed., 1896.] Also J. Armitage Robinson, *Some Thoughts on Inspiration.* London, 1905.

[3] *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament,* p. xvi. Edinburgh, 1891. [7th ed., 1898.]

NOTE XVII. (page 220)

Representative Scholars who reject the Revelation Theory

It will suffice if the following witnesses be summoned. In as far as possible, each will be allowed to give his testimony in his own words.

1. Professor Max Müller. Every one must recall how the late Professor Max Müller emphasised the invalidity of the Revelation theory, by pointing out that a similar assumption had formerly been made concerning the origin of Language, its primitive purity, its comprehensiveness, etc.; and that this presupposition had been proved to be false. "Are we to imagine," he asks, "that the first man was supplied with a compendious Grammar and Dictionary, and an enviable facility in the use of them; or was he not rather supplied with a capacity for speech, and then left to evolve unconsciously such principles of speech as afterwards made the production of a Grammar and a Dictionary both a possibility and a necessity?"[1]

2. Professor Davidson. Greater attention should be given to the fact that the Revelation theory is not only thoroughly unscientific, but is also entirely uncalled for. The Christian Bible makes no claim, either in the Old Testament or in the New, to be the exclusive source of information touching the matters of which it speaks.[2] This claim has often been made on behalf of the Bible, but the Bible itself preserves a silence which some plainly have overlooked. The idea of God is an instance in point. In its opening sentence, the Bible simply assumes the Divine existence.[3] That belief, quite evidently, was a human possession already; hence it was made the natural starting-point of the paragraphs that immediately follow. If it be said that no proof of the statement, "In the beginning, God" was necessary, that reply voices exactly what millions of men have felt who have never heard either of Genesis or of Christianity. The late Professor Davidson, accordingly, was fully justified when he wrote: "As Scripture nowhere contemplates man as ignorant of the existence of God, it nowhere depicts the rise or dawn of the idea of His existence in men's minds . . . [Isaiah xi. 25 ff.] teaches nothing new or unknown; it recalls what is known, reburnishing the consciousness of it, in order to sustain the faith and the hopes of the people."[4]

[1] Cp. his *Introduction to the Science of Religion*, p. 41.

[2] Cp. page 217.

[3] Genesis i. 1. The same thing is true of the First Commandment (Exodus xx. 2, 3): it postulates God. So it is, likewise, in the Psalter.

[4] Andrew Bruce Davidson, Article on "God" in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, vol. ii. p. 196. 5 vols. Edinburgh, 1898–1904.

3. Principal Fairbairn. Yet another eminent authority does not hesitate to declare that to attribute the idea of God "to a supernatural source, to a primitive revelation, is a mere assumption, incapable of proof,—nay, capable of most positive disproof. Although often advanced in the supposed interests of religion, the principle it assumes is most irreligious. If man is dependent on an outer revelation for his idea of God, then he must have what Schelling happily termed "an original Atheism of consciousness." . . . Revelation may satisfy or rectify, but cannot create, a religious capacity or instinct; and we have the highest authority for thinking that man was created "to seek the Lord, if haply he might feel after and find Him,"—the finding being by no means dependent on a written or traditional word. . . . Neither as documentary nor traditional can any traces of a primitive revelation be discovered; and to assume it is only to burden the question with a thesis which renders a critical and philosophic discussion alike impossible."[1]

4. Professor Flint. The testimony borne in this instance is equally emphatic. "There have, it is true, been a considerable number of theologians who have traced all religious beliefs to revelation, and who have assigned to reason merely the function of passively accepting, retaining, and transmitting them. They have conceived of the first man as receiving the knowledge of God by sensible converse with Him, and of the knowledge thus received as transmitted with the confirmation of successive manifestations to the early ancestors of all nations. The various notions of God and a future state to be found in heathen countries are, according to them, broken and scattered rays of these revelations; and all the religious rites of prayer, purification, and sacrifice which prevail among savage peoples are faint and feeble relics of a primitive worship, due to divine instruction. This view was natural enough in the early ages of the Christian Church and in medieval times, when the New World was undiscovered and a very small part of either Asia or Africa was known. It was consonant also to the general estimate of tradition as a means of transmitting truth, entertained by the Roman Catholic Church; but it is not consistent with the Protestant rejection of tradition, and it is wholly untenable in the light of modern science, the geography, ethnology, comparative mythology, etc., of the present day."[2]

5. Professor Pfleiderer. Germany speaks with almost absolute unanimity on this subject. Dr. Pfleiderer testifies as follows: "How should primeval man, with mental faculties as yet entirely undeveloped, have been capable of grasping the

[1] *Studies in the Philosophy of Religion and History*, pp. 13, 14. London, 1876.

[2] *Theism*. Edinburgh, 1877. [10th ed., 1902, pp. 22, 23.]

difficult thought of the one infinite God, and pure Spirit? . . . The acquisition of higher general ideas presupposes no small degree of preparatory training. The attainment of spiritual conceptions, which in the education of our children is crowded into years, . . . could, in the case of the childhood of the race, be acquired only by a process of culture extending through hundreds and thousands of years. A ready-made communication of the knowledge of God by a primeval revelation breaks down, therefore, simply because primeval man was, at the outset, psychologically incapable of grasping such instruction."[1]

6. President Schurman. America stands ready to tender similar testimony. It will not be denied that Dr. Schurman is a prominent leader, and one eminently qualified for dealing with questions of this character. With perfect confidence he affirms that a primitive revelation, the early races of mankind being what Ethnology proves that they were, was a psychological impossibility; because (as he puts it) "the necessity of a human faculty of comprehension cannot be dispensed with, even when the Eternal Wisdom condescends to give instruction."[2]

NOTE XVIII. (page 226)

A General Classification of Evolutionists in Religion

As intimated in Chapter VII., the scheme of classification herewith presented deals with a very wide and complex field. It is little more than a sketch; at least, it does not profess to be a comprehensive and complete survey.

Evolutionists in Religion have sought to account for the origin of man's belief in God by one or other—or by a combination of two or more—of the following theories:—

1. Fetishism.—In Fetishism we discover an instance of what

[1] *Religionsphilosophie auf geschichtlicher Grundläge* ("The Philosophy of Religion on the Basis of its History"). Berlin, 1878. [2nd ed., 2 vols., 1883–84. Vol. ii. pp. 6, 7.]

[2] *Belief in God*, p. 81. New York, 1890. Cp. President Patton's testimony, quoted on page 249. Mention should be made, also, of the opposition offered to the Revelation theory in an anonymous work (*Supernatural Religion: An Inquiry into the Reality of Divine Revelation.* 3 vols. London, 1874–77), which has run through many editions, and whose author is Mr. Walter R. Cassels. Mr. John Morley considers that this antagonist has framed his argument "with a force which no previous English writer on the negative side can have the slightest claim to rival." (*Fortnightly Review.*) See also Sir Henry Thompson's brochure (*The Unknown God.* London, 1902), in which he maintains that "any supernatural revelation would have marred the development of man, and have been inconsistent with the wisdom and beneficence displayed in the laws of the Universe."

is probably the very lowest active form of the religious sentiment. It exists only among savage races. It exhibits itself in forms of worship which prevail among those who have come to associate A LIVING PRESENCE OF SOME SORT[1] with the most trivial natural objects,—with a stone, for example, or a bone, or a lock of hair, or a paltry wisp of straw.

Fetishism, however, to-day is almost universally admitted to be an inadequate theory when offered in explanation of the origin of Religion. "It is an attitude of mind rather than a form of religious belief."[2] It is characteristic of a certain untutored condition of feeling, and it accounts quite satisfactorily for many of the eccentricities of savage modes of thought; but it does not explain, as it cannot express, those persistent aspirations of the soul which are found in man everywhere. Fetishism is admittedly very prevalent,—in every part of the globe where savages are found, this tendency strongly asserts itself; nevertheless it seems to be purely *local* in its impulse, and the objects which it reveres are purely local in their significance.[3] Moreover, a Fetish is not supposed to be able to compel the obedience of its worshipper; but its own obedience may be compelled, or else it is certain to be summarily discarded. It is plain that but little genuine reverence can be evoked under such conditions; hence it is now commonly held that Fetishism is an instance of religious degeneration. It points one back to earlier days, when, even at the suggestion of the most ordinary trifles, viewed superstitiously, man might find his thoughts constraining him to make quest for some near but unseen God.

One need not delay to mention a list of the leading writers who have openly espoused and defended this theory; for, as has already been remarked, this branch of the School of Evolutionists in Religion is now practically extinct. Probably the foremost name, among those that have become sponsors for this view, is that of CHARLES DE BROSSES.[4]

2. SPIRITISM.—Some more satisfactory designation for the second branch of the School of Evolutionists in Religion might surely have been invented, for its present title is much too lax and vague; but custom has sanctioned its use. In accordance with this view, it is believed that THE SPIRITS OF THE DEAD—and, in particular, the spirits of Ancestors—identify themselves

[1] It may amount to animation merely; nothing could be more indefinite than the conception of life with which certain uncivilised races have been known to invest the material objects which they reverence.

[2] Morris Jastrow, Jun., *The Study of Religion*, p. 78. New York, 1901.

[3] Thus, when a savage removes to a new part of the country, his former Fetishes are often openly dishonoured, or completely forgotten; and the new Fetishes which he now adopts are accepted and deferred to with remarkable readiness.

[4] See Appendix. Note XI., page 510.

with and inhabit various natural objects. That belief quickens within man the wish to establish communications with the unseen world. The worshipper does not look forward, indeed, to finding himself some day re-united to the dead, in an abode where he can enjoy afresh his former intimacy with them; on the contrary, he continues to show them reverence in order that he may perhaps be fortunate enough to propitiate and appease them. For, did he not fear these spirits, he would apparently be quite willing to banish them from his memory.[1]

To most investigators, this particular theory of the origin of man's belief in a Supreme Being seems almost grotesque. Its weak places have often been pointed out; but, from the nature of the subject, the discussion is both too lengthy and too abstruse to be fairly summarised here. One critic, in very severe words, has depicted the situation in the following language: "In order that he may formulate his theory in a manner that proves it, Mr. Spencer has first to make his 'primitive man'; and this man is, of course, a purely imaginary creature, made in the study and after the image of his maker. And the religion attributed to him is as imaginary as himself; for it is put together by a method that knows no order, and follows no law. Time and place, race and racial relations, historical antecedents and conditions, degree of culture and moment of development, are (in the matter of proof and method of treatment) utterly ignored. . . . His case in no way rests on history or criticism: it is an evolution from consciousness, a theory transcendently deduced, ethnographically illustrated, but in no case historically proved."[2]

The sponsor of this hypothesis was the late HERBERT SPENCER. One might almost call the theory Spencerism; for it was its inventor who gave it currency, and (although it has won not a few supporters) it does not seem probable that it will long survive its author. The selection of this name, however, has been rejected, lest it might seem to be unduly personal and invidious.[3]

[1] One is strongly reminded of David Hume's well-known view, viz., that the religious emotion has its beginning in fear.

[2] Fairbairn, *The Philosophy of the Christian Religion*, pp. 206 and 208. London, 1902.

[3] For details as to Spencer's position, see his *Principles of Sociology*. 3 vols. London, 1876–96. [Reissue, complete in one volume, 1904.] Consult vol. i. Professor Tiele has taken pains to point out that Spiritism—by which *he* means, not Spencerism merely, but every variety of the belief that there are spirits abroad in the world, and that the chief of these (viz., those which inspire men with awe) are entitled to human worship—"must be carefully distinguished from Fetishism, but can only rarely be separated from it. It is difficult to determine which of the two appears first: in history, they are equally old" (*Outlines of the History of Religion*, p. 9). This distinction is important; and it ought especially to be borne in mind, in view of what has now to be stated in reference to Animism.

3. Animism.—The third branch of the Evolutionist School is made up of those who hold that ANY NATURAL OBJECT may be worshipped, provided the worshipper believes it to be ANIMATED BY SOME PRINCIPLE WHICH CORRESPONDS TO THE SOUL IN MAN. It was in this way, these writers allege, that Religion had its origin in the history of the human race.

It will be observed that this theory is akin to that of Spencer, although it is more comprehensive in its scope. Not spirit only, but some material thing which the spirit is supposed to inhabit, may be regarded as worthy of worship. It is not wholly separate, either, from the doctrine of Fetishism, though it finds the impulse of its reverence in objects of a somewhat higher order. It marks, however, in reality, a considerable advance upon both of the theories which have previously been referred to. At the same time, it must be recognised that Fetishism is not the necessary antecedent of Animism, as though the latter must be evolved out of the former; these two varieties of belief and practice may be, and are sometimes actually found to be, contemporaneous. Animism does not necessarily banish Fetishism. Nor can it be successfully maintained that Animism is free from the defects of Fetishism and Spiritism. Professor Jastrow furnishes proof that "Animism, as a distinct evolutionary phase of Religion, has recently fallen into disrepute";[1] and he makes bold to declare that "it may be questioned whether Animism is a phase of religion"[1] at all. He concludes that it is rather "the philosophical substratum of an early form of religion, but it is not a specific form of religion."[1] And to the same effect writes the late Dr. Tiele: "Animism is not itself a religion, but a sort of primitive philosophy, which not only controls religion, but rules the whole life of the natural man."[2]

One of the most notable Apostles of Animism is Dr. Edward Burnett Tylor, Professor of Anthropology in the University of Oxford.[3] But the group of scholars identified more or less closely with this view is a large and distinguished one. It includes, indeed, quite a galaxy of names, among which may be mentioned those of the late Professor Teile of Leyden, and Professor Albert Réville of Paris. If only, therefore, on the ground of its wide acceptance in responsible and influential quarters, this theory is entitled to a thoughtful and dispassionate consideration.

4. Naturism.—A fourth and final hypothesis, held by a considerable number of representatives of the Evolutionist School, is that which is known as Naturism. It is a view which marks an advance upon each of its predecessors. No longer limited to the sticks and stones of the wandering savage, nor to the invisible

[1] *The Study of Religion*, p. 65.
[2] *Outlines of the History of Religion*, p. 9.
[3] Cp. pages 259–263.

spirits of deceased ancestors, nor to such minor natural objects as were supposed to be animated by separate individual souls,—the worshipper is here thought of as pausing before ANY NATURAL OBJECT WHICH MAY BE SUFFICIENT TO *CONSTRAIN* HIS REVERENCE. A wildly leaping cataract, or a lofty mountain, or the silent over-arching heavens, will always suffice to subdue his thoughts whenever, looking beneath the surface of things, he realises that he is standing in the presence of the Unseen.

This theory has commended itself to a large number of those who have examined it with the most thorough-going scrutiny. Certainly it is in accord with the facts to which, in many an instance at least, experience bears testimony. From the personification of Nature, it is easily possible for man to rise to the higher thought of God. Yet the hypothesis halts seriously at points, and it would appear to need to be supplemented in various particulars before it can be pronounced adequate to the purpose for which it has been framed.

Among the supporters of this view, PROFESSOR OTTO PFLEIDERER must be named; on the Continent of Europe, he is probably its most influential exponent. PROFESSOR ALLAN MENZIES, who introduces some corrective limitations, is perhaps its best known advocate in Great Britain. Were it not for his doctrine of man's "faculty of faith"[1]—a very important modification—the name of the late Professor Max Müller might also have been added.

. . . . . .

It must distinctly be borne in mind that this separation of Evolutionists in Religion into four groups is to be accepted as tentative rather than exhaustive, as temporary rather than final. All that is claimed for this scheme of division is that, so far as it goes, it is accurate and suggestive. Even within its broad and general lines, let it be frankly confessed, great practical difficulty has been experienced in assigning certain conspicuous Evolutionists to any one of the four categories which have been specified. It has seemed desirable, therefore, to mention but one or two names in connection with the advocacy of each of these theories, instead of appending in each case a fairly complete international list. Even as to the few names which have been deliberately selected, there is room for a candid difference of opinion as to the sphere to which each ought to be allotted. For instance, some would have no hesitation in including Max Müller among the most unswerving defenders of the Fourth view; yet to accept this suggestion, certainly not without its force, would be to ignore an element in the Oxford Professor's theory which distinctly rises superior to its Naturism. The fact is that scarcely one of the defenders of any of these four theories is altogether consistent

[1] See page 538.

in his advocacy of it.[1] In one paragraph, a writer appears to be undoubtedly an Animist; but by and by he seems to have somewhat changed his point of view. Take Professor Pfleiderer, for example. It is certainly no misrepresentation of his position to assign him a place among the defenders of Naturism; yet he *also* holds that man has a profound strain of Religion embedded in his very constitution, —a belief which seems to suggest that this name should be reserved for a category to which reference will be made in a subsequent Note in these Appendices.[2]

NOTE XIX. (page 232)

Stages in the Transition towards the Composite Theory

The condensed character of this Note necessitates that reference should be made to but three of the factors which were responsible for the origin of the Composite School of thought, viz. :—

1. Germany's Contribution. — If the assistance lent by Germany to the Science of Comparative Religion has been less than might have been hoped for, it was beyond question the scholarship of that country which discovered and brought into clear view those various factors in man which necessitate that he shall always show himself to be a definitely religious being. Many years before the appearance of the Composite School, Herder and Lessing and Hegel[3] — and a great host of others, their fellow-countrymen—had proclaimed and reiterated this doctrine. Nay more; they proved conclusively that, apart altogether from the truths which a Divine revelation might supply, man was by necessity religious, seeing that

[1] It may be worth while to remark that, if the scientists who deliberately support some carefully framed theory are not always logical in the elaboration of their argument, it need not be expected that those who *practise* any one of these elementary forms of worship will in all points be consistent either. In truth, each of these stages of religious sentiment is dependent more or less upon the others; perhaps we never find any of them existent in complete exclusion of factors which, consciously or unconsciously, have been borrowed from their immediate surroundings. Surely it would be to presuppose an order of mental equipment very much higher than the facts of the case warrant, if we were to anticipate a result different and more isolated in its character.

[2] See pages 538–540.

[3] See pages 141–142. Principal Fairbairn writes terse and timely words when he says: "Hegel lived before Darwin, and evolution was known to metaphysics long before it was adopted and naturalised by physics" (*Studies in the Philosophy of Religion and History*, p. 91).

the essence of this necessity was lodged in his very nature. He might err — and, times without number, he did err — in his persistent search for God; but persist he must, even unto life's end.[1]

It need hardly be said that this teaching proved a great shock to those who had been nourished and brought up in the belief that, in the absence of an express revelation, man's aspirations could rise little higher than those of the brutes that perish.[2] But evidence to the contrary had been produced, and this evidence could neither be ignored nor refuted. Unfortunately, however, the German savants who had made this important discovery, like so many other pioneers, proceeded to exaggerate the consequences which they alleged must follow. They had completely turned the flank of the enemy's forces. They had not only produced a remarkable key, but with it they had opened wide a new door of knowledge; and, accordingly, much of the intensely complex problem of human life had for the first time been laid bare to all who might wish to examine it. But, not content with these honours, and intoxicated with the dream of still fuller discoveries, these initial German expositors carried their argumentation too far; and thus, as was most natural, they alienated and antagonised not a few who would otherwise most loyally have followed them. As regards the holders of the Revelation theory, inasmuch as their position had been rendered visibly insecure, nothing could possibly have occurred which could redound more completely to their advantage than the creation of this needless irritation. Many persons, at first disposed to espouse the new view, became changed into its implacable foes; whilst others, who would doubtless have worked strenuously in its interests, arrayed themselves against it. For when these early Higher Critics declared that their discovery completely unravelled the origin of man's present ideas of God, the weak points in their theory were diligently sought for; and it was not long before they were triumphantly discovered.

2. Professor Max Müller's Contribution.—It was Professor Max Müller's belief, as the result of many years' investigation and reflection, that every man possesses a "faculty of faith." For he was led to conclude that, in the constitution of man, in addition to (1) *the Senses*, which supply us with knowledge of the physical world, and (2) *the Intellect*, which enables us to assimilate, classify, and combine our knowledge of the outer world and of self, we possess (3) *yet another faculty*, in virtue of which we are constrained to long for the Infinite. Hence, in his *Hibbert Lectures*, he defined Religion to be "a mental faculty which—independent of (nay, in spite of) sense and reason—enables man to apprehend the Infinite, under different names and

[1] Cp. pages 233, and 239–240. [2] Cp. page 526.

under varying disguises."[1] And in his *Gifford Lectures*, delivered ten years later, while amplifying this definition somewhat and distinctly improving it, he allowed it to remain for the most part unaltered, viz., "Religion consists in the perception of the Infinite, under such manifestations as are able to influence the moral conduct of man."[2]

Was Professor Max Müller warranted in reaching the conclusion which he announced? Unquestionably he was feeling his way in the right direction; but, as has so frequently occurred in the experience of explorers, he sometimes lost his way amid the obstacles which incessantly perplexed him. To the last, he was a consistent opponent of the Evolution theory; nor did he ever feel much sympathy, as we shall see later on, with the results reached by Anthropology.[3] Fetishism, and all the lesser Cults, he invariably regarded as being corrupted forms of older and more worthy religious practices. "He held that the principal cause of unbelief of the present day was 'the almost disdain of Natural Religion.' To base Religion upon the verbal inspiration of a book, upon miracles, or upon ecclesiastical authority, was like trusting the support of a building to wooden props and scaffolding, with the decay of which the whole building must fall. 'Natural Religion may exist without revealed religion: revealed religion without Natural Religion is an impossibility.'"[4] And again: "Natural Religion is the impregnable rock of eternal and universal truth."[5] Yet again: "There was in the heart of man, *from the very first*, a feeling of incompleteness, of weakness, of dependence,—whatever we may like to call it, in our abstract language. We can explain it as little as we can explain why the new-born child feels the cravings of hunger and thirst. But it was so from the first, and it is so even now."[6] He held that whenever we exercise "faith," we merely utilise our "religious faculty." Certainly no reader can peruse these sentences without feeling the influence of their subtle persuasion. Yet something remains to be said on the other side. Dr. Max Müller was unquestionably right in believing that, unless man had a special capacity for Religion, and (wholly apart from his accidental contact with any of the historical Religions) a special compulsion to think of an unseen world, he would never have possessed a Religion at all;

[1] *The Origin and Growth of Religion, as illustrated by the Religions of India*, p. 23. London, 1878.

[2] *Natural Religion*, p. 188. London, 1889.

[3] See page 260.

[4] Mr. Bidder's *Memorial Sermon* in St. Giles, Oxford, p. 10. Oxford, 1900. Cp. Max Müller, *Natural Religion*, pp. 569, 570. London, 1890; and, *Physical Religion*, p. 332. London, 1891.

[5] *Physical Religion*, p. 366.

[6] *Introduction to the Science of Religion*, p. 270. London, 1873. Cp. pages 233 and 239–240.

yet he was hardly justified in speaking so dogmatically about "a faculty," concerning which he knew absolutely nothing. We cannot thus segregate our mental and spiritual qualities. As Principal Fairbairn once wrote, in criticism of M. Renan's theory that the Semites possessed "a monotheistic instinct": "The word instinct explains nothing, but needs to be itself explained. In a scientific discussion it is no reason, but only an apology for one."[1] Moreover, even granting the existence of this "faculty," Professor Max Müller's theory of the *beginnings* of Religion seems to be weak and inconclusive. Long before a man, in his contemplation of the powers of Nature, commences to think of the unlimited power of the Infinite, he has *perforce* been led to entertain thoughts about a Supreme Being, and about that measure of reverence with which man ought to bow himself before Him. The impressiveness of "the starry heavens above and the moral law within," of which Kant used to speak, does certainly constrain one to lift his aspirations towards things which are "unseen and eternal"; but such an act is indicative, not of the workings of the mind of an untutored savage, but rather of the conclusions of one who has already made considerable progress as a close observer and thinker.

3. A Broadening of Mental Attitude, due to the Spirit of later Times.—It has been stated on a previous page[2] that the early representatives of the Evolution School were not wholly of one mind in the view they upheld touching the origin of man's idea of God. We have seen that the same elasticity of opinion, though indeed to a much less marked extent, prevailed also among the early representatives of the Revelation theory. It therefore came about that, as time passed, these two Schools ceased to be diametrically antagonistic. At first, of course, some timid souls were thrown into a panic, lest the introduction of Evolution might destroy all the foundations of belief in a doctrine of Revelation; but by and by, as the situation came to be better understood, Evolution ceased to disturb anybody. Its fundamental teaching at least was recognised to be undeniably true. "It made its contribution to the world's thought—smaller than was expected, but real and important; and to-day it is no offence, either against theology or against the simplicity of the faith, for a man to confess himself an Evolutionist."[3] On the other hand, Evolutionists ceased to be irreconcilably opposed to a doctrine of Revelation. It is not to be thought that all—or even the majority of—the representative Evolutionists of to-day deny that man has ever had a supernatural disclosure of the divine purposes. That question is not one with which, in the circumstances of the case, science (strictly so called) has ever had anything to

[1] *Studies in the Philosophy of Religion and History*, p. 315.
[2] See page 225.
[3] *The Westminster*. Toronto, 1902.

do. Were the question, however, definitely raised, it would be found (though some have ventured to allege the contrary) that few of the more eminent of modern Evolutionists make any deliberate attempt to exclude God from the Universe; it would rather be made evident that these investigators feel themselves constrained to admit that, as yet, they cannot account for the Universe *without* God.[1] For Evolution, after all, is but a process —a particular method of action; and the necessity of finding Him who first conceived this process, and who invented and inaugurated this method—plainly One who was possessed of an intelligence of the very highest order—is not now being, and never again can be, ignored. Evolution is but another name for history; and the question which the research student has to deal with is: Can the history of this Universe be interpreted adequately, if the investigator confine himself exclusively to the operation of purely physical causes? With constantly increasing emphasis, the answer returned to-day is an answer in the negative.

NOTE XX. (page 264)

Mr. Andrew Lang's Contributions to Anthropology

There is unfortunately a disposition in some quarters to underrate the recent contributions which Mr. Lang has so industriously been making to the Science of Anthropology,—especially as regards its expressly ethical and religious investigations. He is, of course, an omnivorous reader and writer; and already so many volumes—belonging, besides, to so many separate departments of learning—bear his name upon their title-page, that many have come to regard his conclusions as being necessarily hasty and superficial. One is at times reminded of the saying of Cervantes: "There are men that will make you books, and turn them loose into the world, with as much despatch as they would do a dish of fritters." Hence there exists, even among those who can hardly assume to be competent judges, a quite widespread hesitancy to accept of Mr. Lang's services, when he makes a genial and complacent offer to act as one's guide.

It will scarcely be questioned that some justification can be urged on behalf of this suspicion, however insufficiently grounded. One who prints rapidly succeeding volumes of poetry, essays, history, and biography, besides preparing innumerable critiques for the *Reviews*; who publishes learned translations from the classics, but who is even more widely known as the Editor of a popular annual series of Fairy Tales; who writes, and apparently with equal facility, on all sorts of themes; and who, of late, has

[1] Cp. Appendix. Note IV., page 489. See also pages 238–239.

betaken himself to the exposition of myth, ritual, psychical research, and religion,—such a one must be prepared to experience, as well as occasionally to communicate, the uncomfortable effects of a frank but mistaken criticism. In particular, serious workers in any field have always shown themselves to be sensitive when a proffer of assistance has reached them from a quarter whence only limited help could reasonably be expected; and a peculiar measure of sensitiveness on this point has exhibited itself among workers in Comparative Religion, seeing that this Science has suffered pretty severely already through the acceptance of proposals of this obliging but unwarranted character.[1] Certainly Mr. Lang has sometimes exposed himself to the charge of flippancy, and his books exhibit not infrequently evidences of carelessness and haste. He cannot be said to be wholly free from bias occasionally, as one can see when close scrutiny is applied to his historical portraitures; and he exhibits needless delight when he feels called upon to assail traditional beliefs and established institutions. Still, notwithstanding these unfortunate faults, it ought always to be recognised that Mr. Lang is not an amateur in literature, but an expert. His versatility is remarkable, and is perhaps even unique. His information, while unusually wide in its sweep, embraces also in most cases an extraordinary number of details. He enjoys the advantages which are invariably linked with a quick and penetrating insight. And when it is added that some of his very best work belongs to his anthropological investigations, especially when he assumes his favourite rôle as critic, it will be admitted that his name is entitled to a conspicuous and honourable place in the present abbreviated catalogue.

NOTE XXI. (page 271)

Additional British and Foreign Authorities in Anthropology[2]

As regards Anthropology, attention has already been directed to the well-known publications of Waitz, Bastian, Tylor, Frazer,

[1] Cp. Appendix. Note I., page 483.

[2] In the present Note, as in several corresponding Notes which follow (XXII., XXV., XXVIII., XXX., and XXXII.), nothing more will be attempted than the bare mention of certain books with which students of Comparative Religion would do well to make themselves acquainted. Any undertaking to specify in detail the merits and demerits of each writer's contribution is excluded on two grounds, viz., (*a*) the limits of available space forbid it, and (*b*) such a task is not really called for. While this Manual has made it a point to include at least a brief reference to everything that is germane to Comparative Religion, the several departments of inquiry to which attention is now to be directed stand related to that Science only as adjunct studies.

Jevons, etc. The following works, in addition, may usefully be consulted. The list here supplied is more extended than any of the five by which it will be succeeded, seeing that Anthropology may legitimately be held to *include* Archæology, Psychology, etc.

Achelis (Thomas), *Moderne Völkerkunde.* Stuttgart, 1896.

Avebury (Right Hon. Lord), *Pre-historic Times.* London, 1865. [6th ed., 1900.]

Avebury (Right Hon. Lord), *The Origin of Civilisation, and the Primitive Condition of Man.* London, 1870. [6th ed., 1903.]

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NOTE XXII. (page 280)

ADDITIONAL BRITISH AND FOREIGN AUTHORITIES IN ARCHÆOLOGY

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NOTE XXIII. (page 284)

Exception taken against the Overtures of the New Psychology

It is a commonly accepted belief among Scientists, that Religion may usefully be studied on its psychological side. This conviction, as it has increased in strength and confidence, has been met in certain quarters with a perfect storm of protest. These objectors say: It is one thing to be confronted with a Cuneiform Inscription of undoubted antiquity, discovered by means of the excavations carried on by the Archæologist, who is thus able to reverse or modify some current theological opinion; but it is quite another matter to be asked to give up a long-cherished and venerated belief on the challenge of the Psychologist, who bases *his* demand on grounds which do not admit of such easy and demonstrable proof.

1. An Invasion of the Sanctuary of Religion.—It is averred, for instance, that to speak about the Psychology of Conversion is at once impertinent and wicked. It is declared by some to be even an impious act, not far removed from positive blasphemy. But Dr. Coe, as it will be shown subsequently,[1] has ventured to deal with this theme very deliberately; and no one who reads his books will be likely to lay any serious charge against either his good faith or his good name. Professor James also has sought to unravel the mysteries of this very intricate

[1] Cp. pages 288–289.

problem, and few who think profoundly will do otherwise than thank him for his suggestive and apposite conclusions.[1] After all, a protest may be fully as hasty and ill-considered as the alleged indiscretion which has suddenly called it forth; the real question is, What are the facts?

2. THE "INNER WITNESS" IN MAN IS UNRELIABLE.—It is affirmed by many to-day—it was frequently maintained by the late Professor Auguste Sabatier, for example—that the authority of the Church, alike Roman Catholic and Protestant, is often so arbitrarily exercised, that various dogmas continue to be taught by it, and enforced, when a clearer and fuller understanding of the meaning of Scripture has made it plain that they are not obligatory demands upon the human conscience. Thoughtful men, who have made a profound study of these questions, have become convinced that the Church has adopted erroneous interpretations of certain Biblical statements; and accordingly they have ceased to regard her officially-formulated Creeds as being vital (or perhaps, in some cases, even tenable) articles of belief. What are such persons to do? If they still hold to a doctrine of Divine revelation (let us say), they will probably conclude to act as Sabatier did,—who "held that revelation is the inner witness of the Spirit of God in the Soul of man. God is present and operative in the human spirit, and it is His action upon our consciousness which gives rise to the religious sentiment. . . . The highest certainty is that of God's presence in man."[2] To this finding it is promptly objected that, under such circumstances, every man would become a law unto himself; and that Christ distinctly declared that "if any man willeth to *do* His will, he shall know of the doctrine."[3] But Sabatier protects himself against any such travesty of his teaching, by adding that "we must control and complete [our religious] convictions by the witness of the Spirit *in the believing community*. The individual must not mature his religious beliefs in pure subjectivity, but in the light (and by the aid) of the *collective* religious consciousness and experience."[4] And, thus safeguarded, Sabatier and a host of others have of late drawn attention to a great but not sufficiently emphasised truth, viz., that in the last analysis there is a sense in which it is perfectly true to affirm that the *chief* witness to the inspiration of a Sacred Book, to the Divinity of a religious founder, and to other similar beliefs of a superior order, must be found in the inquirer himself.

[1] Cp. pages 288–289. See also the Prospectus of President Hall's new *Review*, referred to on page 479.

[2] Cp. Professor George B. Stevens' Article on Auguste Sabatier in *The Hibbert Journal*, pp. 564, 565. London, April 1903. See also Sabatier's posthumous volume, *Les religions d'autorité et la religion de l'esprit*. Paris, 1903. [Translated, London, 1904.]

[3] John vii. 17.

[4] See Note 2, above.

3. Such Investigations belong rather to the Philosophy of Religion than to Comparative Religion. — It has been objected by some that all questions of Psychology belong to a more advanced stage in these studies, and ought to be dealt with solely in connection with the Philosophy of Religion.

The opposition arises in this instance, not from the side of those who hold traditional views, but among those who represent in a somewhat exclusive spirit the interests of Comparative Religion. While admitting frankly the close connection that exists between certain aspects of Psychology and Comparative Religion, these objectors maintain that it is a matter of some importance, particularly at the present moment, to keep these studies apart, and to see to it that each is prosecuted conscientiously by itself. The late Dr. Brinton remarks that "the advancement of Science depends on the specialisation of its fields of research,"[1] and he adds: "It is high time that Ethnic Psychology should take an independent position of its own."[1] That is, Dr. Brinton introduced the limiting word "Ethnic," because he did not mean to deal in his recent book with the whole field of Psychology, or even with that restricted area of it which is commonly known as Comparative Psychology. On the contrary, he proposed to compare only such things as "make up national and ethnic life,—be it an historic event, an object of art, a law, custom, rite, myth, or mode of expression."[1] And exactly because he was attempting to do all this, he demands that his work should not be confounded with Anthropology on the one hand, or Ethnology on the other. It has been held to be equally clear that, in the present instance, there is abundant reason why the New Psychology should be studied apart from Comparative Religion, even though the two subjects are in various respects manifestly akin.

NOTE XXIV. (page 284)

Successive Stages in the Development of the New Psychology

Speaking generally, there may be said to be four periods in the history of the New Psychology ; and at the close of each era there is a perceptible transition, when the study is seen to pass into a higher and more scientific phase.

1. Ordinary Psychology.—The difference between the old and the new Psychology is nowhere so markedly seen as when the latter is put in direct contrast with ordinary Psychology.

[1] *The Basis of Social Relations: A Study in Ethnic Psychology*, p. xi. New York, 1902.

Vast is the distance which to-day separates these two disciplines. The earlier investigator confined himself exclusively to the study of ordinary mental phenomena, the origin and development of their activities, and the hidden inter-relationships which bound them together. Questions which were apt to start a theological discussion were avoided; unless it became necessary to deal with them, they were quite willingly passed by. The student of the New Psychology, on the contrary, has quite other aims in view. Intent upon discovering, if possible, the secret of man's *religious* consciousness, this particular goal is never lost sight of for a moment; and any suggestion which promises to throw light upon so absorbing a mystery is not only eagerly accepted, but is promptly and perseveringly tested with the very greatest care. The New Psychology may be said to have had its beginning—it was certainly at least foreshadowed—in the conclusion reached by Friedrich Daniel Ernst Schleiermacher (1768–1834), when he defined Religion as "a determination of the feelings. . . . We are conscious of ourselves as absolutely dependent."[1] This statement was one that, upon examination, was seen to frame the truth in a defective (and also, in some respects, in an exaggerated) form; hence it was widely criticised and challenged, and was oftener ignored than it was welcomed, and then slightly recast. All the same, it heralded the advent of a great discovery; it was a declaration which needed only time and reflection and adjustment to secure for it a position of commanding and permanent influence. Germany has supplied, since the days of Schleiermacher, a long list of notable workers in that borderland which lies between Philosophy and Theology, and many of them have been men who grasped the problem of the situation much more firmly than their great precursor was permitted to do; nevertheless, among them all, none did so much individually to promote the advent of that discipline which we are now considering, as did their illustrious forerunner and master.

2. Physiological Psychology.—The second stage in this development marks a long advance upon its predecessor. Its scientific validity, also, is of a distinctly higher order. The name which stands in the very forefront of those who were prominent in inaugurating this new line of investigation, is unquestionably that of Wilhelm Wundt (1832–). Psychology has been much studied of late in connection with Physiology,—the physical changes and conditions of the human brain, in their relation to thought activity, being diligently inquired into; and certainly no one has wrought more patiently as a pioneer in this department, or more successfully as the Expert guide of others, than the

[1] *Der christliche Glaube nach den Grundsätzen der evangelischen Kirche* ("The Christian Faith according to the Principles of the Evangelical Church"). 2 vols. Berlin, 1821–22. [5th ed., 1861, p. 6.]

German savant who has just been referred to.[1] It was he, indeed, who first established a Psychological Laboratory, wherein experiments of a delicate and searching character are still constantly being carried on under his personal supervision. At the outset, questions concerning the religious consciousness were not raised, —in all probability they were not so much as thought of; but, as already remarked,[2] the drift of investigation in Physiological Psychology has of late been deliberately turned in that direction.

3. COMPARATIVE PSYCHOLOGY.—This descriptive name is used in a sense much broader and more comprehensive than that in which it was employed in Chapter II.[3] It represents also a more advanced stage of inquiry than that which was alluded to in the Chapter in question. Moreover, it is synthetic rather than analytic in its aim. Perhaps no fitter exponent of it could be cited than ANDREW MARTIN FAIRBAIRN (1838–), who furnishes an admirable delineation of it in his account of "Comparative Psychology and the Philosophy of History."[4] He there says that Comparative Psychology "regards the history of man as the history of Mind, and seeks by a Science of Mind to lay the basis for a Science of History. But it does not study the individual mind by itself, and alone; that is the work of Psychology proper. Comparative Psychology is the psychology of peoples. Its aim is to explain the action of mind *in the mass*, to discern the distinctive mental qualities of different or related peoples,—their rise, their causes, the laws and conditions of their development, their influence on society and history, national and universal. It does not seek to supersede the science of the individual mind, but assumes it, builds on its data, and applies its principles. Mind is everywhere akin, but kinship does not exclude difference. Psychology proper is concerned with what is essential,—mind in the abstract, the universal, as it were, *in the individual*; but Comparative Psychology is concerned with what seems accidental,—mind in the concrete, acting under the influence of place and time *within a state or society*, and embodying its action in works that are not so much individual as common and collective." The writer finds no great difficulty in demonstrating that "Mind, not Nature, must explain the purpose and the progress of humanity. Mind has been the great creative and progressive force in society."[5]

4. RELIGIOUS PSYCHOLOGY.—It needed but a slight advance

[1] See his *Grundzüge der physiologischen Psychologie.* [Translated, "Principles of Physiological Psychology," London, 1904– . [*In progress.*]]

[2] See page 284.

[3] Cp. page 36.

[4] *Studies in the Philosophy of Religion and History*, pp. 233-264. London, 1876.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 238.

beyond the point just reached, in order that some one should suggest the inauguration of those studies which are now steadily increasing in their importance and influence. Not Nature, nor even Mind, is regarded to-day as being the principal thing; the persistent question is, What of the Soul? Materialism has already been outgrown; Agnosticism in turn is being discarded, because it is not only inadequate but superficial as well; and at last the fact of Personality, persisting even beyond death, has come to constitute for many the central problem of their continuous and tireless researches. Can man's *belief* in the Soul, and in its Immortality, be—through the instrumentality of any strictly scientific process—DEMONSTRATED to be true? Can it be PROVED that the Soul is the seat of man's unchanging self, and that *it* at least is enduring? If it can, then a new avenue is under construction which will one day conduct us to the very heart of Religion. If it can be shown that, just as matter is indestructible, so there is equal ground for believing that human personality is indestructible, Science itself will yet compel universal assent to the doctrine of the immortality of the Soul. At any rate, much that is still mysterious will then disclose its meaning to all who are able to receive it,—the functions and prerogatives of Conscience, man's ineradicable longing for communion with the Unseen, the method and directness of the Divine appeals to man, etc. etc.

It is apparent, then, that four distinct steps can be traced in that orderly advance which has culminated in the appearance of the New Psychology. There was (1) the Study of Mind simply, with the intentional (but not wholly successful) exclusion of Religion; (2) the Study of Mind simply, but with the admission that Religion ought not to be altogether excluded; (3) the Study of Mind, with the affirmation that Religion was a factor so directly relevant that it must by no means be excluded; and (4) a specialised Study of Mind, wherein Religion is regarded as being the factor of central and supreme moment.

NOTE XXV. (page 289)

ADDITIONAL BRITISH AND FOREIGN AUTHORITIES IN PSYCHOLOGY

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NOTE XXVI. (page 297)

Who was the Founder of Comparative Mythology?

It has more than once been maintained that the honour of founding the Science of Comparative Mythology belongs to Sir William Jones (1746–1794). It is quite true that this diligent investigator prepared his well-known paper "On the Gods of Greece, Italy, and India" as early as 1788; and his friends are entitled to be accounted perfectly sincere when, in view of this fact, they advance a high claim on behalf of one who was un-

questionably an ardent and painstaking scholar. But, in point of fact, Sir William's performance fell far short both of its purpose and its promise. His paper cannot in fairness be placed at the head of that group of serious volumes with which, since his day, the study of Comparative Mythology has successfully been inaugurated; for it was a document that must be pronounced singularly superficial and unscientific. The writer unfortunately imagined, many times, that he had discovered subtle hidden affinities between certain words, when the terms in question actually agreed merely in sound, and had no historical connection through their relation to a common or kindred root. Sir William Jones' Essay was little better than useless, because it was premature. It was undertaken at a time when the materials at the writer's disposal were entirely inadequate. It was accordingly predestined to failure.

Nor is it possible, unhappily, to justify the plea which is advanced in the interest of Professor Max Müller. Such a contention, though much more easily defended than the former one, cannot successfully be maintained. The Oxford pioneer had, in truth, several forerunners on the Continent; and of the material assistance which he derived from them, he himself frequently makes frankest acknowledgment. Among these predecessors, his honoured teachers, one must mention Grimm, Burnouf, and Bopp. But more prominent still stands Adalbert Kuhn (1812–1881), whose claim to the honour in question is very much stronger than that of any of the scholars who have yet been alluded to. Max Müller's theory that Mythology must be diagnosed as "a disease of language,"[1] has few (if indeed any) supporters now; but Kuhn was among the very foremost founders of a new branch of inquiry, which aimed at elevating the study of Myths to the standard of a distinctly scientific discipline.[2] Whether he is entitled to be called *the* founder of Comparative Mythology is a question which certainly never troubled him; and it is a query which should not be allowed to cause scholars any undue anxiety to-day.

NOTE XXVII. (page 297)

Professor Max Müller's Contribution to Comparative Mythology

Professor Max Müller succeeded in showing—and his researches have thrown light on a fact of high and permanent

[1] *Introduction to the Science of Religion*, p. 44, etc.

[2] See his *Die Herabkunft des Feuers und des Göttertranks* ("The Descent of Fire and Nectar"). Berlin, 1859.

value—that the various names for God, as employed by widely separated peoples, could be traced back to a common origin in human speech,—either to a single term, or (at most) to a compound term, in the current language of an earlier period. He pointed out that the Sanskrit *Dyaus Piter*, the Greek *Zeus Pater*, and the Latin *Jupiter* were philologically one and the same; and hence it seemed to be a fair inference that, prior to the separation of the early Aryans into Hindus, Greeks, and Romans, they must have worshipped one and the same God. He then went on to show that this original sameness of speech and faith could, by the same process, be shown to have held good of many other branches of the widely scattered Indo-Germanic stock. Accordingly, Professor Max Müller argued that if we find the same *Myths* in India, Greece, Italy, and Germany, there is at least a presumption that they have sprung from a common origin,—a presumption which is very greatly strengthened if the various national deities in question are found to have been worshipped under names which are practically the same.[1]

And, conversely, Professor Max Müller expressed his firm conviction that the names which were given to gods and goddesses, in primitive times, contributed directly towards shaping the conceptions of those deities which gradually became current among the nations which severally worshipped them. Thus, if the name chosen for some natural object which was reverenced—*e.g.*, the Sun—happened to be masculine in gender, then the Sun-god came to be thought of by such peoples as a male deity; and the attributes proper to such a deity came very naturally to be ascribed to him. Or if the Moon chanced to be worshipped, and the term which designated the Moon happened to be feminine in gender, then the Moon-god would with equal probability come to be thought of as a female deity; and the life and ambitions of a womanly career would naturally be ascribed to this particular member of the Pantheon. If, on the other hand, a language were so rude and impoverished in its structure that it registered no difference of gender, then the Mythology of a people employing such a language must invariably be rude and meagre also.[2]

Holding tenaciously to the view that Language moulds and governs Thought, Professor Max Müller was persuaded that this law reveals itself with special emphasis within the domain of Mythology. The gods received at the outset, at man's hand, certain distinctive names. But, later on, the names given to various deities were deliberately *translated* by those who worshipped at their altars; and in this way the deities came to occupy a new place, and often a quite unintended place, in the apprehension

[1] Cp. *Introduction to the Science of Religion*, p. 197.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 54 and 56.

of those who revered them. Myth-making had already begun! Inasmuch, moreover, as in the course of time the meaning of most words changes, new ideas tended to become associated with the already familiar names of the gods, and an additional impulse was lent to the growth of an ever-extending Mythology. It was his ultimate conclusion, therefore, that Mythology begins in the poetic speech of a primitive age. It is, furthermore, an unconscious growth. Among all races, at an early period in their history, the natural outcome of thought and language (when busying themselves in an effort to interpret the ordinary phenomena of nature) is an embryonic system of Mythology. The sun, the storm, the sea, etc., are thought of, at first, as Powers; then they come to be thought of as *Persons*. In the process of its growth, the very language employed in reference to these Powers—no matter how accidental may have been its original selection—directly furthers the birth of stories concerning them, stories which more or less minutely describe their origin and their supernatural achievements. As to the date when Mythology is likely first to show itself, Professor Max Müller thought it belongs to a period lying half-way between the points where the language of a race has finally become determined, and where it begins to possess a recognised literature of its own.[1]

The fundamental weakness of this theory has already been pointed out in connection with the discussion of antecedent topics.[2] It does seem singular that Professor Max Müller was never led to suspect the validity of a literary solvent which seemed equally able to serve its purpose under every conceivable variety of circumstances! Presumably it furnishes one with another illustration of a man's fatal fondness for his own particular hobby, and of how seriously and unconsciously he may become at times narrow and one-sided; certainly, in the case of Professor Max Müller, the attempt to unravel the mysteries of Mythology by the aid exclusively of philology led to his adopting conclusions which were often uncertain, often inadequate, and often directly misleading. At the same time, in addition to lending the study of this subject a strong and lasting impetus, Professor Max Müller's employment of the philological method proved a useful suggestion to many; and other investigators—adopting this cue, but following it up under definite and necessary limitations—found their labours in the end amply rewarded. An impartial and more searching comparison of the Mythologies of different races had now been made imperative; and it was not long before that comparison came to be deliberately instituted.

[1] *Introduction to the Science of Religion*, p. 381.
[2] See pages 33, 172, etc.

NOTE XXVIII. (page 305)

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NOTE XXIX. (page 309)

THE EXCESSIVE GROWTH OF THE LITERATURE OF FOLKLORE

Few studies, recently begun, can point to so long a list of publications as that which Folklorists have already issued from the press. And these volumes, prodigious in number and most varied in character, are increasing with appalling rapidity. Inasmuch as the subject with which they deal is a huge and complicated one, and since it demands the instinct and expert training of a mature scholar, it goes without saying that much of the information which has thus far been collected is disappointingly disjointed and discursive. A large part of it is unreliable, and a very considerable portion of it is entirely irrelevant. It betrays, in many instances, an utter lack of acquaintance with scientific method; often there is a manifest confusion, and an arbitrary linking together, of things that are totally unrelated; and the general impression left on the mind is vague and bewildering. The special evil of this solemn trifling has revealed itself in the result that items of merely second and third-rate importance have been credited with possessing a primary value; and thus a vast mass of detail—of varying, and often of exceedingly doubtful, worth—has been obtruded upon one's attention, and time and energy have to be frittered away in the process of examining and sifting it. As already stated, when dealing with Ethnology proper, guess-work and gossip and imperfect observation and hasty generalisation have frequently usurped the place of dispassionate and scientific accuracy; and misleading and ill-supported conclusions have accordingly much too often found their way into print.

Hence the essential weakness of this whole undertaking,—in so far, at least, as the study is prosecuted under present conditions, in English-speaking countries. In Germany and France, matters are different; but, alike in England and America, Folklore has for the most part fallen under the bane of dilettantism. Travellers at large, and other persons of unlimited leisure, are not the most promising inquirers who might be chosen to prosecute work in this field. Folklore, wherever it wins recog-

nition merely as a fad, is foredoomed to failure. It cannot long make good its claim even upon popular respect. It is certainly to be regretted that the *Transactions* of some Folklore Societies—though these records are supposed to contain only the winnowed product of the researches of regularly enrolled members—sometimes include Papers which are woefully inaccurate and even positively misleading. Professor Jastrow is very outspoken, and declares: "Just at present, Folklore studies appear to run riot. . . . Only a small amount of the material, collected with such patience by the Folklorists, is of value. One cannot help harbouring a suspicion that much of the material is indeed worthless for any scientific purposes whatsoever."[1] It will be recalled that a similar shadow once portended danger to Comparative Religion itself, and that only by means of drastic methods of repression was approaching catastrophe averted.[2] And if the study of Folklore is to be redeemed, correspondingly vigorous methods must be employed to rescue it from the peril which at present, in certain quarters at least, threatens its very existence.

NOTE XXX. (page 314)

Additional British and Foreign Authorities in Ethnology

For greater convenience, it is proposed to separate into two groups the books which are about to be specified.

Ethnology Proper

Achelis (Thomas), *Entwickelung der modernen Ethnologie.* Berlin, 1889.

Haddon (Alfred Cort), *The Study of Man: An Introduction to Ethnology.* London, 1898.

Haddon (Alfred Cort), *Head-Hunters: Black, White, and Brown.* London, 1901.

Haberlandt (Michael), *Völkerkunde.* Leipzig, 1898.

Kingsley (Mary H.), *West African Studies.* London, 1899.

Nassau (Robert Hamill), *Fetishism in West Africa.* New York, 1904.

Folklore

Abbott (George Frederick), *Macedonian Folklore.* Cambridge, 1903.

Clodd (Edward), *The Childhood of the World.* London, 1872. [N. ed., 1901.]

[1] *The Study of Religion*, p. 272.

[2] Cp. Appendix. Note I., page 483.

Cushing (Frank Hamilton), *Zuni Folk Tales.* New York, 1902.
Fiske (John), *Myths and Myth Makers.* Boston, 1873.
Grinnell (George Bird), *The North American Indians of To-day.* Chicago, 1900.
Hartland (Edwin Sydney), *English Fairy and other Folk-tales.* London, 1890.
Hartland (Edwin Sydney), *The Science of Fairy Tales.* London, 1891.
Kidd (Dudley), *The Essential Kaffir.* London, 1904.
Kingsley (Mary H.), *West African Stories.* London, 1899.
Liebrecht (Felix), *Zur Volkskunde.* Heilbronn (Würtemberg), 1879.
Max Müller (Friedrich), *Chips from a German Workshop.* 4 vols. London, 1867–75. [Vol. iv., last ed., is entitled "Essays on Mythology and Folklore."]
Nutt (Alfred Trubner), *Studies in the Legend of the Holy Grail.* London, 1888.
Skeat (Walter William), *Fables and Folk Tales from an Eastern Forest.* London, 1901.
[Various Authors.] *Popular Studies in Mythology, Romance, and Folklore.* 2 Series. London, 1901– . [*In progress.*]
[Various Authors.] *Jatakatthavannana.* [Translated from the original Pali as "*Buddhist Birth Stories.*" London, 1880. Out of print. The oldest known collection of Folklore.] Cp. page 195.

Periodicals

Annual Reports of the American Bureau of Ethnology. Smithsonian Institute, Washington.
Archæological and Ethnological Papers of the Peabody Museum. Cambridge, Mass.
Centralblatt für Anthropologie, Ethnologie, und Urgeschichte. Jena.
Folklore. London.
Journal of American Folklore. Boston.
Notes and Queries. London.
Proceedings of International Folklore Congresses. [The first Congress was held in London, 1891.]
Revue de l'Histoire des Religions. Paris.
Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde. Berlin.
Zeitschrift für Ethnologie. Berlin.

NOTE XXXI. (page 316)

The Importance of Promoting a thorough Study of Sociology

The rapidly increasing literature of Sociology emphasises in particular two facts. It has made plain, first, that existing social conditions are needlessly provocative of friction, distrust, and often open rupture, between the different elements out of which every community must perforce be constituted. Secondly, it has equally become clear that something ought to be done, and that something very shortly *will be done*, towards removing the alleged causes of these grievances. It is unfortunate, however, that great diversity of opinion exists as to what these grounds of disturbance really are. It is all-important, therefore, that judicious and practical men—men, moreover, who are willing to make this complex question the subject of honest and exhaustive inquiry —should identify themselves with this new movement; and that, by recommending the adoption of some broad and well-contrived scheme by which acknowledged abuses may be restrained and perhaps ultimately eradicated, they may successfully forestall the introduction of short-sighted though plausible experiments, which are certain only to intensify the present severe strain on ruffled and angry feelings.

According to the Lexicographers, and in harmony with the verdict of many who are less impartial observers, this new branch of research has already been inaugurated. Sociology is now formally defined as "The Science that treats of the origin and history of human society and social phenomena, the progress of civilisation, and the laws controlling human intercourse."[1]

Should anyone suppose that the choice of such a field of investigation — even granting for the moment that the aims of many would-be philanthropists were perfectly feasible — indicates the taking of a step which is at least premature, reasons could easily be adduced which would demonstrate that there should be no further postponement of a duty which is no less practicable than pressing. The time has more than come when enlightened action should be taken by those who are competent to imitate and direct it. Let two illustrations suffice. The one takes us back to a period distant about a hundred and seventy years, and to a succession of events which occurred in the United States. During the interval of time just specified, the descendants of a man named ——— (an incorrigible criminal, it would seem) have made themselves the terror of every locality which they have selected for their temporary home. Constituting the

[1] *The Standard Dictionary.* [*In loco.*]

gradually increasing posterity of that one wayward citizen, there have appeared several notorious desperadoes, sixty thieves who have had to be cared for by Public Institutions, and over three hundred men and women who have had to be sheltered in almshouses; and accordingly that one man proved to be the father of a progeny that has cost the State of Massachusetts between three and four millions of dollars! The other illustration is culled from a German source, and is briefly reported as follows in a London newspaper:[1] "A professor at Bonn University, in tracing the posterity of habitual drunkards, has found eight hundred and thirty-four descendants from a woman who for forty years was 'a thief, a drunkard, and a tramp,' and whose miserable life came to an end in the last year of the eighteenth century. The professor has traced the lives of seven hundred and nine of this woman's descendants from youth to old age; and of these, one hundred and six were born out of wedlock, one hundred and forty-two were beggars, and sixty-four more lived on charity. Among the women, one hundred and eighty-one lived disreputable lives, and there were in the family seventy-six convicts, including seven murderers. The professor estimated that, in seventy-five years, this family has cost the German authorities (in almshouses, law courts, prisons, and other institutions) about £250,000.

Inasmuch as every organised Government, whether local or central, is compelled to pay out millions every year in order to catch, convict, fine, and correct (?) so large a body of criminals, surely the questions with which Sociology strives to deal are of moment sufficient to claim and receive the very fullest and ablest treatment that each State can devise and command. Accordingly Sociological Societies have now been founded in nearly all the world's capitals.[2] International Congresses on Criminal Anthropology—as, for example, the one held at Geneva in 1896—are now regarded as being of vital importance. Reference will be made elsewhere to the facilities which are increasingly being offered by certain leading Universities, in order that this subject may be deliberated and systematically studied.[3]

In another quarter, also, and with the prospect of securing the most wholesome results, the new leaven is plainly at work. Allusion is now made to Sociological undertakings which are being directly inaugurated by the Churches. Principal Fairbairn has well said that Religion is "the organising idea of society, the force that holds the whole social system together, builds it up, and gives to it its character and unity. Order is created because

[1] *The Daily Chronicle.* London, April 1903.

[2] The London Society, known as the British Institute of Social Service, was inaugurated only so recently as April 1904. The excellent results which have been accomplished by the Musée Social of Paris are already widely known.

[3] Cp. pages 320–321.

customs are established as *religions*, and are enforced by sanctions too dread to be despised."[1] It is a most welcome sign of the times, therefore, that so many of the Churches are identifying themselves with the current agitation for social reform, are promoting the establishment of Social Service Unions, and are actively lending help in various other ways. They are doing no more than is meet in thus striving to bring directly religious influences to bear upon those who have civic duties to perform, so that men may be led to honour the Divine Law in the discharge of all commercial, industrial, and social relations. But while the advantages sure to accrue from such a crusade will be simply inestimable to every community which is privileged to experience them, the Churches which assist this new movement will be benefited likewise, and not less than those for whom they disinterestedly labour.

NOTE XXXII. (page 319)

Additional British and Foreign Authorities in Sociology

Achelis (Thomas), *Sociologie.* Leipzig, 1899.

Booth (Right Hon. Charles), *Life and Labour of the People in London.* 17 vols. London, 1891–1903.

Crawley (Ernest), *The Mystic Rose.* A Study of Primitive Marriage. London, 1902.

Gumplowicz (Ludwig), *Grundriss der Sociologie.* Wien, 1885.

Haddon (Alfred Cort), *Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits.* 6 vols. Cambridge, 1901–. [*In progress.*] See vol. v., 1904.

Hall (Arthur Cleveland), *Crime in its relation to Social Progress.* New York, 1901.

Henderson (Charles Richmond), *Social Settlements.* New York, 1897.

King (Henry Churchill), *Theology and the Social Consciousness.* New York, 1902.

Lang (J. Marshall), *The Church and its Social Mission.* Edinburgh, 1902.

Mudie-Smith (Richard), *The Religious Life of London.* London, 1904.

Schäffle (A. E. F.), *Bau und Leben des sozialen Körpers.* 2 vols. Tübingen, 1875–81. [2nd ed., 1896.]

Söderblom (Nathan), *Die Religion und die soziale Entwicklung.* Freiburg, 1898.

[1] *The Philosophy of the Christian Religion*, p. 192. London, 1902.

PERIODICALS

AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY. Chicago.
ANNALES DE L'INSTITUT INTERNATIONAL DE SOCIOLOGIE. Paris.
REVUE INTERNATIONALE DE SOCIOLOGIE. Paris.
SOCIOLOGICAL PAPERS. London.
SOCIAL TIDSKRIFT. Stockholm.
ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR SOZIALWISSENSCHAFT. Berlin.

NOTE XXXIII. (page 386)

THE BAMPTON LECTURERS, AND THEIR TOPICS

Although the founder of this Lectureship died in 1751, his bequest did not become effective until 1779. At the outset, a course of "eight Divinity Lecture Sermons" was delivered annually; since 1895, however, owing to a serious shrinkage of revenue, a course is provided only during alternate years. The Lecturer must be a graduate of Oxford or of Cambridge, and cannot be chosen a second time.

A complete list of the Lectures which, during the past one hundred and twenty years, have been supplied by the Bampton foundation, would require much more space than can be allotted to it in the present Note. Nor is it necessary to print the full list here, seeing that only a comparatively small number of the Lectures deal with topics which are germane to the subject that is expounded in this Manual. At least all the themes which relate to Comparative Religion, even indirectly, are duly recorded in their chronological order. Students who wish to inform themselves concerning the remainder of these Lectures should consult *The Historical Register* of Oxford University.

1780. BANDINEL (James), *The Christian Religion an Authentic Revelation.*
1784. WHITE (Joseph), *A Comparison of Mahometism and Christianity in their History, their Evidence, and their Effects.*
1788. SHEPHERD (Richard), *The Ground and Credibility of the Christian Religion.*
1792. EVELEIGH (John), *Christianity: Its Substance, History, and Evidences, and the Chief Objections which have been arrayed against it.*
1797. FINCH (William), *The Objections of Infidel Historians and other Writers against Christianity.*

1806. Browne (John), *The Revelation of the Divine Purposes in the Establishment and Preservation of True Religion.*
1808. Penrose (John), *An Attempt to prove the Truth of Christianity from the Wisdom displayed in its original Establishment, and from the History of False and Corrupted Systems of Religion.*
1809. Carwithen (John B. S.), *A View of the Brahminical Religion in its Confirmation of the Truth of the Sacred History, and in its Influence on the Moral Character.*
1823. Goddard (Charles), *The Mental Condition necessary to a due Inquiry into Religious Evidence.*
1832. Hampden (Renn Dickson), *The Scholastic Philosophy considered in its relation to Christian Theology.*
1843. Grant (Anthony), *The Past and Prospective Extension of the Gospel by Missions to the Heathen.*
1852. Riddle (Joseph E.), *The Natural History of Infidelity and Superstition in contrast with Christian Faith.*
1856. Litton (Edward A.), *The Mosaic Dispensation considered as introductory to Christianity.*
1862. Farrar (Adam Storey), *A Critical History of Free Thought in reference to the Christian Religion.*
1866. Liddon (Henry P.), *The Divinity of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.*
1872. Eaton (John R. T.), *The Permanence of Christianity.*
1874. Leathes (Stanley), *The Religion of the Christ: Its Historic and Literary Development considered as an Evidence of its Origin.*
1881. Wordsworth (John), *The One Religion: Truth, Holiness, and Peace desired by the Nations, and revealed by Jesus Christ.*
1887. Carpenter (W. B.), *The Permanent Elements of Religion.*

NOTE XXXIV. (page 386)

The Congregational Union Lecturers, and their Topics

The Congregational Lectureship, unlike most of its contemporaries, is not endowed; accordingly, it is not controlled by those restrictive "conditions" which almost invariably are found to be included in a formal Deed of Trust. Its platform is broadly democratic. During the last quarter of a century its interests have been supervised, and the several Lecturers selected, by the Executive of the Congregational Union; but from the outset, under changing but always flexible administration, it has been maintained practically by the sale of the Lectures which it has

provided. The financial side of the enterprise has never furnished any real ground for anxiety. The Lectures are not offered, necessarily, once each year; and, as a consequence, the successive volumes which have been published—the contents of some at least of which have never been delivered orally—have appeared at irregular intervals. The general aim of the Lectures has been "to illustrate the evidence and importance of the great doctrines of Revelation, to exhibit the true principles of philology in their application to such doctrines, to prove the accordance and identity of genuine philosophy with the records and discoveries of Scripture, . . . to trace to their proper sources the errors and corruptions which have existed in the Christian Church, . . . and to point out the methods of refutation and counteraction." The scheme, planned in 1831, came into operation two years later.

1833. WARDLAW (Ralph), *Christian Ethics; or, Moral Philosophy on the Principles of Divine Revelation.*
1834. VAUGHAN (Robert), *The Causes of the Corruption of Christianity.*
1835. GILBERT (Joseph), *The Christian Atonement.*
1836. HENDERSON (Ebenezer), *Divine Inspiration.*
1837. REDFORD (George), *Holy Scripture verified; or, the Divine Authority of the Bible confirmed by an Appeal to Facts.*
1839. SMITH (John Pye), *The Relation between Holy Scripture and some parts of Geological Science.*
1840. BENNETT (James), *The Theology of the Early Christian Church.*
1841. ALEXANDER (William L.), *The Connection and Harmony of the Old and New Testaments.*
1843. SCOTT (Walter), *The Existence of Evil Spirits proved, and their Agency explained.*
1844. HALLEY (Robert), *The Sacraments.* Part I.
1845. PAYNE (George), *The Doctrine of Original Sin.*
1847. HAMILTON (R. W.), *The Revealed Doctrine of Rewards and Punishments.*
1848. DAVIDSON (Samuel), *The Ecclesiastical Polity of the New Testament Unfolded.*
1849. STOWELL (William H.), *The Work of the Spirit.*
1851. HALLEY (Robert), *The Sacraments.* Part II.

[End of the First Series.]

1855. ALLIOTT (Richard), *Psychology and Theology.*
1857. STOUGHTON (John), *The Ages of Christendom.*
1861. KELLY (John), *The Divine Covenants.*
1862. GODWIN (J. H.), *Christian Faith.*

[End of the Second Series.]

1873. ROGERS (Henry), *The Superhuman Origin of the Bible.*

1874. Reynolds (Henry R.), *John the Baptist.*
1875. Dale (Robert W.), *The Atonement.*
1876. Mellor (Enoch), *Priesthood in the Light of the New Testament.*
1877. Conder (Eustace R.), *The Basis of Faith.*
1881. Rogers (J. Guinness), *The Church Systems of England in the Nineteenth Century.*
1882. [Various Authors], *Jubilee Lectures.* 2 vols.
1888. Cave (Alfred), *The Inspiration of the Old Testament inductively considered.*
1889. [Various Authors], *The English Revolution of 1688–89.* (The Bicentenary Lectures.)
1898. Brown (John) *Apostolical Succession in the Light of History and Fact.*

NOTE XXXV. (page 386)

The Baird Lecturers, and their Topics

By a most generous gift of £500,000, made under a Deed of Trust dated 1873, the late Mr. Baird aimed at advancing in various ways the aggressive religious work of the Church of Scotland. Among other notable provisions secured through this Deed, funds were provided for founding "The Baird Lecture," which was appointed to be delivered annually in Glasgow—"and also, if required, in such other one of the Scottish University towns as may from time to time be appointed by the Trustees." Each course consists of not fewer than six Lectures. The Lecturer is to be a minister of the Church of Scotland, "or a Minister of any other of the Scottish Presbyterian Churches." He is eligible for reappointment.

1873. Jamieson (Robert), *The Inspiration of the Holy Scriptures.*
1874. Crawford (Thomas J.), *The Mysteries of Christianity.*
1875. Smith (William), *Endowed Territorial Work: Its Importance to Church and Country.*
1876. Flint (Robert), *Theism.*
1877. Flint (Robert), *Anti-Theistic Theories.*
1878. Crombie (Frederick), *The Genuineness and Authenticity of the Gospel of John.*[1]
1879. Gloag (Paton J.), *The Messianic Prophecies.*
1880. Christie (John), *The Historical Development of Religion.*
1881. Matheson (George), *Natural Elements of Revealed Theology.*
1882. Mitchell (Alexander F.), *The Westminster Assembly.*

. . . . . .

[1] Not published.

1883–84. Dickson (William P.), *St. Paul's use of the terms Flesh and Spirit.*
1885–86. Milligan (William), *The Revelation of St. John.*
1887–88. Charteris (Archibald H.), *The Christian Church: Its Life and Work.*[1]
1889–90. Robertson (James), *The Early Religion of Israel.*
1891. Milligan (William), *The Ascension of our Lord.*
1892–93. Scott (Archibald), *Sacrifice: Its Prophecy and Fulfilment.*
1895–96. Cowan (Henry), *The Influence of the Scottish Church in Christendom.*
1897–98. Story (Robert H.), *The Apostolic Ministry in the Scottish Church.*
1899–00. Mitchell (Alexander F.), *The Scottish Reformation.*
1901–02. Lang (J. Marshall), *The Church and its Social Mission.*
1903–04. Macleod (Donald), *The Doctrine and Validity of the Ministry and Sacraments of the National Church of Scotland.*
1905–06. Paterson (William P.), *The Subject and Standard of Christian Doctrine.*

NOTE XXXVI. (page 386)

The Cunningham Lecturers, and their Topics

In order to perpetuate the memory of the late Rev. William Cunningham, D.D., Principal of the Free Church College, Edinburgh, and also to contribute towards advancing the theological literature of Scotland, the late Dr. W. Binny Webster directed, in terms of his Will, that the sum of £2000 should be set aside for the purpose of founding and endowing a Theological Lectureship. Accordingly, in 1864, two years subsequent to the death of the donor, the new enterprise was inaugurated. The Lecturer is to be in each instance, by preference, a Minister or Professor of the Free Church of Scotland; but this rule may be varied under exceptional circumstances. The appointment is tenable for not less than two years, or for more than three years. The Lectures are delivered in Edinburgh, and must be at least six in number.

1864. Candlish (Robert S.), *The Fatherhood of God.*
1866. Buchanan (James), *The Doctrine of Justification.*
1868. Fairbairn (Patrick), *The Revelation of Law in Scripture, considered with respect both of its Nature and to its Relative Place in successive Dispensations.*
1871. Walker (James), *Scottish Theology and Religion.*

[1] Not published.

1873. Rainy (Robert), *The Delivery and Development of Doctrine.*
1875. Bruce (Alexander B.), *The Humiliation of Christ, in its Physical, Ethical, and Official Aspects.*
1878. Laidlaw (John), *The Biblical Doctrine of Man's Origin and Nature.*
1880. Cairns (John), *Unbelief in the Eighteenth Century, as contrasted with earlier and later Centuries.*
1882. Smeaton (George), *The Doctrine of the Holy Spirit.*
1884. Candlish (James), *The Kingdom of God, Biblically and Historically considered.*
1886. Bannerman (Douglas), *What the Bible teaches about the Church.*
1888. Blaikie (William G.), *The Preachers of Scotland, from the Sixth to the Nineteenth Century.*
1890. Salmond (S. F. D.), *The Christian Doctrine of Immortality.*
1892. M'Crie (Charles G.), *The Public Worship of Presbyterian Scotland historically treated.*
1894. Macmillan (Hugh), *The Archæology of the Bible in the light of Recent Researches.*[1]
1897. Somerville (David), *St. Paul's Conception of Christ, or the Doctrine of the Second Adam.*
1899. Stalker (James), *The Christology of Jesus, or His Teaching concerning Himself according to the Synoptic Gospels.*
1902. Lindsay (Thomas M.), *The Church and the Ministry in the early Centuries.*
1904. Kennedy (H. A. A.), *St. Paul's Conception of the Last Things.*
1906. Fairweather (William), *The Historical Background of the Gospels, or Judaism in the period between the Old and New Testaments.*

NOTE XXXVII. (page 386)

The Croall Lecturers, and their Topics

The late Mr. Croall, because he was "deeply interested in the defence and maintenance of the doctrines of the Christian Religion in Scotland, and . . . desirous of increasing the religious literature of Scotland," resolved to found the Lectureship which already for a quarter of a century has borne his honoured name. It was his purpose to do for the Established Church of Scotland what the Bampton Lectures had done for the Established Church of England, and the Cunningham Lectures for the Free Church of Scotland; and, accordingly, he created a body of Trustees to whom, upon his death, there was handed for special investment

[1] Not published.

the sum of £5000. The Lectures—which are never less than six in number, and which are delivered in Edinburgh each alternate year—are given by ministers of one or other of the Presbyterian Churches of Scotland; but the Trustees "occasionally, if they see fit," are empowered to select a "clergyman of any Reformed Church other than Presbyterian." The same Lecturer cannot hold this post a second time.

1875–76. TULLOCH (John), *The Christian Doctrine of Sin.*
1877–78. CAIRD (John), *The Relations of Philosophy and Religion.*
1879–80. MILLIGAN (William), *The Resurrection of our Lord.*
1881–82. CHARTERIS (Archibald H.), *The New Testament Scriptures: Their Claims, History, and Authority.*
1885–86. CUNNINGHAM (John), *The Growth of the Church: Its Organisations and Institutions.*
1887–88. FLINT (Robert), *Agnosticism.*
1889–90. SCOTT (Archibald), *Buddhism and Christianity: A Parallel and a Contrast.*
1891–92. HASTIE (William), *The Theology of the Reformed Church and its Fundamental Principles.*
1893–94. ROBERTSON (James), *The Poetry and the Religion of the Psalms.*
1897–98. NICOL (Thomas), *Recent Archæology and the Bible.*
1899–00. PATRICK (John), *Clement of Alexandria.*[1]
1901–02. STEWART (Alexander), *Creeds and Churches: Studies in Symbolics.*[1]
1903–04. BRUCE (William S.), *Christian Social Ethics.*[1]

NOTE XXXVIII. (page 387)

THE HIBBERT LECTURERS, AND THEIR TOPICS

In the second half of the nineteenth century, there passed away one whose benefactions have contributed materially towards the study of Comparative Religion in Great Britain. For a considerable period, the income of the Hibbert Trust was used almost exclusively in aiding the researches of students of superior mental endowment who were looking forward to the ministry; for Mr. Hibbert expressly stated that expenditures might be incurred in any way that would prove "conducive to the spread of Christianity in its most simple and intelligible form, and to the unfettered exercise of private judgment in matters of religion." Shortly prior to 1878, however, an influentially signed letter was addressed to the Trustees, praying that some portion at least of the funds should be devoted to the establishment of a Lecture-

[1] Not published.

ship, under whose auspices the various religious Faiths of mankind might receive capable and exhaustive treatment; and it was suggested that Specialists of international rank should be invited to render this service. The outcome of this proposal was the delivery and publication of the following notable Lectures. With the exception of the first volume, they have recently been re-issued in a convenient, cheap, and uniform edition.

1878. MAX MÜLLER (Friedrich), *Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion, as illustrated by the Religions of India.* [2nd edition.]

1879. RENOUF (Sir Peter le Page), *Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion, as illustrated by the Religion of Ancient Egypt.* [4th edition.]

1880. RENAN (J. Ernest), *The Influence of the Institutions, Thought, and Culture of Rome on Christianity and the Development of the Catholic Church.*

1881. DAVIDS (T. W. Rhys), *Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion, as illustrated by some Points in the History of Indian Buddhism.* [2nd edition.]

1882. KUENEN (Abraham), *National Religions and Universal Religions.*

1883. BEARD (Charles), *The Reformation of the Sixteenth Century in its relation to Modern Thought and Knowledge.* [3rd edition.]

1884. RÉVILLE (Albert), *Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion, as illustrated by the native Religions of Mexico and Peru.*

1885. PFLEIDERER (Otto), *The Influence of the Apostle Paul on the Development of Christianity.*

1886. RHYS (John), *Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion, as illustrated by Celtic Heathendom.*

1887. SAYCE (Archibald Henry), *Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion, as illustrated by the Religion of the Ancient Babylonians.* [5th edition.]

1888. HATCH (Edwin), *The Influence of Greek Ideas and Usages upon the Christian Church.* [7th edition.]

1891. GOBLET D'ALVIELLA (Count Eugène), *Lectures on the Origin and Growth of the Conception of God, as illustrated by Anthropology and History.* [2nd edition.]

1892. MONTEFIORE (Claude G.), *Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion, as illustrated by the Religion of the Ancient Hebrews.* [2nd edition.]

1893. UPTON (Charles B.), *The Bases of Religious Belief.* [2nd edition.]

1894. DRUMMOND (James), *Via, Veritas, Vita: Lectures on Christianity in its most simple and intelligible Form.*

NOTE XXXIX. (page 387)

The Gifford Lecturers, and their Topics

In the year following Lord Gifford's death (1887), the first Lecturers under his munificent bequest of £80,000 began their honourable and important task. Under the terms of this Trust, lectures are to be delivered at brief intervals in each of the four Scottish Universities. The Scholars competent to fill this post are in no case to be excluded because of their ecclesiastical connections: "They may be of any religion or way of thinking, or (as is sometimes said) they may be of no religion, or they may be so-called sceptics or agnostics, or free-thinkers." Their eminence as specialists in "Natural Theology in the widest sense of the term," and their ability to deal with it as a "strictly natural science," such as Astronomy or Chemistry, are to be held to be the essential qualifications. "The Knowledge of God . . . and of the Relations which men and the whole universe bear Him, the Knowledge of the Nature and Foundation of Ethics and Morals," are in every instance to be interpreted in the light of the fullest and freest research, and wholly untrammelled by the fetters of tradition or established convention.

I. Edinburgh University

1888–89. Stirling (J. Hutchison), *Philosophy and Theology.*
1890–91. Stokes (Sir George G.), *Natural Theology.*
1892–93. Pfleiderer (Otto), *The Philosophy and Development of Religion.*
1894–95. Fraser (A. Campbell), *The Philosophy of Theism.*
1896–97. Tiele (Cornelis P.), *Elements of the Science of Religion.*
1899–00. James (William), *The Varieties of Religious Experience.*
1904–05. Gwatkin (Henry M.), *The Knowledge of God.*

II. Glasgow University

1888–91. Max Müller (Friedrich), *Natural Religion.*
" " " *Physical Religion.*
" " " *Anthropological Religion.*
" " " *Psychological Religion.*
1892–93. Caird (John), *The Fundamental Ideas of Christianity.*
1894–95. Wallace (William), *Natural Theology, and the relation of Religion to Morality.*[1]

[1] Published in part, with some additional papers, in a memorial volume, entitled *Lectures and Essays on Natural Theology and Ethics.* Oxford, 1898.

1895–96. Caird (John), *Fundamental Ideas of Christianity.*
1897–98. Bruce (Alexander B.), *The Providential Order of the World.*
" " " *The Moral Order of the World.*
1900–02. Caird (Edward), *The Evolution of Theology in the Greek Philosophers.*
1903–04. Boutroux (Émile), *Nature and Spirit.*

III. Aberdeen University

1889–91. Tylor (Edward B.), *Natural Religion.*[1]
1891–93. Fairbairn (Andrew M.), *The Philosophy and History of Religions.*[2]
1896–98. Ward (James), *Naturalism and Agnosticism.*
1899–00. Royce (Josiah), *The World and the Individual.*
1901–02. Sayce (Archibald H.), *The Religions of Ancient Egypt and Babylonia.*
1904–06. Adam (James), *The Religious Teachers of Greece.*

IV. St. Andrews University

1888–90. Lang (Andrew), *The Making of Religion.*
1890–92. Caird (Edward), *The Evolution of Religion.*
1894–96. Campbell (Lewis), *Religion in Greek Literature.*
1899–01. Lanciani (Rodolfo A.), *New Tales of Old Rome.*
1902–04. Haldane (Richard B.), *The Pathway to Reality.*

NOTE XL. (page 387)

The American Lectures on the History of Religions

Organised in 1892 "for the purpose of encouraging the intelligent study of religions," the American Committee which has this undertaking in charge includes among its members representatives of Columbia, Cornell, Johns Hopkins, Pennsylvania, Yale, and other leading American Universities. A course consists of at least six lectures. As will be perceived from the following list, the holders of this Lectureship have been men who, irrespective of nationality, are recognised as occupying a foremost place among the expounders of the special subjects upon which they have been invited to speak.

1895. Davids (T. W. Rhys), *Buddhism: Its History and Literature.*

[1] Not published as delivered, but see page 262.
[2] Not published. Cp. page 178.

1896. Brinton (Daniel G.), *The Religions of Primitive Peoples.*
1898. Cheyne (Thomas K.), *Jewish Religious Life after the Exile.*
1899. Budde (Karl), *The Religion of Israel to the Exile.*
1903. Steindorff (Georg), *The Religion of the Early Egyptians.*

NOTE XLI. (page 392)

The Vitality of the Chicago "Parliament of Religions" Idea

In a Circular, issued at Chicago, and dated June 9, 1902, it was intimated that "The Committee of the Religious Parliament Extension of Chicago deem it advisable not to lose the vantage-ground that has been secured, but rather to keep together those elements which are inspired with the hope of continued friendly international and inter-religious relations. And so *we propose to keep on file the names* of all those who are glad that the Religious Parliament took place, and who would help to extend its beneficial influence, and who look upon it as the seed-time of a future harvest that is developing slowly (but with certainty) in the hearts of mankind." Subsequently a report of the proceedings of the "First Anniversary Celebration" of the Parliament, held at the close of the decade which immediately followed its dissolution, was printed and widely distributed. Moreover, certain propositions, framed by Rev. George T. Candlin, a member of the Committee, have been recommended as a formal *Basis of Union* among all present and prospective advocates of the extension of this movement. The Document in question is drawn up in the following terms:—

The Members of the Religious Parliament Extension covenant with each other as follows:—

1. Personally, never to speak slightingly of the religious faith of another. This does not debar the kindly and reverential discussion of differences that exist, or the frank utterance of individual belief.

2. Officially, to promote by all means in our power, by oral teaching and through the press, and by whatever opportunity God may give us, a spirit of brotherly regard and honest respect for the beliefs of others.

3. To discourage among the various peoples all such practices and ceremonies as, not constituting an essential part of their faith, are inimical to its purity and are the strongest barriers to friendly relations.

4. To promote all such measures as will advance reform, progress and enlightenment, political liberty and social improvement, among the people of our own faith and nationality.

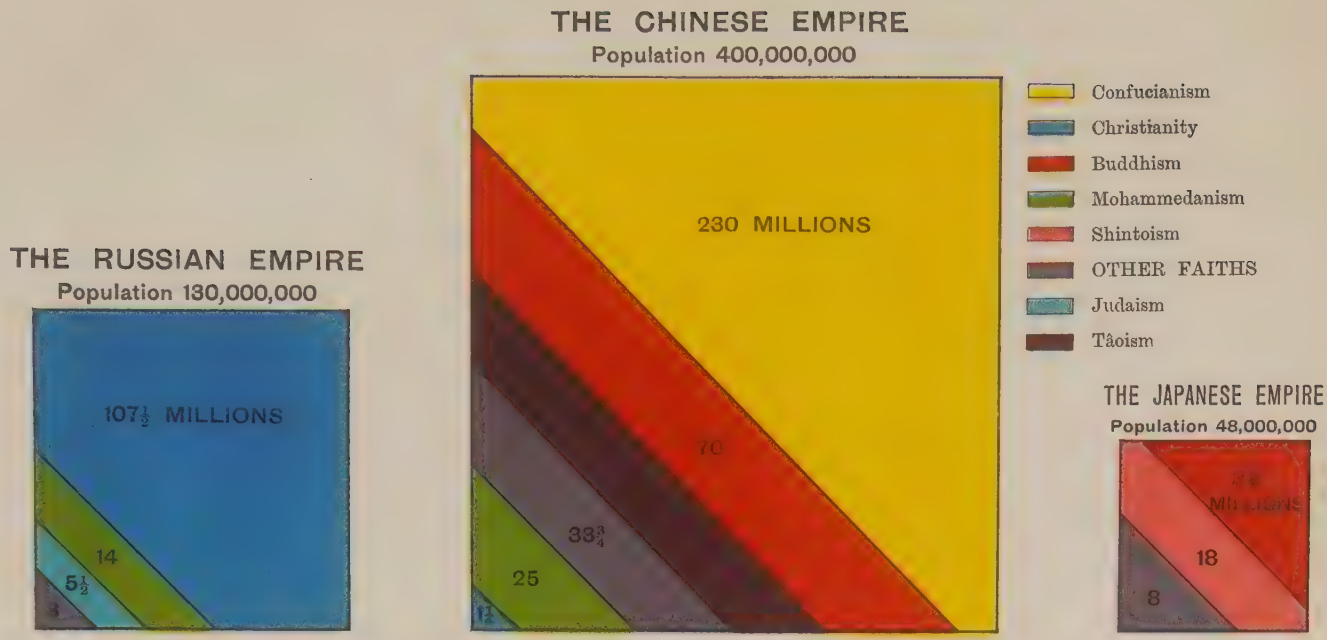
5. To regard it as a part of our holiest work to enlist in the same noble cause all men of ability and influence with whom we are brought into contact.

CHARTS

THE TERRITORIAL DISTRIBUTION
OF
THE PRINCIPAL RELIGIONS OF THE WORLD

DIAGRAM 1, GREAT BRITAIN, FRANCE, AND TURKEY.

See Page 579



THE TERRITORIAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE PRINCIPAL RELIGIONS OF THE WORLD

DIAGRAM 2, RUSSIA, CHINA, AND JAPAN.

See Page 579.

NOTES SUPPLEMENTARY TO CHARTS I.,[1] II., AND III.

In compiling and constructing these Charts, the very greatest pains have been taken to report accurately the conclusions which agree most closely with the present standard of our knowledge. To that end, the advice of the leading Statistical Societies, and of some of the ablest living Specialists in this department—alike in France, in Germany, in Great Britain, and in the United States—has been sought for, and has been embodied in the accompanying Diagrams.

It must be understood that the numerical strength of the various Religions, as shown in these three Charts, is exhibited in the form of *merely approximate estimates*. Strict accuracy in this connection must, for many years to come, lie wholly beyond our reach. Nevertheless, for purposes of general comparison, the respective Diagrams probably represent the facts in each case with a fairly reliable measure of exactness.

It is hoped that an honest examination and critical testing of the Totals which have been arrived at may frequently furnish a subject for suggestive and fruitful inquiry. In any case, these Charts give a tentative answer to a question which is continually being asked to-day, and concerning which it is extremely difficult to obtain any trustworthy information, viz., What (speaking generally) is the present relative strength of Christianity, Confucianism, Buddhism, etc.? That the several estimates, now deliberately formulated, are in certain particulars open to argument, is no sufficient reason why they should not frankly be published; on the contrary, it is because opinion in this field admittedly remains *very greatly divided* that it is surely time this diversity of conviction should be reduced,—even though it cannot as yet be eradicated. Yet it may be hoped that, by adopting the course here followed, present radical differences of view may gradually become harmonised, while some fondly treasured delusions may speedily and quite naturally become dissipated.

If students of Religious Statistics to-day were less reluctant to print the conclusions to which they have conscientiously been led, the dogmatic and utterly misleading assertions of numerous irresponsible teachers would be promptly contradicted and corrected; and the uncertainty of one's *data*, at present so formidable a barrier to progress in this difficult department of inquiry, would already have been materially lessened. Accordingly, the attempt which has been made in this Manual to bring our knowledge of Religious Statistics within definite and limited boundaries—even though, in the meantime, it should arouse some protest and debate—will assuredly help to eliminate error by eliciting such facts as are capable of being established on the basis of ample verification.

It will be observed that a uniform scheme of colouring has been followed in the preparation of each of these Charts. Thus, BLUE stands invariably for Christianity, YELLOW for Confucianism, RED for Hinduism, GREEN for Mohammedanism, etc.

A total of One Million persons has been adopted as the *unit* of our numerical estimate, seeing that these Charts do not profess to represent the facts with more than *approximate accuracy*. Accordingly, in Charts II. and III. all religious communions which number in the aggregate less than One Million have perforce been omitted.

[1] For Chart I., see *Frontispiece*.

CHART IV.

THE PRESENT POSITION OF COMPARATIVE RELIGION IN THE WORLD'S UNIVERSITIES, COLLEGES, ETC.

A Summary of the Replies received in response to a series of printed Queries.

Name of Institution.	If a Chair for imparting Instruction in Comparative Religion exists—					If no such Chair exists—		
	What is its Title.	When Founded.	Occupants of the Chair.	No. of Lecture Hours each Week.	What Fellowships, Lectureships, etc., are provided.	Is such a Foundation Probable.	Which Department makes Present Provision for this Subject.	No. of Lecture Hours each Week.
AFRICA.								
Cape Colony.								
1. Cape Town—The University of the Cape of Good Hope.	..	..	..	..	..	No.[1]	None.	..
N. AMERICA.								
Canada.								
2. Halifax—Dalhousie University.	..	..	..	..	..	Doubtful.	None.	..
3. ,, The Presbyterian College [Theological].	..	..	..	..	..	..	Apologetics.	..[2]
4. Kingston—Queen's University.	..	..	..	..	..	Doubtful.	O.T. Criticism, and Apologetics.	..
5. Montreal—M'Gill University.	..	..	..	..	..	Not at present.	None.	..
6. ,, The Diocesan College [Theological].	..	..	..	..	..	..	[No Response.]	..
7. ,, The Wesleyan College [Theological].	..	..	..	..	..	..	Church History.	..
8. ,, The Presbyterian College [Theological].	..	..	..	..	..	..	Dogmatics, Church History, and Apologetics.	..[3]

9. ,, The Congregational College [Theological].	..	..	..	..	..	Doubtful.	None.	..[4]
10. Quebec—Laval University.	.	..	..	..	..	..	[No Response.]	..
11. Toronto—The University.		..	..	..	..	No.[5]	Oriental Languages.	..
12. ,, Trinity University [Anglican].		..	..	..	..	No.	None.	..
13. ,, Victoria University [Methodist].	..	..	..	..	..	..	Historical Theology.	..[6]
14. ,, M'Master University [Baptist].	.	..		..	..	Improbable.	Church History, and Apologetics.	..
15. ,, Knox College [Presbyterian, Theological].	..	..	.	..	..	..	Apologetics.	1
16. Winnipeg—Manitoba College [Presbyterian].	..	..	..	..	..	..	Apologetics.	2 7
17. ,, Wesley College [Methodist].	.	..	.	..	..	Doubtful.	Dogmatics.	..[8]
United States.								
18. Allegheny, Pa. — Western Theological Seminary [Presbyterian].	..	..	..	..	..	No.	Didactic and Polemic Theology.	..
19. Ann Arbor.—The University of Michigan.	..	..	..	..	..	..	Semitic Language and Literatures.	..
20. Auburn, N.Y.—Theological Sem. [Presbyterian].	..	..	..	..	..	Doubtful.	None.	..[9]
21. Austin—The University of Texas.	..	..	.	..	..	..	[No Response.]	..
22. Baltimore—Johns Hopkins University.	..	..	..	..	..	Doubtful.	None.	..[10]
23. Berkeley—The University of California.	..	..	..	..	..	No.	None.	..
24. Bloomington—The University of Indiana.	..	..	..	..	..	No.	None.	..
25. Boston—The University.	Comparative Theology and the History and Philosophy of Religion.	1873	President William F. Warren, D.D., LL.D., 1873– .	2	..[11]	..	..	..
26. Bryn Mawr, Pa. — The College [For Women].	..	..	..	..	..	..	Bib. Literature and Semitic Languages.	..
27. Cambridge—Harvard University.	[See Note 12]	..	..	..	..	..	History of Religions, Semitic Languages and History.	..[12]
28. Chicago—The University.	Comparative Religion.[15]	1892	Professor George S. Goodspeed, Ph.D., 1892– .	6-10	Haskell Lectureship[13] (annual).	..	..	..
			Docent Edmund Buckley, Ph.D., 1892– .	..	Barrows Lectureship[14] (triennial). Haskell Oriental Museum.			
29. ,, The Theological Seminary [Congregational].	Assyriology and Comparative Religion.	1894	Professor Edward T. Harper, D.D., 1894 .	4	None.[16]	..	..	..

Name of Institution.	If a Chair for imparting Instruction in Comparative Religion exists—					If no such Chair exists—		
	What is its Title.	When Founded.	Occupants of the Chair.	No. of Lecture Hours each Week.	What Fellowships, Lectureships, etc., are provided.	Is such a Foundation Probable.	Which Department makes Present Provision for this Subject.	No. of Lecture Hours each Week.
N. America—*United States (contd.)*—								
30. Chicago—M'Cormick Theol. Sem. [Presbyterian].	..	..	..	..	..	..	Apologetics.	2 [17]
31. Cleveland, O.—Western Reserve University.	..	..	..	..	..	No.	None.	..
32. Easton, Pa.—Lafayette College.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1 [18]
33. Evanston, Ill.—North-western University.	..	..	..	..	..	Doubtful.	Biblical Instruction, and Philosophy.	2 [19]
34. Hamilton, N.Y.—Colgate University.	..	..	..	..	..	Doubtful.	..	.. [20]
35. Hartford, Conn.—The Theological Seminary [Congregational].	..	..	..	..	..	Yes.	Apologetics, and Missions.	3 [21]
36. Ithaca, N.Y.—Cornell University.	The History and Philosophy of Religion, and Christian Ethics.[22]	1891	Professor Charles Mellen Tyler, D.D., 1891– .	7	Scholarships, $300 each (annual). Fellowships, $500 each (annual).	..	..	..
37. Lake Forest, Ill.—Lake Forest College.	..	..	..	..	..	..	Biblical Literature.	.. [23]
38. Lincoln—The University of Nebraska.	..	..	..	..	..	..	[No Response.]	..
39. Louisville, Ky.—The Presbyterian Theol. Sem. of Kentucky.	..	..	..	..	..	..	Apologetics.	2 [24]
40. Madison—The University of Wisconsin.	..	..	..	..	..	No.[25]	None.	..
41. Minneapolis—The University of Minnesota.	..	..	..	..	..	No.	Philosophy.	.. [26]
42. Nashville, Tenn.—Vanderbilt University.	..	..	..	..	..	..	[No Response.]	..
43. New Haven, Conn.—Yale University.	..	..	..	..	..	Yes.	Systematic Theology, Oriental Languages, and Philosophy.	5 [27]
44. New York City—New York University.	Comparative Religion.	1887	Professor Frank F. Ellinwood, D.D., LL.D., 1887– .	1-3	None.[28]	..	..	..
45. ,, Columbia University.	..	..	..	..	..	Doubtful.	None.	.. [29]
46. ,, The General Theol. Sem. [Protestant Episcopal].	Christian Philosophy and Moral Theology.	1895	Professor Charles Theodore Saibt, D.D., 1895–1903.*	3	None.	..	..	..

* Chair is vacant at present.

47. ,, Union Theol. Seminary.	The Philosophy and History of Religion.	1899	Professor George Wm. Knox, D.D.,[30] 1899– .	4–5	Ely Lectureship (biennial). Morse Lectureship (biennial).	..	..	..
48. Oberlin, O.—Oberlin College.	[See Note 31]	..	..	..	..	Probable.	Theology, and Philosophy.	5[31]
49. Oxford, Pa.—Lincoln University.	..	..	..	..	..	Doubtful.	Christian Theology.	..
50. Palo Alto. Cal.—Leland Stanford Jr. University.	..	..	..	..	..	Doubtful.	Education.	4[32]
51. Philadelphia—University of Pennsylvania.	..	..	..	..	..	Doubtful.	None.	..
52. Princeton, N.J.—The University.	..	..	..	..	..	Doubtful.	None.	..[33]
53. ,, The Theological Seminary [Presbyterian].	(*a*) The Relations of Philosophy and Science to the Christian Religion.	1881	President Francis L. Patton, D.D., LL.D., 1881–1888.	..	Lectureship on Theism.	..	..	..
			Professor Charles A. Aiken, D.D., 1888–1892.	..	Lectureship on Missions (annual).			
			Professor W. Brenton Greene, Jr., D.D., 1892– .	6[34]	Fellowship, $500 (quinquennial).			
	(*b*) The Philosophy of Religion.	1903	President F. L. Patton, D.D., LL.D., 1903– .	2[34]				
54. Providence, R.I.—Brown University.	Natural Theology.[35]	1892	Professor James Seth, M.A., 1892–1896.	..	None.	..	..	..
			Professor Walter G. Everett, 1896– .	5				
55. Syracuse, N.Y.—The University.	..	..	..	..	..	..	Philosophy, Semitic Languages, and Bib. Literature.	..[36]
56. Washington, D.C.—The Carnegie Institution.	..	..	..	..	..	..	[No Response.]	..
57. ,, The Catholic University of America.	..	..	..	..	..	..	Apologetics.	4
58. ,, The Columbian University.	..	..	..	..	..	.	[No Response.]	..
59. Wooster, O.—The University.	..	..	..	..	..	..	[No Response.]	..
60. Worcester, Mass.—Clark University.	[See Note 37]	..	..	..	..	No.	Psychology.	..[37]

Name of Institution.	If a Chair for imparting Instruction in Comparative Religion exists—					If no such Chair exists—		
	What is its Title.	When Founded.	Occupants of the Chair.	No. of Lecture Hours each Week.	What Fellowships, Lectureships, etc., are provided.	Is such a Foundation Probable.	Which Department makes Present Provision for this Subject.	No. of Lecture Hours each Week.
S. America.								
Argentine Republic.								
61. Buenos Ayres—The National University.	..	..	..	..	..	..	[No Response.]	..
Chile.								
62. Santiago—The University of Chile.	..	..	..	..	..	..	[No Response.]	..
Peru.								
63. Lima—The University of Lima.	..	..	..	..	..	..	[No Response.]	..
Asia.								
India.								
64. Allahabad—The University.	..	..	..	..	..	No.	None.	..38
65. Bombay—The University.	..	..	..	..	..	..	[No Response.]	..
66. Calcutta—The University.	..	..	..	..	..	No.	None.	..
67. Madras—The University.	..	..	..	..	..	No.	None.	..
Japan.								
68. Kyoto—The Imperial University.	..	..	..	..	..	No.	None.	..
69. Tokyo—The Imperial University of Japan.	The Science of Religion.	1903	Professor Masahar Anesaki, Ph.D., 1903–	4	..	..	..	..
Australasia.								
Australia.								
70. Adelaide, S. Aus.—The University.	..	..	..	..	..	No.	Philosophy.	..39
71. Melbourne, Vic.—The University.	..	..	..	..	..	No.	None.	..39
72. ,, Ormond College [Presbyterian].	..	..	..	..	..	..	[No Response.]	..
73. ,, Queen's College [Methodist.	..	..	..	..	..	..	[No Response.]	..

74. , Trinity College [Anglican].	..	..	..	..	..	..	[No Response.]	..
75. Sydney, N.S.W.—The University.	..	..	..		..	No.	None.	..39
76. ,, St. Andrews College [Presbyterian].	..	..			..	..	[No Response.]	..
77. ,, St. John's College [Roman Catholic].	..	..	..	..	..	..	[No Response.]	..
78. ,, St. Paul's College [Anglican].	..	..	..	..	..	..	[No Response.]	..
New Zealand.								
79. Wellington — The University of New Zealand.	..	..	..	..	..	No.	None.	..39
EUROPE.								
Austria and Hungary.								
80. Budapest—The University.	..	..	..	..	..	Doubtful.	Theologia fundamentalis.	..40
81. Cracow—The University.	..	..	..	..	..	..	[No Response.]	..
82. Graz—The University.	..	..	..	..	..	..	[No Response.]	..
83. Innsbruck—The University.	..	..	..	..	..	..	Church History, and Propædeutic.	..
84. Prague—The University.	..	..	..	..	..	No.	Theology, and Philosophy.	..41
85. Vienna—The University.	..	..	..	..	..	No.	None.	..
Belgium.								
86. Brussels—The University.	The History of Religions.42	1884	Count Goblet d'Alviella, LL.D., 1884–	1	..	..	..	..
87. Ghent—The University.	..	..	..	..	..	No.	None.	..
88. Liège—The University.	..	..	..	..	..	..	[No Response.]	..
89. Louvain—The University.	..	..	..	..	..	..	[No Response.]	..
British Isles—England.								
90. Cambridge—The University.	..	..	..	..	..	Doubtful.	None.	..43
91. ,, Westminster College [Presbyterian, Theological].	..	..	..	..	..	No.	Apologetics.	..44

Name of Institution.	If a Chair for imparting Instruction in Comparative Religion exists—					If no such Chair exists—		
	What is its Title.	When Founded.	Occupants of the Chair.	No. of Lecture Hours each Week.	What Fellowships, Lectureships, etc., are provided.	Is such a Foundation Probable.	Which Department makes Present Provision for this Subject.	No. of Lecture Hours each Week.
Europe—*British Isles—England (contd.)*—								
92. London—The University.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..[45]
93. ,, King's College.	..	..	..	..	..	Possible.	Philosophy.	1[46]
94. ,, Cheshunt College.	The Philosophy of Theism.	1902	Professor Herbert T. Andrews, B.A., 1902–1904.	2	47 ..	..	..	..
95. ,, Hackney College [Congregational].	The Philosophy of Theism, Comparative Religion, and Christian Ethics.	1903	Professor Alfred E. Garvie, D.D., 1903–	4	48 ..	..	..	..
96. ,, New College [Congregational].			.	..	..	..	..	..
97. ,, Regent's Park College [Baptist].	..	..	..	..	..	..	Church History, and Apologetics.	..[49]
98. ,, St. John's Hall, Highbury [Anglican].	..	.	..	..	..	Possible.	..	..[50]
99. ,, Wesleyan College, Richmond [Methodist].	..	..	..	..	..	No.	..	..[51]
100. Manchester—Victoria University.	Comparative Religion.[52]	1904	Professor T. W. Rhys Davids, LL.D., 1904– .	..	..	..	..	..
101. Newcastle—The University of Durham.	..	..	..	..	..	No.	None.	..
102. Oxford—The University.	..	..	..	..	..	Doubtful.	None.	..[53]
103. ,, Mansfield College [Congregational, Theological].	The Philosophy and History of Religion.	1886	Principal Andrew M. Fairbairn, D.D., LL.D., 1886– .	2	54 ..	..	..	..
104. ,, Manchester College [Unitarian, Theological].	(*a*) Comparative Religion.	1876	Rev. J. Estlin Carpenter, M.A., 1876– .	1-2	55 ..	..	..	..
	(*b*) The Philosophy of Religion.	1903	Rev. Lawrence P. Jacks, M.A., 1903– .	2	..	..	..	..
British Isles—Scotland.								
105. Aberdeen—The University.	..	..	..	..	..	Probable.	Systematic Theology.	..[56]
106. ,, The United Free Church College.	..	..	..	..	..	No.	Apologetics.	..

107. Edinburgh—The University.	..	..	..	..	..	Yes.	Divinity.	..[57]
108. ,, The United Free Church College ["New College"].	..	..	..	..	..	..	Apologetics.	..[58]
109. Glasgow—The University.	..	..	..	..	..	Doubtful.	..	..[57]
110. ,, The United Free Church College.	..	..	..	..	..	..	Apologetics, and O.T. Language and Literature.	..[59]
111. St. Andrews—The University.	..	..	..	..	..	No.	Apologetics.	..
British Isles—Wales.								
112. Aberystwyth—The University of Wales.	..	..	..	..	..	No.	None.	..[60]
113. Lampeter—St. David's College.	..	..	..	..	..	No.	..	..
British Isles—Ireland.								
114. Belfast—The Assembly's College [Presbyterian].	..	..	..	..	..	..	[No Response.]	..
115. ,, Queen's College [Undenominational].	..	..	..	..	..	No.	None.	..
116. Dublin—The University.	..	..	..	..	..	No.	Lectureship in Divinity.	2[61]
117. ,, The Royal University of Ireland.	..	..	..	..	..	No.	None.	..
Denmark.								
118. Copenhagen—The University.	The History of Religion.[62]	1900	Professor Eduard Lehmann, Ph.D., 1900– .	2-3	..	..	..	..
France.								
119. Bordeaux—The University.	..	..	..	..	..	..	[No Response.]	..
120. Dijon—The University.	..	..	..	..	..	No.	..	..
121. Lille—The University.	..	..	..	..	..	..	[No Response.]	..
122. Lyons—The University.	..	..	..	..	..	..	[No Response.]	..
123. Marseilles—The University.	..	..	..	..	..	No.	Philosophy.	..[63]
124. Montauban—Evangelical Theol. Faculty [University of Toulouse].	The Comparative History of Religions.[64]	1899	Professor Alexandre Westphal, D.D., 1899– .	1	..	..	..	..
125. Nancy—The University.	..	..	..	..	..	No.	..	..
126. Paris—The University.	..	..	..	..	..	..	[No Response.]	..
127. ,, Faculty of Protestant Theology.	..	..	..	..	..	No.	Patristic.	..[65]
128. ,, École des Hautes Études.	..	..	..	..	..	No.	14 Special Lectureships.	..[66]
129. ,, Collège de France.	The History of Religions.[67]	1880	Professor Albert Réville, D.D., 1880– .	2	..	..	..	..

Name of Institution.	If a Chair for imparting Instruction in Comparative Religion exists—					If no such Chair exists—		
	What is its Title.	When Founded.	Occupants of the Chair.	No. of Lecture Hours each Week.	What Fellowships, Lectureships, etc., are provided.	Is such a Foundation Probable.	Which Department makes Present Provision for this Subject.	No. of Lecture Hours each Week.
Europe—*France (contd.)*—								
130. Toulouse—The University.	[See under Montauban.]	..	.	..	..	..	..	..
Germany.								
131. Berlin—The University.	[See Note [68]]	..	..	..	..	Doubtful.	Dogmatic, Philosophy, and Philology.	..[68]
Greece.								
132. Athens—The University.	Mythology and Greek Antiquity.[69]	1890	Professor Nicolaos G. Politis, 1890– .	..	..	..	..	..
Holland.								
133. Amsterdam—The University.	The History of Religions, and the Philosophy of Religion.[70]	1878	Professor P. D. Chantepie de la Saussaye, D.D., 1878–1900.	..	..	..	..	..
			Professor Wilhelm Brandt, D.Theol., 1900– .	2-3				
134. ,, The Free University.	..	..	..	..	..	..	[No Response.]	..
135. Gröningen—The University.	The History of Religions, and the Philosophy of Religion.	1877	Professor Gijsbret Hendrik Lamers, D.Theol., 1877–1883.	..	..	..	..	..
			Professor Izaak van Dijk, D.Theol., 1883– .	4				
136. Leyden—The University.	The History of Religions, and the Philosophy of Religion.	1877	Professor Cornelis P. Tiele, D.Theol., 1877–1901.	..	..	..	..	..
			Professor W. Brede Kristensen, Ph.D., 1901– .	4				

137. Utrecht—The University.	The History of Religions, and the Philosophy of Religion.	1877	Professor Jacobus I. Doedes, D.Theol., 1877–1883.	..	..	..	..	..
			Professor G. H. Lamers, D.Theol., 1883–1903.	3				
			Professor Hugo Visscher, D.Theol., 1903–	3				
Italy.								
138. Bologna—The University.	..	..	..	..	..	..	[No Response.]	..
139. Catania—The University.	..	..	..	..	..	..	[No Response.]	..
140. Naples—The University.	..	..	..	..	..	..	[No Response.]	..
141. Padua—The University.	..	..	..	..	..	No.	..	..
142. Palermo—The University.	..	..	..	..	..	..	[No Response.]	..
143. Rome—The University.	..	..	..	..	..	..	[No Response.]	..
144. Turin—The University.	..	..	..	..	..	No.	..	..
Norway.								
145. Christiania—The University.	..	.	..	..	..	Probable.	..	..[71]
Portugal.								
146. Coimbra—The University.	..	..	..	..	..	..	[No Response.]	..
Russia.								
147. Dorpat—The University.								
148. Helsingfors—The University.	..	..	..	..	..	..	[No Response.]	..
149. Moscow—The University.	..	..	..	..	..	..	[No Response.]	..
150. Odessa—The University.	..	..	..	..	..	..	[No Response.]	..
151. St. Petersburg—The University.	..	..	..	..	..	..	[No Response.]	..
152. Warsaw—The University.	..	..	..	..	..	..	[No Response.]	..
Spain.								
153. Barcelona—The University.								
154. Granada—The University.	..	..	..	..	..	..	[No Response.]	..
155. Madrid—The University.	..	..	..	..	..	..	[No Response.]	.
156. Seville—The University.	..	..	..	..	..	..	[No Response.]	..
	..	..	..	..	..	..	[No Response.]	..
Sweden.								
157. Gothenburg—The University.	..	..	..	..	..	Doubtful.	None.	..
158. Lund—The University.	..	..	..	..	..	..	[No Response.]	..

Name of Institution.	If a Chair for imparting Instruction in Comparative Religion exists—					If no such Chair exists—		
	What is its Title.	When Founded.	Occupants of the Chair.	No. of Lecture Hours each Week.	What Fellowships, Lectureships, etc., are provided.	Is such a Foundation Probable.	Which Department makes Present Provision for this Subject.	No. of Lecture Hours each Week.
Europe—*Sweden (contd.)*—								
159. Stockholm—The University.	..	..	..	..	..	No.	None.	..[72]
160. Upsala—The University.	The History of Religions, and the Philosophy of Religion.[73]	1878	Professor K. H. G. von Schéele, D.D., 1878–1885.	..	1 Lectureship, 1200 crowns (annual).	..	..	..
			Professor J. A. Ekman, D.D., 1886–1900.	..	1 Fellowship, 800 crowns (annual).			
			Professor Nathan Söderblom, D.D., 1891– .	4–6	2 Fellowships, 600 crowns each (annual).			
Switzerland.								
161. Bâle—The University.	The General History of Religion.[74]	1840	Professor Johan Georg Müller, D.Theol., 1840–1875.	..	..	..	..	..
			Professor Conrad von Orelli, D.Theol., 1875– .	4				
			Professor Bernhard Duhm, D.Theol., 1889– .	4				
162. Berne—The University.	..	..	..	..	..	No.	Theological Encyclopædia.	4–5[75]
163. Freiburg—The University.	..	..	..	..	..	No.	..	..
164. Geneva—The University.	The History of Religions.[76]	1873	Professor Théophile Droz, 1873–1880.	..	..	..	..	..
			Professor Ernest Stroehlin, D.Theol., 1880–1893.	..				
			Professor Paul Oltramare, 1895– .	2				

165. Lausanne—The University.	The History of Religions.	1871	Professor Eugène Dandiran, D.Theol., 1871–1895.	..	..	..	..
			Professor Aloïs Fornerod, Lic. Theol., 1895– .	2			
166. Neuchâtel—The University	..	..	..	..	..	..	[No Response.]
167. Zürich—The University.	..	..	..	..	.	No.	Dogmatic, Philosophy, and Philology.
Turkey.							
168. Constantinople—The University.	..	..	..	..	..	..	[No Response.]
169. .. Robert College.	..	..	..	..	.	No.	History, and Philosophy.

EXPLANATORY NOTES, in which will be found various items of information which could not conveniently be inserted in the Chart, have been added on pages 592–604. It is to these Notes that the "Reference Numbers," indicated in a somewhat smaller type, are intended to direct the reader.

NOTES EXPLANATORY OF CHART IV.

1. The Cape of Good Hope.—The University has no Theological Faculty.
2. Halifax, Canada.—A few Lectures are given on Comparative Religion, and on the Philosophy of Theism.
3. Montreal, Canada.—In addition to such Lectures as are ordinarily given by the Staff, the following Special Courses were offered during the session of 1903–04: (*a*) Christian Ethics and the Philosophy of Religion; (*b*) Comparative Religion; and (*c*) the Bearing of Modern Anthropological Speculations on the Bible doctrines of Man and Sin.
4. —— By appointments, made annually, special Instructors are secured; and in this way a brief Course of Lectures (six or eight in number), dealing with the Philosophy of Religion, is provided each year.
5. Toronto, Canada.—The University is maintained out of the Provincial Treasury. Accordingly, it is precluded by Statute from giving instruction in Theological subjects.
6. —— Instruction in the Comparative History of Religions (ten lectures) is given during the First Term in each second year. The Philosophy of Religion is dealt with, in the Department of Ethics, during one hour a week throughout the year. Students who expect to become Foreign Missionaries take, in addition, a special course of reading on Oriental Religions.
7. Winnipeg, Canada.—Apologetics is expressly made to include the History of Religion and the Philosophy of Religion, as well of the Defence of the Christian Religion. Two hours a week, it is already felt, is too limited a time within which to compass so wide a survey; it is intended, accordingly, that more ample provision for this subject shall be made at an early date.
8. —— Lectures are given, twice each week, on the Philosophy of Theism.
9. Auburn, United States. — Occasional brief Courses of Lectures are provided. Thus, in 1902, Professor S. I. Curtiss of Chicago discussed "Surviving Sacrifices among Semites and Bedouins"; and, in 1903, Rev. W. A. Shedd of Persia took for his theme "Islam and the Oriental Churches: Their Historical Relations."
10. Baltimore, United States.—"Special" Courses of Lectures, arranged for by an inter-University Committee, and relating to the History of Religions,[1] have thus far been delivered

[1] Cp. pages 571–572.

by Professor Cheyne, Oxford (1898), Professor Budde, Marburg (1899), and others.

11. Boston, United States.—"Special" Courses of Lectures, dealing with the History of Religions and the Philosophy of Religion, have been offered since 1867. Moreover, these Courses have been supplemented each year—(1) by the Lecturer on Christian Missions, who has examined carefully the history and growth of some living ethnic Religion; (2) by addresses delivered by Missionaries who have returned from their fields; and (3) on the part of the Students, by assigned readings and Class essays. Professor Bowne, besides, for many years past, has offered a Course of Lectures on the Philosophy of Theism. On the whole, no University to-day offers to give a more comprehensive survey of the entire field, and more constant and direct supervision to the work of the men who enter it, than Boston University.

12. Cambridge, United States.—Although Harvard University, thus far, has founded no separate Chair for promoting the interests of this study, it has long stood in the van of those Institutions which have materially helped it. (*a*) In the Faculty of Divinity, since 1867, Courses of Lectures on the History of Religion have regularly been delivered, viz., by Professor James Freeman Clarke (1867–1871), Professor Charles Carroll Everett (1872–1890), and Professor George Foot Moore (1891–). Professor Moore is at present delivering Courses of Lectures under the following titles, viz.—(1) Introduction to the Study of Religions, (2) An Outline of the History of Religions, (3) History of the Hebrew Religion in comparison with other Semitic Religions, etc. It would appear, therefore, that in fact, if not in name, Harvard already possesses Chairs of the kind called for by these statistics. The degree of B.D. may be taken (with certain limitations) in this department. Moreover, (*b*) in the Faculty of Arts and Sciences there is practically a Department for Comparative Religion. Several Groups of Courses of Lectures, covering with exactitude the History of particular Faiths, are provided annually; and the degree of Ph.D. is obtainable by men who, having engaged in actual research, show special proficiency in these studies. (*c*) A considerable extension of this work is contemplated at an early day, viz.: (1) A Course of Lectures on Germanic and Celtic Religions; (2) The Eleusinian and other Greek Mysteries; and (3) Sociological Aspects of Religion. A Course "unit" in Harvard means three hours a week. (*d*) The magnificent Oriental

Museums of the University, likewise, are deserving of special mention.[1]

13. CHICAGO, UNITED STATES.—The Haskell Lectureship was held by the late Rev. John Henry Barrows, D.D. (1895–1902), from the date of his appointment as *first* Lecturer until his death.

14. —— The Barrows Lectureship has been filled by the late President Barrows, Oberlin (1896–1897), Principal Fairbairn, Oxford (1898–1899), and President Hall, New York (1902–1903). President Hall has been invited to deliver also the next Course of Lectures (1906–1907) on this important foundation.

15. —— In the University of Chicago, the title "Comparative Religion" covers, in truth, a distinct Department, and prepares men for a special Doctor's degree. "Special" Courses of Lectures, supplementary to the instruction regularly given by the Staff, have been delivered by Professor George Adam Smith of Glasgow, Professor Karl Budde of Marburg, etc. University Fellowships may be secured from time to time.

16. —— A considerable amount of attention is devoted to this discipline. (*a*) The Professor of Assyriology and Comparative Religion, who deals with the Ancient Religions of Babylonia, Syria, Egypt, etc., occupies four hours a week for a period of ten weeks, *i.e.* he delivers forty lectures. (*b*) The Professor of Systematic Theology devotes to the Philosophy of Religion twenty lectures, and to Theism twenty lectures. (*c*) The Professor who deals with Theological Encyclopædia gives also, in brief outline, a survey of this branch of inquiry.

17. —— In addition, there is an elective Class, covering one hour a week during one academic year, for the study of the Science of Religion.

18. EASTON, UNITED STATES.—The History of Religion has been taught (one hour a week) since 1880, and the Philosophy of Theism (two hours a week) since 1892, by a member of the Faculty.

19. EVANSTON, UNITED STATES.—The Professor of Biblical Instruction devotes two hours a week during the first semester to the History of Religion, while the Professor of Philosophy devotes one hour a week throughout the year to the Philosophy of Religion.

20. HAMILTON, UNITED STATES.—A brief Course of Lectures, twenty-four in all, descriptive and rudimentary in character, is given in the Theological Department.

21. HARTFORD, UNITED STATES.—The Professor of Apologetics

[1] Cp. page 397.

devotes to the Philosophy of Religion forty-five lecture hours; to anti-Theistic theories, thirty hours; to problems in the Philosophy of Religion, fifteen hours; and to the History of Religions, fifteen hours, besides an extended "Reading Course" in the same field. Under "Missions" (which denotes a regularly endowed course of instruction), lectures are delivered on the History and Theology of Islam, of Hinduism, of Buddhism, of Zoroastrianism, etc.

22. Ithaca, United States.—Although "Comparative Religion" is not included in the formal title of the Chair, a separate Course of Lectures on the Comparative History of Religion is given once a week; while, during three hours each week, the comparative method is employed in dealing with topics presented by the Philosophy of Religion. There is, besides, a "Seminary" for graduate students, who meet for this purpose two hours a week.

23. Lake Forest, United States.—Through the generosity of a benefactor[1] (who desired suitably to commemorate his son, the late Nathaniel Bross), there have been endowed (*a*) a Prize of $6000 to be awarded, once each decade, to the author of the MS. which best "illustrates or demonstrates or commends the Christian Religion, or any phase of it, to the times in which we live," and (*b*) Special Courses of Lectures, at dates to be arranged, which are to be prepared with the same end in view. These Lectures were inaugurated by President Patton of Princeton in 1903. Professor Marcus Dods of Edinburgh, following him, delivered the second Course in 1904.

24. Louisville, United States.—The subject is broadly yet exactly treated each year by the Professor of Apologetics, as follows: The Philosophy of Religion and Theism, thirty-four lectures; Outlines of Comparative Religion, sixteen lectures.

25. Madison, United States.—A State University. Accordingly, such instruction is deemed impracticable.

26. Minneapolis, United States.—A short Course of Lectures dealing with the Philosophy of Religion is regularly offered.

27. New Haven, United States.—The Professor of Systematic Theology devotes to the Philosophy of Theism two hours a week; the Professor of Sanskrit devotes to Comparative Religion one hour a week; and a Professor of Philosophy allots to the Philosophy of Religion two hours a week. As to the History of Religions, the "Special" Lecturers already mentioned under Note XL.[2] regularly deliver

[1] The late William Bross, Lieut.-Governor of Illinois from 1866–1870. Cp. page 388.

[2] See page 571.

their Courses at Yale. A new Chair, designed to improve still further the opportunities of special students in this field, will be founded probably at an early date. A carefully arranged "elective" Course (including lectures, the investigation of special problems, prescribed reading, etc.) is projected; it will cover "the History, Characteristics, and Claims of Foreign and Home Missions."

28. New York, United States.—Professor Ellinwood lectures also on the Philosophy of Religion, one hour each week.
29. —— Students of Columbia University, by arrangement, attend the Courses that are given on this subject at Union Theological Seminary. (See Note 30.)
30. —— Professor Knox lectures, as follows: The Philosophy of Religion, one hour a week; Theism, one hour a week; Survey of the Ethnic Faiths, one hour a week; Christianity in the light of the development of Religion, one hour a week.
31. Oberlin, United States.—While no Chair of Comparative Religion exists, an annual special Lectureship has been devoted to advancing this study since 1896; and, hitherto, three hours a week, through half the academic year, have been allotted to the subject. Since 1899, this Course has been limited to six lectures annually. Courses on the Philosophy of Religion have been provided each year since 1891.
32. Palo Alto, United States.—The Professor of Education gives lectures on the Psychology of Religious Experience, and on the History of Religion.
33. Princeton, United States.—Students in this subject attend the lectures provided by Princeton Theological Seminary. (See Note 34.)
34. —— Princeton Seminary is rendering very effective help in this connection. In addition to (*a*) its two special Chairs, there is (*b*) the Students' Lectureship on Missions, which is generally filled by a Missionary of wide experience, and (*c*) an "Extra-Curriculum" or Post-Graduate Course, covering a fourth year of study, which is devoted to "Philosophical Apologetics and Comparative Religion." The purpose of this last-named department of inquiry is defined to be the development of "the arguments for Christianity from Comparative Religion, from the Philosophy of History, and from the Philosophy of Christianity.[1] Its aim and scope, it will be noted, are definitely limited, and are considerably more restricted than the corresponding aim and scope of Comparative Religion proper.[2]

[1] *Catalogue of Princeton Theological Seminary*, p. 39. Princeton, 1904.
[2] Cp. pages 62 f.

35. Providence, United States.—This Chair deals with (*a*) the History of Religions (including Comparative Religion), and (*b*) the Philosophy of Religion (including the Philosophy of Theism.

36. Syracuse, United States.—The Department of Philosophy deals with (*a*) the Philosophy of Religion; (*b*) Comparative Study of Religion, and (*c*) Evidences of Christianity,—devoting three hours a week to this combined group. The Department of Semitic Languages and Biblical Literature discusses the relation of Biblical Religion to the other Semitic Religions.

37. Worcester, United States.—While it is stated that Clark University does not intend to found a *Chair* for giving instruction in Comparative Religion, it must not be overlooked that it is already rendering magnificent service in that direction through its vigorous promotion of the study of the Psychology of Religion. Three items of special interest deserve to be noted. (*a*) President Hall delivers four Courses of Lectures dealing with religious topics, viz., (1) The Psychology of Nature Religions, (2) The Psychology of Jesus, (3) The Psychology of Religion, and (4) Religious Education, including a résumé and comparison of the various methods employed in the propaganda of Missions, alike Christian (both Protestant and Roman Catholic) and non-Christian. (*b*) Dr. Jean du Buy, "Docent in Comparative Religion" at the University, delivered during 1903 a Course of Lectures on the Psychology of Comparative Religions. He has also published some valuable papers in this connection, including two entitled respectively "Stages in Religious Development" and "The Psychology of five great Religions." (*c*) The Trustees of the University have set apart, in the University Library, a special department for Religious Psychology; and as they control funds which accrue from an ample endowment, the needs of students in this field are certain to be generously provided for. It can surprise no one who is acquainted with these facts, that Clark University has for many years been furnishing other Institutions with enthusiastic and distinguished teachers, who reflect the very greatest credit upon the character of the training they received during their post-graduate course at Worcester.

38. Allahabad, India.—The State Universities in India are examining (not teaching) Institutions; hence they have no Chairs. Natural Theology, however, is one of the subjects included in the Honour Course in Philosophy.

39. Adelaide, Australia.—The University has no Theological

Faculty. The same remark holds true of the other Australian Universities, and of the University of New Zealand.

40. BUDAPEST, AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.—Since 1891, at least a little has been done in this direction. In 1900, however, the Faculty of Theology (Roman Catholic) drew up a new scheme of studies, in accordance with which the Professor of "Theologia fundamentalis" was asked to add to his lectures a Course dealing with—(*a*) the History of Religion, and (*b*) Comparative Religion. This revised programme has not, as a whole, been formally approved as yet by the authorities; but it will likely go into effect, with slight modifications, before very long.

41. PRAGUE, AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.—The Courses given in connection with Comparative Religion are only occasional.

42. BRUSSELS, BELGIUM.—Comparative Religion, though not mentioned in the title of the Chair, is expressly dealt with. The Lectures which review the History of Religions are delivered in connection with the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters.

43. CAMBRIDGE, ENGLAND.—No separate Chair has been founded, but the Philosophy of Religion has been made an optional ("additional") subject in the Theological Tripos. As a result, a generous benefactor recently endowed a Special Lectureship in the Philosophy of Religion. Occasional brief Courses of Lectures are delivered by a few of the College Tutors. Besides one or two Fellowships, which may from time to time be put at the disposal of men who desire to pursue advanced studies in Comparative Religion, it has been proposed to utilise the surplus revenue of the Burney Fund as follows, viz., in founding (*a*) an annual Burney Essay Prize of from £50 to £80, and (*b*) a Burney Studentship of the annual value of £120, tenable for one year; and it is recommended that this Prize and Studentship should be awarded in the department of the Philosophy of Religion.

44. —— Only a few lectures, in the prescribed course of study, are devoted to Comparative Religion; but occasional "extra" lectures, prepared and delivered by specialists in this field, are provided.

45. LONDON, ENGLAND.—The University possesses no staff of Professors of Theology, appointed directly by itself. But, by means of affiliation, it has secured the co-operation of seven London Colleges, which are known as "Schools of the University in its Faculty of Theology." For details relating to each of these Colleges, see Notes 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, and 51. It may be said that in all of these affiliated

Colleges the Philosophy of Theism ("Philosophy and Evidences of Religion") is a compulsory subject, while the "Comparative Science of Religion" is *one* of the five optional subjects required of candidates for the degree of B.D.

46. London, England.—This Professorship belongs, not to the Faculty of Arts only, but also to the Faculty of Theology; accordingly, the Philosophy of Theism is regularly dealt with by the holder of this Chair.

47. —— Instruction in Comparative Religion has hitherto been given by two Professors,—Professor Andrews devoting to the Philosophy of Religion two hours a week, and to Comparative Religion one hour; while the Principal, lecturing statedly on the Hebrew Religion and Islam, devotes to Comparative Religion one hour each week.

48. —— For ten years past the Principal of New College has lectured two hours a week on Comparative Religion, in addition to the lectures he has offered in connection with other departments. The recent appointment of Professor Garvie has happily led to the founding of a special Chair.

49. Under "Church History," the History of Religions has been expressly included since 1900; and the Philosophy of Theism is likewise formally linked with Apologetics.

50. —— In the absence of a Chair, the *John Long Lectureship* is devoted very largely to the exposition of Comparative Religion. These lectures are generally illustrated and enforced by the recital of recent personal experiences in the various Fields where Missionaries are now engaged at work.

51. —— The tutor in Biblical Languages, etc. (Rev. A. S. Geden) gives a short Course of Lectures on "Comparative Religion and Eastern Religions."

52. Manchester, England.—In founding a University Chair for Comparative Religion, Victoria University has taken a step which marks a significant "new departure." This Chair is the first of its kind in the United Kingdom.

53. Oxford, England.—See Note **43**, and substitute in it "Honour School of Theology" for "Theological Tripos." The "Comparison of Christianity with other Religions" is at present one of several options that may be offered by Honours candidates under "The Evidences of Religion"; after 1905, "Comparative Religion" will be substituted for it.

54. —— Principal Fairbairn's Chair bears, indeed, the official designation, "Dogmatic and General Theology"; but "The Philosophy and History of Religion" is specially

dealt with, and with great fulness. A Course of Lectures on the Semitic Religions is about to be instituted.

55. OXFORD, ENGLAND.—The Instructors of Manchester College are representatives and advocates of aggressive, broad, and scholarly work. The Institution is supported by funds which are drawn almost exclusively from Unitarian sources; but its classes are attended by many who are not Unitarians, and it is not demanded even of its Professors that they should hold invariably the unitary conception of the Godhead. It has always been a distinctive feature of this College that it aims at "freely imparting Theological knowledge without insisting on the adoption of particular Theological doctrines. . . . The Institution is open to young men of every religious denomination, from whom no test or confession of faith shall be required." From 1876 to 1899, Mr. Carpenter lectured on Old Testament Literature, in addition to Comparative Religion; but since 1899, as Case Lecturer, he has given his whole time to the latter subject. He devotes from one to two hours each week to this department, besides giving such private instruction as advanced students may require. The Lecturer on Philosophy devotes two hours a week to the Philosophy of Religion.

56. ABERDEEN, SCOTLAND. — A Lectureship on Comparative Religion has publicly been endorsed, and will probably be established at an early date. The *Gifford Lectures* on Natural Theology (ten or twelve in number) and the *Murtle Lectures* on Christian Evidence (twelve in number) are meanwhile accomplishing excellent results.

57. EDINBURGH, SCOTLAND.—The *Gifford Lectures* on Natural Theology represent all that the University, in the meantime, is able to offer to students in this field. The same statement holds true of Glasgow University.

58. —— Five hours a week are devoted to Apologetics.

59. GLASGOW, SCOTLAND.—Under Apologetics, Comparative Religion is dealt with in about twenty-five lectures. Under Old Testament Literature, as a preparation for the study of the Religion of Israel, a course of thirty lectures is given every second year on the Semitic Religions. Also, at stated periods, a course of twelve or fourteen lectures, dealing with some living Oriental Religion, is delivered by a selected Foreign Missionary coming directly from his field.

60. ABERYSTWYTH, WALES.—While the University of Wales grants degrees in Theology to successful applicants, it exercises in connection with the studies proper to that Faculty only an examining function. Its three constituent

Colleges are situated respectively at Aberystwyth, Bangor, and Cardiff; and it is through them that the teaching work of the University is done, all candidates for degrees (except those in Divinity) being required to attend one or other of these Institutions. These Colleges, however, are by their Charters debarred from giving instruction in Theological subjects. Such teaching, accordingly, is undertaken by the Theological Colleges of the several Churches, and the University subsequently tests the attainments of students by means of its appointed examinations. There are in Wales eight approved Theological Colleges, and all of them furnish instruction in the Philosophy of Religion and Philosophical Theism; while Comparative Religion is one of the specified "optional subjects" which a candidate for a degree may select.[1]

61. Dublin, Ireland.—The Philosophy of Religion and the Philosophy of Theism are dealt with during one Term in each year.

62. Copenhagen, Denmark.—Dr. Lehmann, though occupying nominally a Lectureship, holds in effect a Chair, and devotes his whole time to his special department. A student may present himself as a candidate for the degree of Master of Arts in the field of the History of Religions; but of course, if he entertains any good hope of success, he must exhibit high proficiency. So much for the Faculty of Philosophy. In the Faculty of Theology, Professor Henrik Scharling (Dogmatic, Ethics, and the Philosophy of Religion) devotes two lectures each week, every third year, to the History of Religions; and this class is compulsory as regards all students of Divinity.

63. Marseilles, France.—The Professor of Philosophy sets apart a portion of his lectures to "The History of Comparative Religion."

64. Montauban, France.—Professor Westphal began his work as a Lecturer in this department in 1895. Since his promotion to a Professorship (1899), his Chair has been the *only* University Chair in France that is devoted to the study of the Comparative History of Religions. Moreover, at Montauban, the subject is a compulsory one, all the Theological students being required to gain some intimate acquaintance with it.

65. Paris, France.—Professor Jean Réville, though lecturing statedly on Patristic (the History of Ancient Christian Literature), devotes a special hour each week to the History of Religions.

66. —— *L'École des Hautes Études* is an Institution that is

[1] Cp. page 422.

quite unique in its admirable equipment for advancing the study of the History of Religions. Its "Section des Sciences Religieuses," founded in 1886, devotes two hours a week to *each* of the great or lesser Religions of the world. A special student sets himself to secure the mastery of one or more selected Religions; and the very best facilities that can be furnished through lectures, seminar work, museums, libraries, etc., are found ready at his hand. An honorary Diploma, though not a Degree, is awarded.

67. PARIS, FRANCE.—Professor Albert Réville (who lectures also in *l'École des Hautes Études*) devotes himself at times, though in a limited measure, to the discussion of the problems of Comparative Religion.

68. BERLIN, GERMANY.—Responses have been received from eighteen of the German Universities; but as all of these replies have practically been duplicates, the University of Berlin has been selected as a fair representative of the whole group. Very material assistance can be obtained in Germany, by students of Comparative Religion, from individual Courses of Lectures; but, thus far, this department of study has received no official recognition, and no systematic attempt has been made to further its interests.[1] In one or two Universities, something has been done in a purely local way. Thus at Würzburg, since 1894, express provision has been made for giving instruction in the "Science of Comparative Religion" in connection with the course on Apologetics.[2] In Berlin also, one of the Professors lately made an effort to arouse some active interest in the subject by preparing and delivering a comprehensive set of lectures in exposition of it; but the attendance of students was not specially encouraging. Several of the responses just received state with marked emphasis that no such Chair is either expected or desired. As regards the Philosophy of Religion—and the History of Religion also, though less frequently—lectures of great value are delivered during every semester in every German University.

69. ATHENS, GREECE.—Professor Politis (formerly Lecturer on the same subject, viz., from 1882 until his present Chair was founded in 1890) offers courses in (*a*) the History of Religions, (*b*) the History of Greek Religion, and (*c*) the Relation of Greek Religion to other Religions.

70. AMSTERDAM, HOLLAND.—While "Comparative Religion" is not mentioned in the title of any of the four Dutch University Chairs, this discipline is in no instance

[1] Cp. pages 512 f. [2] Cp. page 455.

neglected. [In the case of Amsterdam, both Professors named in the Tables have given their attention chiefly to the History of Religions, while instruction in the Philosophy of Religion has been entrusted to another.] The History of the Doctrine of God is likewise expounded by each of these four Chairs. Every student in Theology is required to attend these Courses of Lectures, and to pass a satisfactory exit examination before he can receive the usual certification.

71. Christiania, Norway.—The Fellowships of the University are not restricted by Statute to particular subjects, and so may be made available for the study of Comparative Religion. As a matter of fact, one of them has been assigned of late to the Science of Religion, and it has regularly been utilised in this connection since 1898. The "Fellows," moreover, offer stated instruction in the Department of the History of Religions.

72. Stockholm, Sweden. — The "Stockholms Högskola" has neither a Theological nor a Medical Faculty. Its two Faculties are those of Philosophy and Law.

73. Upsala, Sweden.—The exact title of this Chair is "Prænotiones Theologicæ et Encyclopædia Theologica." As is evident, it is not devoted exclusively to the History, Comparison, and Philosophy of Religion; but fully one-half of the Professor's time is given to the exposition of the History of the non-Christian Religions. Through the generosity of two wealthy friends of the University, the Gustavus Adolphus Fund has been created, the proceeds of which are employed, under direction of the Professor holding this Chair, in the interest of Apologetics. Inasmuch as a systematically enlarged acquaintance with the History of Religions and with Comparative Religion is felt to be the most scientific and effective way of studying Apologetics,[1] this Fund has been utilised for establishing an annual Lectureship and three annual Fellowships. These honours are awarded to those who secure the highest standing among advanced students working in this Department.

74. Bâle, Switzerland.—Although the University has no separate Chair devoted to this subject, it deserves (as, *e.g.*, Harvard, Princeton, London, etc.) especially honourable mention in this connection; for the measure of direct and unfailing assistance which it is supplying to this discipline is very great. As early as 1840, lectures on the History of Religion were begun; and they have regularly been delivered by Professors in the Faculty of Theology ever since.

[1] Cp. pages 406–408.

Professor Orelli and Professor Duhm meet with students during *alternate* winter semesters. In addition, occasional Courses of Lectures are given on Indian and Greek Religions by the Professors of Sanskrit and Greek Philology.

75. BERNE, SWITZERLAND.—Since 1876, lectures on the general History of Religions have regularly been delivered to all students enrolled by the Faculty of Evangelical Theology.

76. GENEVA, SWITZERLAND.—In 1868, lectures on the History of Religions were first given, and were at that time offered by members of the Faculty of Theology. Five years later, a Chair was founded in this interest; but in 1894 this initial work came to an end. The present Chair is attached to the Faculty of Letters and Social Sciences.

INDEX I

TOPICAL, LITERARY, AND CHRONOLOGICAL

This Register includes all titles, personal and general, that stand associated with the development of COMPARATIVE RELIGION. The names of Authors are, in each case, given in full.

The chronological information supplied has been collected with special care, and will prove useful to students in various ways. It will be especially valued by those who have often sought for it in vain in corresponding Text-books. It has been obtained—by personal application, when necessary—from authoritative sources.

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[1] This author claimed and assumed the title of Baronet, but his right to that dignity seems never to have been established or recorded.

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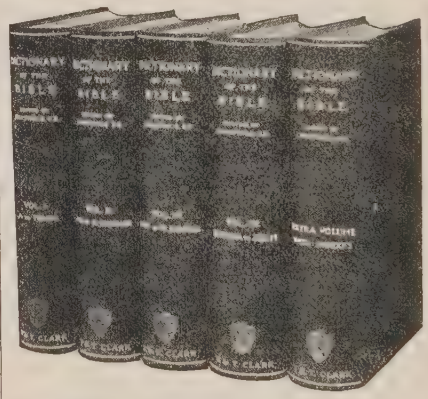

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